World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE STRUGGLE over the tiny, obscure African province of Katanga in the Congo has arisen because that little-known territory has minerals vital to military defense needed by the entire world. It is only when one takes in account these rich deposits that they can understand why the Belgians were so reluctant to leave the area; why the United nations acts so timidly about the Tshombe revolt; why the Soviet Union is watching every move in this desperate game of nerves for such a rich prize.

Mr. Cayton

Here are some of the items at stake, the economic and military prizes to be won in the struggle for control of the rich Katanga province. Katanga's rich mines produce about 90 per cent of the world's supply of cobalt, stockpiled by the U. S. because it is considered critical for defense. Cobalt is essential for high-temperature alloys used in jet engines and missile work. The province is also an important world source of uranium, a necessary ingredient for atomic power. During World War II, the experts said, Katanga supplied about 95 per cent of the world's uranium. This little province also produces about 242,000 tons of copper a year, making it one of the world's major sources. It is also rich in tin, industrial diamonds, manganese, zinc, and platinum.

■

KNOWING the wealth of the province, Congo leaders regard the Katanga holdout as a Belgian plot to split the Congo and to maintain control of the vast mineral interests in Katanga. The Belgians, having lost most of the Congo, are reluctant to leave their last foothold in the rich area and are employing every device to delay the withdrawal of their troops. The United Nations hesitates to cross swords with the Tshombe forces, as weak as they are. Katanga, itself, has rebelliously refused to let itself be integrated with the other five Congo provinces in the new republic, largely because it provides 65 per cent of the Congo's entire wealth; it feels it will be feeding the Congo's empty treasury only to aid the other poorer provinces.

■

WHILE this struggle is going on the Soviet Union is playing a cautious but clever game. In general the line of the Russians is to state to the Africans: If you start a revolution we will prevent Western interference. We stopped the British and French at Suez and we have told the Americans they must stay out of Cuba. Although the Soviet Union may be cynical in its approach to the Congo problem, it bears certain fruit for the Africans. As long as Russia is on the scene there will be no deal which would allow Belgium to remain in the country and dominate Katanga.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

IN NORTHERN RHODESIA there is a young African who will some day emerge on the world scene. His name is Kennith Kaunda. I met him at a press conference in San Francisco. With him I discussed the role which violence might play in the freedom movement in Africa.

Mr. Cayton

There were only three other reporters there representing San Francisco dailies. Soon the conversation was between Kaunda and myself, for these other reporters had scant knowledge of Africa. They shared the opinion of many Americans: Sure the situation was bad but the English were doing what they could and the Africans should be patient.

Kaunda met this argument by stating that his people would not be patient; that he preached non-violence but doubted that he could maintain his leadership if he continued to do this. He pointed out that Kenya had been just as as bad as Rhodesia until the Mau Maus. The example of the success of violence in Kenya was before his people, he stated.

■

ALL THIS took place several months ago. Just recently I saw a dispatch in the New York Times. Kaunda was back in Lusaka, North Rhodesia, at the headquarters of the United National Independence Party—three tiny rooms without electricity, running water or telephone. Commenting on the country, he said: "The political situation here is explosive. You see, we are in a very peculiar situation.

"We have the Congo, a ridge of freedom, on one side, and Tanganyika on the other—another ridge of freedom. Now Nyasaland is getting an African majority in its Legislative Council, but here we remain in a valley of servitude. If the legitimate aspirations of the African people are deliberately ignored then we are inviting trouble."

One wonders what this young man's real thoughts are now that there is so much violence around him, now that the Congo has erupted?

■

FOR THE MOMENT the Congolese and most other Africans are startled by the spectacle of thousands of defeated Belgians returning to their homeland; it is hard to believe that these Europeans have been actually thrown out of African territory.

But after the moment of shock, the realization of what has happened in the Congo will sweep throughout all of the continent. Then Central and South Africa will be faced with an aroused Africa population which will not be satisfied with piecemeal, gradual steps toward its liberation.

Then the skill of leadership and the personal philosophy of handsome, young Kennith Kauda will be tested. Upon his humanity may rest the fate of thousands of Europeans who are now oppressing him and his people.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

INDEPENDENCE, which is sweeping Africa like a tidal wave, is only the first step in the process of that continent's entrance into the Twentieth Century. First these new African nations must survive the ordeal of independence. Then, they must face the task of the development of more stable national units based upon realistic divisions of people and natural resources. It is all right to say, as did Sekou Toure of Guinea, "We would rather be poor in freedom than rich in slavery," or Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana, "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility," but now with independence a fact, the fragmented continent must be reorganized into workable political units.

Mr. Cayton

Probably the most fundamental of all characteristics of Saharan Africa, that half-continent below the desert, is that the structure of the society is tribal. Yet when the European powers during the course of the past three centuries carved up their colonial domains, they paid little or no attention to tribal territories but set the respective national frontiers at points selected merely to suit their own military, commercial or political convenience.

■

THE RESULT has been that today in tropical Africa few truly national states whose people have a long common and exclusive heritage of culture, religion, language or history exist. In the Congo, for example, one of the principal tribes extends through parts of former French, Belgian and present Portuguese territory. As in the Congo every new African country contains many tribes; many of the tribes find themselves in two or more adjacent countries.

Before the coming of the European these tribes were in constant warfare. One of the benefits of colonialism was that it brought about peace. But these old hostilities still exist, and exist often, within a single country. Even where there is no hostility between tribes within a country, most times those tribes are against the progressive reforms of the central government.

Kwame Nkrumah has gone further, perhaps, than any of the new African leaders to meet this problem of tribalism.

■

IN SOLVING the question of tribalism there are two directions in which African leaders can move. There can be the attempt to change national borders and unite tribal peoples, who have a common language and common culture, into political units. The alternative is to follow the principle laid down by Nkrumah and take power from tribal chiefs and reduce the tribe's authority. Both solutions are difficult and will entail years of conflict and strife. But to compete, indeed to exist, in this period of history, a more efficient, competent and manageable form of social organization than tribalism is necessary.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

ONE OF the important objectives of the participants of the General Assembly of the United Nations now meeting in New York is to win the support of the new and the uncommitted nations of Africa. In this contest for the new girls in town the United States has been faltering and even stupid. It is hard to explain the United States failure to act with more determination and insight in regard to these new African nations in view of the fact that the African nations now constitute the largest bloc in the world organization.

Mr. Cayton

IT IS not that this development comes as a surprise. It is widely known, and recently reported in the New York Times, that John Foster Dulles went to his grave deeply disturbed by the prospect that the addition of the African nations to the United Nations would tilt the balance of power in that organization against the U. S. and in favor of the Soviet Union. Indeed, Mr. Dulles even foresaw the day when the U. N. would be controlled by a coalition of Soviet-Eastern European-Asian-African votes so powerful that the United States would be forced to leave the world organization. It would seem, then, that our government would have done everything it could to win their support while they were still uncommitted.

If you looked at the opening session of the Assembly through TV, you saw what happened. The United States delegation sat in splendid isolation while Nikita Khrushchev was greeting the new Africans like a Southern Congressman at a Baptist picnic. The State Department first took pleasure in Fidel Castro's housing difficulties and then allowed him the soapbox platform of the Theresa Hotel in Harlem.

■

PERHAPS THE worst American blunder was made by Secretary of State Herter. He was bitterly disappointed in the speech of Nkrumah, who spoke just before Khrushchev. The President of Ghana condemned colonialism and supported Lumumba in the Congo. For some reasons, perhaps because Nkrumah had met with Eisenhower the day before, Americans thought that they had the African in their camp. Herter seemed more incensed with the young African than he was with the Russian leader and openly accused him of being in the Communist camp over the T. V. networks: a silly and emotional statement Herter will live to regret.

The question of whether the new African states will side with the East or the West or remain neutral remains to be seen. Certainly the question will not be settled at this session of the U. N. But in the struggle for the allegiance of the vast continent of Africa so far, Russia has shown a greater willingness to recognize and deal with what the young Africans want more than anything else i. e. to be accepted in the family of nations as equals.

31a 1960

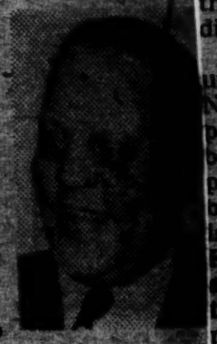
NEGRO (HORACE CAYTON)

World At Large

By ~~Horace Cayton~~ 31a Negro

The Pittsburgh

DON FIDEL CASTRO'S decision to move to Harlem and Nikita Khrushchev's visit to him was a diplomatic master stroke. It was the propaganda of the deed. It was telling the United States: If you wish to treats us as outcasts we will associate with your outcasts; we will go and live with your Negroes. It called attention of the world to the plight of the American Negro and of the two leaders toward it.



Mr. Cayton

From Castro the move did not come as so much a surprise. His sympathy with the American Negro has been known. Just a short time ago he financed a junket of Negro newspapermen to Cuba and made known his feelings on race prejudice.

Sat 10-8-60

NO OTHER leader of a major power would have done it; could have done it. The immediate effect for the Russian was to demonstrate his solidarity with the Cuban. But that visit on the corner of 125th and 7th did more than that. It showed the Russian leader's disregard for American leadership; it demonstrated to the uncommitted peoples of the world, who are for the most part nonwhite, that he was not afraid of the color problem; it showed by deed, rather than by word, the African nations that the Soviet leader is not bound by the color bar.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Was it a grandstand play on the part of the two leaders? Of course. What else? But still there is little doubt that neither of them suffer from the racial prejudice which bedevils America. Was it an attempt to embarrass the United States for [illegible] travel while in the United States? Of course. But this country was foolish and childish in restricting the heads of two governments to Manhattan Island.

THE REACTION of the American press was peculiar. The move caught it, like most Americans, unprepared. Its reaction was first one of shock and surprise. Then there was a feeling of indignation and anger. Moving to Harlem, visiting Harlem, treating Negroes as equals was not playing the game by the established rules; it wasn't cricket. The impulse was to ridicule the Russian and the Cuban, but therein lay a difficulty.

Recently it has become very unfashionable to make fun of Negroes on the TV or in newspapers. Harlem, which used to be a fashionable slumming place, now has become a symbol of black dissatisfication; it is not to be treated lightly. Further, the Africans, Asians and Arabs of the United Nations are a little sensitive about making fun of colored people. Most papers throughout the country manfully resisted their impulse to make a joke of Castro's residence in and Khrushchev's visit to "N—— Heaven."

So as you take the "A" train on the Independent subway and get off at 125th, don't be surprised to see Khrushchev, Castro, Eisenhower or any of the boys having dinner at Frank's or a quick one at the Theresa bar. The cold war gets to be a leveling thing after a while.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a

LAST week in San Francisco an angry Negro longshoreman threw a rock through the window of the building of the British Consulate. The man had picketed the consul's office during the day in protest over the slaughtering of unarmed Negroes in South Africa. That night the longshoreman thought more and more about the South African killings and went back to the consulate and threw a rock through the window.

Mr. Cayton

The next day a spokesman for the British consul stated that the longshoreman must have been ignorant of England's responsibility in the South African killings; England has no more control over the internal affairs of South Africa than it has over those of Canada or New Zealand, the spokesman declared. Technically the British spokesman was right; but the Negro longshoreman had put his finger on a sensitive and touchy point—as long as South Africa is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, England and all Commonwealth members have some moral responsibility for the barbarous behavior of South Africa.

■

EVIDENCE THAT Britain felt ties is seen in her behavior when the South African issue came before the U.N. Security Council. When Henry Cabot Lodge called a special session of the Council to consider the question a resolution was passed calling on South Africa to "abandon its policy of apartheid and racial discrimination." This resolution passed without a dissenting voice and with the full support of the U. S.

England, in spite of the outraged public opinion in London and the moral indignation of all Englishmen over the brutal killings, also abstained. A vote in favor of South Africa would have set Britain aside as a civilized nation that approved of ruthless killings But she did not feel that she could vote against a Commonwealth partner.

But the matter is far from solved for Britain. Sooner or later she will have to decide whether she can live with South Africa as a member of her Commonwealth of Nations; she will have to decide whether even if she is not legally responsible for the acts of that country she nevertheless has a moral responsibility to the Commonwealth and to the world. Already there have been expressions of dissatisfaction in London and the suggestion that South Africa be voted out of the Commonwealth at the forthcoming meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth. Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd has declared flatly that his government considers apartheid "wrong and unworkable." Then, too, the complexion of the Commonwealth is getting darker as more non-white nations are liberated and admitted to membership. Nations like Ghana, Ceylon and India will find it more difficult to meet with representatives of South Africa.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a August

A GUEST column by Dr. Ruth Londes, the famous anthropologist, who has studied race relations all over the world.

This is the first time in about eight years that Horace and I have met, the last time being in New York, where we did research on a civil rights project. Then I went to Britain to study the colored colonial migration there, under Fulbright auspices, and after several years came out to Southern California with my family and took a job in anthropology.

So Horace asked, "What do you think of race relations in Southern California? How are things moving?"

■

I said, "To an Easterner, it's another world. Negroes really don't matter. I mean, they don't fascinate imaginations here the way they did or do, back East. This doesn't mean that Negroes aren't discriminated against. They are, and they fight against it, and they are winning fights, and so forth. But it isn't Negroes whom Californians care about the way we Easterners do. It's Mexicans who excite Californians.

Horace nodded. He said he'd noticed that Negroes can go into almost any public place in San Francisco—restaurants, hotels, dancing halls—and no one pays them any mind.

"Because it's Mexicans they are interested in," I said. "It's like an obsession. They may treat other people as badly as Mexicans—Okie migrant workers, very poor Negroes and so on—but the others don't seem to concern them.

It's something like the way it used to be in 1930, except that Southern whites, and to a lesser extent Northerners, knew that Negroes were human, and American, and they even said they 'understood' them. But out here, they don't really know Mexicans because the Mexicans won't let them, or didn't until recently. The Mexicans would try to keep out of the way of Anglos (white Americans).

"They call us Anglos, meaning that we come from the English-speaking tradition. Our color is relatively unimportant. Negroes in this sense are Anglos, too. Italians, as they, are not Anglos, even though white in color, because they don't come from the English-speaking tradition. In a way it makes sense, but it isn't what Americans expect. So the Mexicans keep themselves permanent foreigners, and stay out of American life, where Negroes have always pitched in and are Americans, among the oldest in fact."

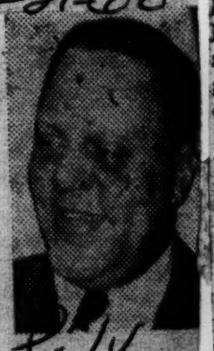
This is my conclusion, after several years in California. In the long view, the problem of the Negro is well on toward solution, by Negroes' efforts, because Negroes are Americans and know what to do. The Mexicans have a much longer way to go and their fight will be aided by Negro leadership.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a August

THE CAUSE of the Negro is the only moral issue that is really stimulating the youth of America. And I don't mean just the Negro college students of the South. Young people throughout the country, Negro and white, have found in the cause of the Negro a cause which has meaning for them and to which they can devote their idealism and energy.



Mr. Cayton

You can read in the papers throughout the country of the number of college groups which have taken action of one kind or another to assist Negroes. The picket lines in front of the ten-cent stores of Western cities have more young white pickets than Negro.

■

ONE EVENING last week I was invited to a meeting of young graduate students of the University of California to try to form an organization to raise money to send to Negroes of South Africa. One of the first problems that came up in the discussion was that there was also another committee on the campus that was raising money to send to Negro students who were benig sent to jail in our own country for refusing to accept racial prejudice. Some thought that everyone should concentrate on that issue. But later the group decided that both struggles were the same—both had the objective of breaking the idea of white supremacy and working for a democracy that would include all.

These young students were serious and intelligent. They talked in terms of world politics. But there was really little discussion about the problem as such. What they spoke of for the most part were such practical things as how to raise money and how to get it into South Africa. These were not impractical and sentimental liberals, but earnest students who were seriously facing a world problem with courage and determination and intelligence.

Of course this is just one group; there are doubtless thousands of them throughout the country. In this fact lies a powerful lesson for both Negroes and whites. Negroes should know that they have many allies throughout the world; persons who are beginning to engage in an active fight for democratic principles. Whites on the other hand are learning that their final existence in a predominantly non-white world depends upon making democracy work.

I don't want to sound too hopeful about the outcome. The color prejudices of the world are deep and the time before a show-down on the world color question is short. However, it is a pleasure to meet with and work with this earnest group of young white students.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a August

NEGROES in the United States can learn a lesson from the American Jews. There are a lot of differences between these two minority groups and it is foolish to say that the race the same problems. But in the immediate situation their problems are similar and Negroes would do wise to follow some of the tactics of the Jewish group.

Mr. Cayton

Jews know that an attack on any Jew any place in the world is a threat to Jews everywhere. Negroes should know that when black people are mistreated anywhere it endangers the ability of Negroes everywhere to be accepted as full citizens. Every Jew that I have met, whether he wants to go there or not, is concerned with the fate of Israel. Similarly Negroes are intensely interested in what goes on in Africa.

■

BUT THERE has been one large difference in the behavior of the two groups. The Jewish groups of America have brought great political and economic pressure, both on our own government and on other countries to protect persecuted Jews. In many fundamental ways they have altered or influenced the policies and behavior of our State Department and Chief Eexecutive. Even Presidential elections have been influenced by the Jewish vote in the East, especially New York, over the treatment of Israel. It is about time that American Negroes begin to use their political influence and economic strength in this same fashion.

The case that immediately comes to mind is that of South Africa. Here the American Negro stands on firm ground. The United States in the Security Council of the United Nations voted what is in effect a condemnation of South Africa's treatment of its Negro population. Now this should be followed up by the Negro voters and buyers exercising all of the pressure they can on the State Department and the executive branch of our Government to invoke economic sanctions on South Africa: to hit that outlaw nation where it hurts most—in the pocketbook.

■

AND THE tools are right at hand. We are facing a Presidential election. The Negro vote is important; in some ways crucial. Our organizations should immediately poll every Presidential aspirant to find his attitude toward South Africa. Each one of them would be in favor of economic should be asked whether they would be in favor of economic sanctions against a country that aims to keep the majority of its population under slavery just because they are black. And it should further be pointed out to these candidates that this country has condemned South Africa in the United Nations. Any candidate who can't come clean on this issue does not deserve our support.

It worked with the Jews and it will work with us. We do not have the money that Jewish people have, but we have something that is more important. We have numbers.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

PERHAPS Princess Margaret made a mistake in her marriage. Perhaps, just perhaps, now is the time for the English royalty to ally themselves with the non-white people of the world in a formal way.

Perhaps Margaret should have married a Negro or at least an Oriental. And she would be the one to do it to her sister, the Queen as I recall she was chided for being seen kissing some Negro artist.

Mr. Cayton

But this is not all just speculation and talk. Let's take it step by step. The English have ruled the world, but they know that that day is over and realize that the present poker game is between Russia and the United States.

But even to hold a minor hand in the game England needs the Commonwealth of British nations. Without the Commonwealth England will soon, very soon, be known chiefly as a school for skilled diplomats, Shakespeare and the brewing of tea.

Make no mistake about it: England has to have the Commonwealth to avoid becoming another Switzerland.

BUT THERE is trouble in the Commonwealth. With what is called enlightened self interest, England decided to liquidate her empire which was constituted for the most part of non-white peoples.

And she was anxious to keep these dark nations as members of the Commonwealth: Ghana, Ceylon, India and all of the rest. So the Commonwealth changed its complexion from a bright and rosy red to some sort of a cross between Caucasion white, Oriental yellow and brown and Negro black.

England decided that that was the way that the world was moving, and as she could no longer move the world, she had better go along with it. In spite of some minor skirmishes which may arise here and there in Africa (excluding South Africa which is another problem), England is committed to the freeing of dependent non-white people.

And these non-white nations are rapidly beginning to dominate the Commonwealth.

THE COURIER last week carried a story by Cecil Gregory from London which was headlined "Bias Could Destroy Commonwealth."

The story concerned itself with the recent sessions of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers when they battled South Africa over the apartheid policy.

According to Gregory, the "white" members of the Commonwealth beat down an attempt to get the Ministers to discuss South Africa's racial policies on an official basis.

These nations were: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, England and Rhodesia and Nyasaland (the latter two countries have a strong resemblance to Georgia and Mississippi). But the dark countries didn't like it a bit.

Ghana, India, Malaya, Nigeria and the rest of the colored people were outmaneuvered this time, but next time they won't be—and besides they will have the votes.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

IN THE nightmare-like world in which we live, the riots in the Congo are just an incident. But they are indicative of the crumbling of the old Western European-American position of world dominance. Other indications that America and her allies are losing ground are to be seen throughout the world. Khrushchev openly boasts that "so far, Washington has never experienced such a humiliation" as it did when Japan shut the door in the face of our President.

Mr. Cayton

Castro has confiscated American oil refineries and is waging economic war on the United States, with the aid of Russia.

Kwame Nkrumah, who was released from jail just nine years ago, declared Ghana an independent state, making him, rather than Queen Elizabeth, titular head of state. Moscow is making an open bid for African support, and Communist China has been working hard to establish itself as a friend of the newly independent nations of Africa.

For better or for worse, in this troubled world, Africa is gaining freedom from white domination even faster than anyone thought possible. With the rest of the world falling apart at the seams, it is possible for the Africans to take their freedom.

■

FEW PEOPLE in the United States have enough information about the Congo to analyze the present situation accurately. Certainly the Belgians are now paying for their past sins. Their initial cruel treatment and exploitation of the people of the Congo were replaced in recent years by a system of paternalism. Thus, when the wave of freedom swept the country, there was no trained ruling group to govern the country. It is not surprising that independence has brought confusion and bloodshed. The Congo is in for long and bitter internal conflict, and there is little that the outside world can do to prevent it. In the meantime, the prestige and power of the outside white world have been destroyed in Africa. The ramifications of the uprising in the Congo will be felt throughout the entire continent.

■

THERE IS EVERY indication now that the smooth transition of the African continent from a colonial state to free independent nations is something that will not come about. America, the United Kingdom, China and Russia are all making a bid for the friendship of the newly freed African states. None of these powers will be in a position to subjugate these new countries in the old colonial fashion. But that does not mean the throwing off of white domination will bring peace on the continent after they are gone. Africa, like the rest of the world, will be brought into the struggle between communism and capitalism.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE FIRST WAVE OF national independence which so rapidly swept over West Africa is now meeting former resistance on the east coast of the black continent. In the fertile and congenial parts of Africa, where Europeans have established colonies and built cities, there is resistance to the creation of free and independent African states. In these areas a minority of white settlers, economically dominant but numerically outnumbered, are determined to maintain the old-style colonialism which kept them in a comfortable position on the backs of millions of Africans. That these white overlords will be overthrown is inevitable: time demands it, history commands it. But the process of change will be sharp and bitter. Such a struggle is now going on in Kenya.

Mr. Cayton

■

THE WHITE settlers of Kenya (65,000 as compared with 6,000,000 Africans) know that change is inevitable; that they must catch up with history, that nationalism, like a living flame, is consuming all of the African continent. They realize that Kenya will soon be entirely surrounded by African-controlled states. Sudan and Ethiopia to the north are already independent; Somalia to the east, Tanganyika to the south, and Uganda in the west come under African control this year or next. There is other handwriting on the wall for white Kenyans to read; it spells out what is in store for those who do not meet the dictates of history. The news from Algeria was a warning of what it might be like in their own country if conditions worsened, or if black men were not given the rights other black men had in adjoining states. More to home, they had bitter memories of the Mau Mau movement which demonstrated the danger to them of both black power and black anger.

■

AROUND THE table under the glittering chandelier of London's Lancaster House, 48 Asians, Arabs, Europeans and Africans, in silk turbans, kaffiyehs, business suits and African dress, met as the Kenya Constitutional Conference with Colonial Secretary Ian Macleod to try and prevent disaster in Kenya. Their problem was to draft a constitution that will give the individual European and Asia in Kenya at least the same rights as a Negro has in Indiana.

Thus history moves full sweep and an American Negro is now laboring to protect the rights of a white minority in deepest Africa.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

KENYA lives with a deep tinge of fear. The farther up the east side of Africa you travel, the louder are the African voices. In Kenya, scene of the bloody Mau Mau uprising, the color bar is crumbling but not fast enough to satisfy the anxious and impatient Africans. Everyone agrees that the Africans in Kenya need more of such basic necessities as housing and education. Mboya thinks independence should come first. In this belief he is supported by the majority of Africans.

Mr. Cayton

■

THE BRITISH Colonial Office sees the necessity of bringing about a change in Kenya. They are seeking to gradually transform Kenya from the status of a colony to a self-governing and independent state. But the form that state should take is the crux of the present difficulty. Recently two men flew to London to debate this question: Tom Mboya, 30-year-old Kenya trade unionist who demands political democracy for all races and independence this year, and Group Capt. Llewellyn R. Briggs, head of the United Party, which insists on preserving Kenya's status as a British colony. What is at stake is the form of the state: shall it be a regular democracy with one vote for each person or a multi-racial state which arbitrarily keeps the small group of white settlers in power.

■

THE QUESTION boils itself down to simple arithmetic. There are 6,170,000 Africans in Kenya; 170,000 Asians, 66,000 Europeans and 37,000 Arabs. Still the Europeans with their 66,000, want to continue to dominate and rule the area. Mboya wishes to establish the same voting qualifications for all voters, regardless of race, and provide that they vote for the same selection of candidates on a one-man, one-vote basis. This would result in a substantial African majority on any legislative body. The European status-quo parties energetically oppose this. They have compromised their former position to the extent of promising African representation. But they still want to dominate the new state and will refuse to live under the rule of the majority.

Stated Group Captain Briggs when asked what will happen if no agreement was reached: "I hope there will be agreement and everyone will accept our ideas."

■

WHEN ASKED what failure of the conference would mean, said Mboya: "If we don't get what we want, we will embark on positive action.

Did this mean violence, he was asked: "The African leadership is committed to a non-violent program. But some of our people might revert to violence in desperation."

In East Africa, which vividly remembers the Mau Mau, it is on both sides deeply tinged with fear.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

KENYA NOW is the center of attention of the turbulent African scene. The freedom movement of the African people came with relative ease to the West Coast of the continent. But on the East coast where Kenya is located the entrenched white European colonists have a foothold in fertile land which they are loath to give up. They are reluctant to leave this fertile land where they have made fortunes, but these 65,000 whites do not want to be ruled by the over 6,000,000 Africans under any form of democracy. That is the bone of contention in Kenya; this is why Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod is meeting with European, Asian, Arab and African delegates from the territory in London.

Mr. Cayton

IF THERE is any doubt of the final outcome of the conference it can be dispelled now. Eventually, perhaps too soon to suit the white Europeans and perhaps too late to suit the impatient Africans, freedom and a democratic structure must come to that Mau Mau land. To the conference Macmillan stated: "As time goes on, Africans, and I use the term in the commonly accepted sense (i.e. black people) will be in the majority position, and their voice will be the predominant voice." England, either through a belated idealism or because she has seen the writing on the wall, has decided to put down the black man's burden and adopt democracy as a guiding principle. This means that eventually the African majority will rule the land; even the most extremist of the Europeans knows that the 6,000,000 Kenya Africans are treated as inferiors in their own land by 65,000 whites.

What is the gestation period for freedom? Tom Mboya, the brilliant, young African leader thinks not long and that freedom should come to Kenya's African people now.

AND THE daily rhythm of life brings constantly to the mind of the African the injustices under which he suffers. They point out that there are no poor white people in Kenya. Is it right, they ask, that all whites should be rich and all blacks poor? They are tired of the pushing around which they received during the seven-year state of emergency that was imposed to control them with Mau Mau movement. There is serious over-crowding in the northern and central provinces, where over-population has complicated even trial life. Poverty exists in areas where farming is primitive, the soil growing sterile, and land fragmented by traditional practices of holding down parcels to succeeding generations. Contrasted with this land situation for black men, is the wealth and productivity of the 12,000 square miles of the White Highlands. This fertile and temperate land is reserved for white settlers. Africans see the Highlands as a great plum just out of reach, a symbol of their enforced and artificial inferiority. The Kenya Africans have an affinity for the land, and this affinity is frustrated by white reserves.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

THE LIFE of the white Europeans in Africa is not an easy one. In Algeria, in Kenya and in South Africa they feel betrayed by the mother country; are bewildered and bitter and ponder their future without much hope. Their frustration and anger are augmented by their feeling that the homeland of white people has abandoned them, other white people, to the dictates of the hated blacks. In Kenya and South Africa it is being made clear that England will eventually support the idea of black rule for Africa; in Algeria President de Gaulle of France has gone beyond the point of stating principles and has taken irreversible actions.

Mr. Cayton

The Europeans of North Africa have seen the inconceivable happen; their symbols, which they thought sacrosanct, have been sullied. That the overwhelming African population of Algeria will get their political freedom is now just a matter of time. For the actions of de Gaulle, actions taken in desperation to save France, have stunned the whites and given hope and assurance to the North African natives.

ONE OF THE MOST decisive steps taken by the French President in putting down the abortive extremist insurrection in Algeria was the arrest of Alain de Serigny, publisher of L'Echo d'Algier, Algeria's largest newspaper and long a spokesman of the conservative cause. He has disappeared behind prison walls. No European would have dreamed that a government would dare to touch him, no matter how openly he agitated against it. Serigny was the voice of reaction; the mouthpiece for the rule of the white minority.

Thus the average European has watched his world, or what he had considered his world, crumble before his eyes. Most of them have come to the conclusion that their cause of "French Algeria" is lost. Most of these Europeans have only just now realized that the overwhelming majority of Frenchmen at home are tired of dying for the false hope of keeping North Africa an enslaved state.

BUT NOT ALL Frenchmen in Algeria have given up the cause. There are the activists—those who took part in the insurrection. Their morale has not been broken, most observers agree. Their motto now is "We have lost a battle. We shall try again and do better."

But many of the mass of people are afraid, confused and, perhaps, resigned. They are afraid of the police measures which they consider arbitrary; confused as to the future which, beyond a few days, is unforeseeable. Perhaps the mass will forget their present hatred of General de Gaulle and their fear of Arab rule and rally to the policy of self-determination, once they are convinced that the extremists are held in check. But in this tense situation the slogan of "the sell-out of Algeria" by extremists may still be a powerful rallying call. Anything can still happen in Algeria.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

PRIME MINISTER Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana is a big man with a big idea, but a small country. His idea: the organization of the new states of West Africa; his hope, a Union of African States which would embrace the entire continent. Ghana with its population of 4,900,000, makes him feel hemmed in. He fears, and rightly so, the "Balkanizing" of Africa, i.e. the breaking up of the continent into little, independent and perhaps warring states. So strong is his belief that the continent should be organized into some sort of a political unit, and that he is the man destined to create such an organization, that his neighbors fear that Nkrumah, himself, would not mind doing a little colonizing of his own. Undaunted, Nkrumah has even written his Pan-African hopes into a new constitution that would give him power to dissolve his Parliament and veto its acts.

Mr. Cayton

IN THE DRAFT constitution which was published recently, it was stated: "In the confident expectation of an early surrender of sovereignty to a union of African states and territories the people now confer on Parliament the power to provide for the surrender of the whole or any part of the sovereignty of Ghana."

In the hope that some of his neighboring African states would see his light, Ghana's leader has made gestures toward the possible expansion of his state. He has reminded certain tribes to the north in the Upper Volta Republic that they have a common heritage with his country. To the east, he has used the sprawling Ewe tribe as a basis for suggesting that parts of Togoland, which is soon to become independent, be taken over as a seventh province. On the west where Ivory Coast's Premier Felix Houphouet-Boigny is having trouble with dissident Sanwi tribesmen, Nkrumah stated he is "studying the possibilities of regrouping" the Sanwi people on that frontier.

BUT ALTHOUGH Nkrumah was the first great African leader, many others have sprung up and do not take kindly to his leadership or the possible expansion of Ghana's borders. Nigeria, now coming to independence with its 35 million, overshadows Ghana and its Prime Minister, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafewa Balewa, has referred to Nkrumah with contempt. "I do not know why you attach any importance whatsoever to what Mr. Nkrumah says," he told British reporters. Togoland's Sylvanus Olympio bluntly stated, "The man must be crazy. Does he really think he can absorb us with his puny bunch of tin soldiers and those two minesweepers he calls a navy?"

But as the political leader that will possibly weld the dark continent together, if that can

Black men, of course, can be as guilty of racism as white. But the term should not be used lightly. When Powell appeals to those who are wounded even as he is wounded, he offers succor for their suffering, not incitement to exploit others.

World At Large

By Horace Cayton

Sat. 4-9-60

THE FREEDOM movement in Africa is changing the power structure of the world. In the United Nations a new voice is being heard in international diplomacy. A bloc of nine African nations—consisting of Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic (Egypt)—constitute the most purposeful and lively bloc now operating within the world organization. It has already changed the General Assembly's lineup.

Mr. Cayton

When the United Nations was formed, there were only three African nations who had membership. Now the bloc of nine, small as blocs go, is making itself felt. But that is not all: Africa is the only continent from which new UN member states are likely to be created. As more African states gain their liberation, the power and influence of the African bloc will grow and make its weight felt in the United Nations and in all international diplomacy. And that influence will be felt on every question from the control of the H-bomb to the regulation of the narcotics industry.

■

EVEN WITHIN the present year there will be additions to the African group. Cameroon, Togoland, Nigeria and Somalia will bring the total African vote in the UN to 13. Then the independence conceded by de Gaulle to the Mali Federation and the Malagasy Republic will lead to a parade of states of the French community into the African battalion at the UN. The bloc might muster 30 votes by 1962.

On most questions concerning colonialism, the Africans votew ith the Asians. When that happens, there will be a bloc of 28 nations which will constitute the largest single pressure group within the UN. Together, the Afro-Asians, if united, could muster a veto power in the Assembly, where two-third of the 82 vote total is required for major decisions. If the Soviet bloc of nine votes lines up with them and the Latin Americans with their 20 votes; they could dominate the more than two-thirds majority.

■

THUS THE United Nations is beginning to reflect the fact that two-thirds or more of the people of the earth are non-white. In the past the one-third white have controlled the latter group of non-whites. But now the numerical tables are turning. What must happen in the future is that the white European and American nations will have to give up their superiority based on skin color and try to sell the idea of democracy on a world-wide basis, or they will be outvoted by the dark races, perhaps led by Africa.

The problem of independence for Africa, except for a couple of spots, has been decided. The question that remains and is now being worked out is what role Africa will play in global politics.

Evelyn Cunningham

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh Pa
Sept 9-3-60

BEING COLORED, I am overcome every now and then by a great bitterness. I try real hard not to, but I just get blindly angry sometimes.

Cunningham

Last week was one of those bad times for me. I had attacks of anti-whitelsm and I got to thinking that some white people would actually prefer that this country become completely overwhelmed and dominated by Russia than to release the rights that are supposed to belong to Negroes.

It all happened on the same day. And my bitterness stemmed from a couple of stories I read in the papers. A New York morning paper had a big, nasty story about some Congolese delegates to the UN whom the paper said were "living it up" in New York in plush hotel suites.

■

THE ARTICLE took a very dim view of the fact that the Congolese were drinking champagne and eating pate de foie gras and canapes.

Then they printed the room service checks, showing what the delegates had eaten and how much each item cost. The paper hinted that the Soviet Union was picking up the tab.

Trying to be clever and funny, the writers of the story gave the impression that Africans weren't supposed to know anything about good living, that the Congolese yen for champagne was a very big deal. It was almost as if the reporters expected to find the Africans boiling a white man in a big pot for dinner.

It didn't seem to matter that the Congolese are French-speaking people and that their tastes and culture are more French than anything else, or that champagne is to them what beer is to us.

■

MAD, MAD, MAD, I managed to contain myself for a few hours that day. Then I read the afternoon papers. There was a piece about the State of Alabama getting to ready to spend $100,000,000 for separate but equal school construction and vowing that if one Negro child is ordered by the Federal courts to be admitted to a white school, then all schools will be closed.

It's like a big bet. If the state loses on this gamble, it will have on hand millions of dollars in un-stable school property and will be saddled with the long-term responsibility of paying off the $100,000,000 bonded indebtedness.

As I said, being colored, I can get very bitter. I wondered why the heck I was supposed to hate Castro and Khrushchev when my fellow Americans were giving me such a rough going-over. Imagine, risking $100,000,000 to keep some little colored child from skipping rope with some little white child!

How stupid can they be? And imagine a newspaper making a lead story about a group of Africans drinking champagne and eating canapes.

Aw, nuts! Maybe next week will be better.

Evelyn Cunningham

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a news
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 5-21-60

WHENEVER I hear of a Negro being represented by a white attorney, or being treated by a white physician, it depresses me.

Cunningham

I'm no nationalist. No one has yet sold me on the "buy black" movement. And I'm not the least bit interested in planting new roots in Africa. But it's hard for me to understand why so many Negroes lack confidence in their own lawyers and doctors.

Obviously, when they flock elsewhere for professional help, it is because they doubt the ability of their own to do the job. This is a very sad and deplorable state of affairs. It is also very embarrassing in the face of our present widespread fight for freedom, based on the theory that we're the same as anyone else.

■

IT IS IRONIC to contemplate the typical examples of this kind of inconsistence. Take, for instance, a Negro seeking a job as a chemist in a big industrial plant. Let's say that he is highly qualified, with both the proper academic background and experience. They turn him down, saying that he is "over-qualified," or just plain, "we don't hire Negroes here."

The man is justifiably bitter, angry at the world and particularly at the whites of the world. He knows he could have gotten the job and probably would have been up-graded quickly—if he hadn't been colored.

These are the times when he re-news his dedication (and his membership) to the NAACP, when he vows to make the world of his children a place where everybody can get an equal crack at the good things in life, when he feels a close kinship to all black peoples of the world.

And these are also the times when he is just as likely to run to a white dentist when an aching tooth bothers him.

HE MIGHT SAY, "Well, I've been going to him for years," but if he really levelled he would admit that he felt the white dentist (or physician or lawyer) was more competent, purely on the basis of his color. He might cite the wider experience he thought the white professional had, completely forgetting or discounting the equal experience of Negroes, plus the odds against them.

Negroes in court—accompanied by their white lawyers—have been known to say, "I would have gotten a colored lawyer, but this fellow knows the ropes around here, and he also knows the judges." And he by-passes a capable colored lawyer who only knows the law.

There are some people who limit their visits to Negro doctors to the times they need blood tests or taps on the chest. But when they need surgery, the ole confidence in their "family doctor" is gone with the wind. They apparently don't believe what they've read about the many brilliant Negro physicians who are making their marks in every area of medicine.

■

And of course, there are always those who are influenced by a well-appointed office. They figure a guy with the latest and most posh furnishings can pull all kinds of professional miracles.

Evelyn Cunningham

Pittsburgh Courier 31a news
Pittsburgh, Pa.

"HIS LEGS LOOK GOOD!" . . . Some man sitting near me said it about Floyd Patterson. We were lounging around in the former night club that now serves as the training site for the nice young guy who wants to regain his heavyweight title. The place is located in the hills of a town called Newton, Conn.

So when the fellow made the remark about Patterson's legs, all I could do was agree. Because I had already given a long, scientific and critical look to the fighter's legs and I had decided that they were crazy!

Sat. 6/18/60

Cunningham

JOE LOUIS, an aide de camp, tried to explain to me what it means when someone says a boxer's legs look good. It's got something to do with speed, stamina and agility. But I still couldn't tell by looking at Patterson's legs what his speed, stamina and agility were. All I saw was a pair of strong, well-developed legs. And to me, that's good!

"He's sharp!"

Somebody else had that to say about the fighter. Yes, I said to myself, he is cute. He's got rather even features and the most adorable little pout. Even when he smiles, he still wears the pout. Cute.

"His whole attitude is different!"

■

THIS WAS ANOTHER remark I heard. I had no way of knowing the difference between his other attitude and his new attitude.

But what I saw I liked. There were brief moments when attention was drawn away from the fighter, like when they were setting up punching bags or putting some kind of stuff on the floor of the ring. That's when I watched him instead of the other activity. During these short periods he seemed drawn to a small window that overlooked the Connecticut hills. He would just stand there and stare.

My intuition—in the face of the fact that I know absolutely nothing about prize fighting—told me that whatever was going on in Floyd Patterson's mind during those lulls would determine what will happen the night of June 20 in New York's Polo Grounds. And I liked what I thought was going on in his mind.

■

AND SO, I will now take the liberty of making a prediction. All the sports writers and boxing experts make theirs every time there's a big fight. They are as often wrong as they are right.

They write a lot of words about who's going to win and why and they use a whole lot of boxy, technical terms about the combatants. They pull ranks and try to put the fear of God in anyone who disagrees with them. But they don't scare me.

I pick Patterson to win because he's got pretty legs . . . he's cute and he thinks he's going to win.

Evelyn Cunningham

Pittsburgh Courier

NEGRO "FIRSTS" are getting to be a problem. Just about every day some Negro is the "first" to get a particular job, the "first" to be absorbed into new housing development, the "first" to enter an exclusive school. These "firsts" are always announced with great awe and pride. They are also very often accompanied by embarrassment. After all, when you read that a Negro has finally copped a terrific job as a traffic-sign painter, how thrilled can you get that it took him so long to become the first traffic-sign painter? And then what's the big deal anyway?

Cunningham

As Thurgood Marshall says, "When a Negro gets a long-overdue break, there's no point in thanking the white people who made it possible. Just tell them they should have done it a long time ago."

■

ANOTHER THING ABOUT THESE "firsts" is that every now and then somebody turns up with a challenge. Some literate citizen comes out of left field with data proving that a Negro did the same thing during the Reconstruction Period that another Negro is claiming as a "first" in 1960. This, too, is rather embarrassing.

Of course, the whole big question of passing for white raises all kinds of other complications. But later for that.

Meanwhile, there's a really serious aspect of this pioneering business. It so happens that there are a number of Negroes who break the racial barriers, get an important job and then sit back and live in deadly fear that another Negro will move in on their domain. They are in love with the idea of being a one-and-only, and they don't want to see another Negro on the premises. They want a monopoly on the deference that is usually paid them. And sometimes they can't face the competition that another Negro might offer. Needless to say, too many of the "firsts" would drop dead before they would lift a finger to encourage their employers to hire more non-whites.

UNHAPPILY, SIMILAR SITUATIONS exist in the pursuit of good housing and schools. Call it insecurity, shame of race or whatever you want, the fact remains that a woeful number of Negroes turn their backs and run from the others when they have made their own personal marks.

In the streets it is a common complaint that race leaders are for too removed from the people. This is an over-worked criticism that is subject to debate. The man-in-the-street keeps hollering about this but he never has any suggestions as to how he and the leader can get together and what they can talk about. However he does have a valid argument about his leaders when he sees so many of them with stranglehold on their jobs and with no prospect of any other Negro claiming the jobs.

It's rather sad.

Evelyn Cunningham

The Pittsburgh Courier

THERE'RE a Jewish girl and I who always get into a noisy argument about whether her people or my people have the harder way to go. She's one of those people who are fervently and violently on my side. But she's impatient and she can't understand what makes us go so slow when her people had a rougher row to hoe but got things done lots faster.

She always tells me how her people suffered under the Nazis and how there's no place in Dixieland as bad as war time Germany. And of course I tell her that she's got to paint her face black and march through Georgia before she can truly dig my situation.

■

SHE TELLS ME how well she knows my people. And I tell her how well I know her people. Then she screams, "But you don't!" And I scream back, "But you don't!" We never get anything settled or accomplished, but we each keep looking for new arguments to bring to the next encounter.

Cunningham

The other day I ran into my friend and she was strangely calm and smug. It didn't last long because she's not the type to remain calm long over anything. Finally she asked me, with one of those very satisfied-looking expressions: "Why don't your big stars and entertainers ever develop new, unknown talent? Why don't any of them have proteges that they can bring along and help up the ladder. Why?"

Well, she caught me completely off guard. So while I was gathering myself to register extreme indignation, she needled: "Eddie Cantor made Eddie Fisher. George Burns made Bobby Darin . . ." and she reeled off a half dozen others. "What's with Belafonte, Cole, Davis, Fitzgerald, Vaughan, Bailey, Washington and all those others? Are they really helping some little talented Negro entertainer to get a foothold in show biz?"

■

I WISHED LIKE ALL GET-OUT that I could have run down a long list of stars and proteges so I could start screaming like old times. But she had me. I'm not saying that the stars don't help other talent. I'm just not aware of it and I'd surely like to know.

But rather than back down, I raised my voice and asked my friend scornfully how in the heck could a big star fight for a place in the sun for another talent when he had to use all his time and energies fighting the race problem for himself. "You just don't know what it's like," I added lamely.

But frankly, I'm worried. I'm really worried.

Is my Jewish friend right?

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

"IF YOU GIVE A PERSON the right to vote he will protect his own rights." Thus spoke Senator Lyndon Johnson in the "Great Debate" in Los Angeles with his then opponent, now running-mate, John Kennedy.

Dunnigan

This theory is pretty wide-spread around the nation. That is perhaps why every effort is being made in certain Tennessee counties to prevent Negroes from voting. Tennessee is normally a segregated state and certain elements of its citizens want to keep it that way.

In spite of the trend toward progressive integration a few die-hards are clinging on to the promises being made by "Tip" Taylor that if he is elected to the Senate of the United States he will foster white supremacy and keep the Negro in his place. That accounts for the heated Senatorial fight in Tennessee.

The "hill-billies" of this "Volunteer State" consider Estes Kefauver a great liberal, thus a traitor of the South.

Therefore, they're out to get him. But they are well aware of the fact that he will be swept into office without too much difficulty if the Negro has free access of the ballot. So the best way to block him is to prohibit the Negro from registering and voting.

THAT BRINGS US UP to the Situation in Fayette County where some 400 families have been penalized through denial of goods and services because they exercised their citizenship right to register for voting.

The economic squeeze directed by the white leadership of that county against Negroes appears to have a three-fold purpose:

(1) It prevents Negroes from using farm equipment by making it impossible for them to purchase gasoline and oil.

(2) It aims to keep Negroes from getting bank credit for crop loans.

(3) It aims to starve Negroes out by making it impossible for them to buy ordinary food and household necessities in local stores.

These sanctions superimposed on a Negro farm community, most of whom were already living on a marginal basis, are steadily leading to serious privations. Two leaders who have been hard hit by this "squeeze" are John McFerren and Allen Yancey.

McFerren, a relatively well-to-do Negro farmer, gasoline distributor and grocer, had his gasoline storage tanks removed by the local Gulf dealer. When he replaced the tanks at his own expense, supplies were refused him. Other Negroes who own storage tanks for their own use found the same situation.

When McFerren arranged to have gasoline trucked in by a Memphis concern, the truck was turned back by Deputy Sheriff Ted Davis of Somerville, according to reports from that area.

One, Rhuhe Rhea, the Gulf Oil distributor for the area, has been charged with being the prime mover in these aspects of the squeeze.

THE NAACP MOVED into the picture and sent wires to Gulf Oil, Standard Oil of New Jersey, American Oil and Texaco asking these national companies to put an end to their local agents' refusal to sell gasoline and oil to Negro farmers of Fayette County.

The answers from these national companies, most clearly identified with the local distributors in the Tennessee area, were most unsatisfactory, according to an NAACP spokesman. These "big boys up North" claimed that the local distributors are independent contractors over whom no central control is possible.

Yancey, a school teacher, was dismissed from his job because he actively urged Negroes to vote.

The Washington bureau of NAACP has received nine affidavits signed by Negroes of Fayette County for transmission to the Justice Department. Each one sets forth in detail the economic reprisals that had been visited upon him. And in every case these reprisals followed his activity as a voter or as a stimulator of Negro voting since first of the year. These pressures include refusals of credit after long years of doing business on that basis; denials of bank loans which in previous years had been routinely made; refusals by all local gasoline distributors to supply gasoline, even for cash to Negro farmers; and refusals to sell the necessaries of life for cash across the counter. Liability insurance on automobiles, tractors and homes has been widely cancelled. And in some instances the local veternarian has refused to inoculate farm animals belonging to Negro farmers.

THE NATIONAL OFFICE of NAACP has made an appeal to its 1,300 branches to help these people. As a result truckloads of feed and clothing have been sent to the Memphis branch office and transported to Fayette County.

Roy Wilkins made an appeal to the American Red Cross to aid in bringing relief to these Negro families, but the Red Cross claimed that it was unable to give any help to this type of problem. A spokesman for the agency told Wilkins that they were a "quasi-public agency under special Federal charter," and specifically charged with responsibilities in the armed forces and in natural disasters.

The NAACP is still appealing to its members and friends to come to the aid of these Tennessee citizens and to withhold patronage from national firms whose local dealers are refusing to sell gas and oil to registered Negro voters. These companies are Texaco, Gulf, AMOCO, ESSO, Delta Gas, and the South Oil Refining companies.

Mr. McFerren has been invited to New York by L. Joseph Overton, president of the New York branch NAACP, where he will tell his story in an "open-air" mass meeting in Harlem Friday night at 125th St. and Lenox Ave.

The economic squeeze was put into effect shortly after four Fayette County election officials resigned in mid-March in protest against FBI investigations of complaints that Negroes in the county were denied the right to vote.

The investigation was inspired by a report that Fayette County has a total population of 30,000 of whom 21,000 are colored. There are 3,000 whites (virtually every white adult) registered, as contrasted with an estimate of 450 Negroes. There hadn't been a single Negro registered in Haywood Counties since Reconstruction until last May when eight were finally registered as a result of all the publicity.

Washington INSIDE OUT

31 ★

By Alice A. Dunnigan

The Pittsburgh Courier

One picture is worth a thousand words, so they say. But someone commented that the published picture of Daisy Bates joyfully greeting Arkansas' Governor Faubus is worth 10,000 words to foes of integration. Segregationists will no doubt use this posed picture to show that "all is well in Little Rock" and that Daisy and Orval have at last "buried the hatchet."

Miss Dunnigan

It is unfortunate that this picture would be published on the front page of some of our national newspapers on the very day after Congressman Diggs had reported to the nation the harassments which Negro children are having to endure in Little Rock high schools.

Diggs had called upon President Eisenhower to visit the South on a "good-will" mission and use the influence of his good office to bring peace out of chaos. He had also appealed to members of the Little Rock Board of Education to look into this situation and use whatever means possible to remedy it.

■

THEN CAME THE picture which "ice-watered" the flaming report made by Diggs. The Michigan Representative had just returned from a visit to that area to get first-hand information on the Little Rock situation.

Diggs had told reporters that the Bateses were living in what resembled an American fortress. Their house is constantly spotlighted. And they are under vigilance of an armed guard 24 hours a day. The beautiful picture window which graces the front of their neat domicile is marred with unsightly metal lattice-work bars.

The Bates family has been forced out of business because the advertisers have withdrawn accounts from their newspaper. They have been forced to dispose of some of their printing equipment to meet necessary obligations. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. Bates can get employment anywhere in Little Rock, said Diggs, and he doubted if they could find work anywhere in the state.

Diggs called upon Negroes throughout America to come to the rescue of this brave and courageous family who have given their all in this fight for freedom for their people. "Dollars-for-Daisy" campaigns had been started in some cities, and Diggs expressed hope that the movement would expand throughout America.

He revealed plans for a nation-wide testimonial dinner to be given in the spring in honor of the Bateses and that the proceeds would be donated to them. A national publishing company has also assigned the crusaders for freedom to write a book called the "Daisy Bates Story." This is expected to bring in some revenue for the family.

■

MRS. VIVIAN CARTER MASON, public relations consultant from Norfolk, came up with the novel idea of asking big business concerns to allocate some of their job printing to the Bates family.

"Mr. Bates is a printer by trade," said Vivian. "Why can't some of our big churches supply him with some of their work?" She even suggested that maybe the National Baptist Publishing Board would sublet some of its job work to Mr. Bates. And what about fraternal organizations like the Elks? Or even the NAACP might share some of its printing work with these people.

It would mean so much to the Bateses if the mails were flooded with job printing which would give them dignified employment. "These people, whom the whites have tried so hard to crush, are proud individuals who prefer an opportunity to earn their livelihood rather than to accept donations and contributions."

■

ABOUT THE TIME that sympathy for the Bates family had reached its peak, the unfortunate picture made its appearance around the nation. This set tongues to wagging and raised questions, even among Daisy's best friends and ardent supporters.

These loyal friends are still behind her 100 per cent, but they can't help but wonder why she agreed to such a picture. It has been publicly announced that Moral Re-Armament has succeeded in persuading Mr. Bates to accept their ideology. Some think that this might have had some effect in "softening" up Daisy, that fighting crusader of Little Rock. It is generally known that MRA opposes any fight for civil rights or any other issue, and advocates humble apologies even from those who have been trampled upon.

Well, whatever Daisy's reason was for posing, smilingly with the Arkansas Governor, only she can tell.

■

BUT SPEAKING OF PICTURES, one of the best pictures of the year might have been that of a state trooper, assigned to guard the Christmas party in Farmville, Va., shaking hands and waving a cheerful good-by to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP.

This took place at the Armory in the city of Farmville, where some interested Washington and New York citizens joined with the Rev. Francis Griffin, head of the Christian Association in Prince Edward County, in bringing Yuletide cheer to the school-less Negro children in that county.

The trooper, who along with some uniformed city policemen and plain clothesmen assigned to guard, the party, was no doubt impressed with the sermonette delivered by the NAACP executive.

Wilkins, who flew down from New York to participate in the celebration, told the enthusiastic youngsters that they must read further than the Old Testament. You should look back at the prophecy of Isaiah, he said. While we are celebrating the birth of Christ, we should also remember that Isaiah said the burden of the government will rest upon the shoulders of little children.

He recognized the sacrifices these children were making in an effort to better conditions for those who will follow. But, said Wilkins: "We must not be bitter. We must have understanding." During this Christmas season, he emphasized the need for all to maintain the spirit of love for God and their fellowman.

And in this spirit may I express a sincere hope that all of my readers had a very merry Christmas. And may I wish for each of you prosperity, equal justice and fair play in the coming new year.

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

SOUTH CAROLINA'S Senator Olin Johnston calls it "political vote-baiting," but whatever it is, Capitol Hill is really buzzing with civil rights on every front.

Smooth maneuvering was manipulated by pro-civil rights-ers this year when they pulled an unexpected, and practically unannounced hearing in the Rules Committee on the appointment of Federal registrars where voters are denied the privilage of registering because of their race.

This is the first time during my 12 years of experience on "The Hill" that I can recall any civil rights bill making its way to the Senate Rules Committee instead of Jim Eastland's Judiciary Committee.

■

THIS WAS no doubt planned carefully. Smart Senators introduced bills dealing exclusively with the appointment of registrars.

This made it eligible for consideration in the Rules Committee which deals with election irregularities.

Heretofore, such bills have been tied up in a package with other civil rights proposals which necessarily piloted them to the Judiciary Committee where they could be kept bottled up indefinitely.

Miss Dunnigan

■

UNLIKE THE Southern-dominated Judiciary Committee, the Rules Committee is made up of more liberal elements of Senators. Senator Thomas Hennings of Missouri is chairman, and Senator Jordan of North Carolina is the only Southerners. Other Democratic members are Senators Hayden of Arizona, Green of Rhode Island, Mansfield of Montana and Cannon of Nevada.

The Republican members are Senators Curtis of Nebraska, Morton of Kentucky and Keating of New York.

With this line-up, pro-civil rights Senators feel that it will not be too difficult to get the bill out of committee without prolonged hearings.

■

SOUTHERNERS, HOWEVER, are already cooking up schemes whereby the hearings could be prolonged.

Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina, for instance, has asked permission to testify and has made it known that many opponents of the measure desire to be heard.

While the opponents will be given "their day in court," the committee has already agreed to terminate hearings on Feb. 5, allowing time for the report to be printed before the debate begins on the Senate floor on the scheduled date of Feb. 15.

■

BY BEGINNING hearings early, proponents say they will be able to give Senate Leader Lyndon Johnson something to work on when the bill is called to the floor. No longer will Johnson be able to hide behind Eastland.

There has been a time when Lyndon was approached by liberals on moving out some civil rights legislation, he would readily reply, "I'm for it, but you know I can't do a thing with Jim." This time Jim (Eastland) is out of the picture.

By having reports of hearings ready to present to the Senate at the appropriate time, the liberals can knock down "Dick" Russell's usual argument that, "We don't know what it is all about, there've been no hearings on the issue."

■

GEORGE JOHNSON, a noted civil rights lawyer and the only Negro member of the Civil Rights Commission, has blocked all arguments on the constitutionality of this legislation by placing in the record documentary evidence of the constitutionality of this proposal.

"There is no question that Congress has the constitutional power to enact a Federal registrar plan into law," said Johnson. The former Howard University Law School dean assured Congress that the Civil Rights Commission "did not make that judgment lightly and without best professional consideration."

The staff of 20 lawyers studied this proposal and consulted with a number of constitutional law experts. Not one of which saw any constitutional objections to the plan.

■

JOHNSON'S STATEMENT came after President Eisenhower had indicated doubts about the constitutionality of this recommendation offered by his own commission.

Rumors have it that both Dean Johnson and Father Theodore Hesburgh threatened to resign their position as commissioners unless the Attorney General came out in support of such legislation.

The Attorney General has been invited to express his views before the Rules Committee. He had not accepted at press time.

■

SINCE SENATOR JORDAN, the Southern member on the Rules Committee, is not very vocal on racial matters he requested that his colleague, Senator Ervin be allowed to sit in on the opening date of the hearings.

Ervin, who is the South's mouthpiece on constitutional rights, came loaded with arguments aimed at staging a filibuster. But here again the committee pulled a smart move. They had Ervin to face Dean Robert Storey of Dallas, vice chairman of the Civil Rights Commission.

When Ervin began to yell "carpetbaggers" and "scallawags" at the mention of Federal registrars, Storey suietly asked if he could be considered either.

He is a Southerner by birth and residence, and his grandparents on both sides fought with the Confederate army, but he is wholeheartedly in favor of Federal registrars. He said he never realized, until the commission began their investigation, that such "theory of disregard" for Federal and state officials existed among local election officials.

■

ERVIN TOLD his Southern friend that his five years of experience in Washington has taught him that "any Caucasian who happens to live below the Mason-Dixon line has no constitutional rights which anybody should respect.

Storey calmly but sarcastically replied: "Then maybe we shouldn't protect the rights of minorities or those of us in majority would have no rights."

Ervin raised his eyebrows a time or two, shrugged his shoulders but found no words to reply.

■

THE NORTH CAROLINIAN held the committee in session long past its designated time by his filibustering questions of Commissioner Storey, former dean of Southern Methodist University Law School.

Committee members had quietly decided that if Ervin made a nuisance of himself he would not be permitted to sit in on the hearings any more.

Whether they considered this a nuisance is not exactly known. But it is known that he didn't sit in again!

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

The Pittsburgh Courier 3 Sec. A Page

★

THE ALPHAS stuck a bright feather in their cap when they broke the back of jim crow in the swimming pool at the Sheraton Park Hotel where they held their 54th annual convention.

Dunnigan

Refusal to allow 13-year-old Ramon S. Scruggs to take a "dip" in the "private membership" pool set fraternal machinery in operation which "ground-out" satisfactory results.

When the senior Ramon Scruggs of Detroit, along with Washington's Atty. Joseph Waddy, Maceo Smith of Dallas, and W. H. Thompson of Hampton carried their complaint to the hotel manager, George D. Johnson, they were informed that this pool is limited to members of a private swimming club which has it under lease.

The manager had to admit, in reply to Waddy's question, that the hotel has the privilege of issuing temporary swimming passes to hotel guests. This he agreed to do on Monday. It couldn't be done on Sunday, said Johnson, because the pool is usually filled to its 200 capacity on week-ends.

THIS PROPOSITION was unacceptable to the "unofficial" committee. The group then carried its gripes directly to the fraternity's general president, Judge Miles Paige. The president called a meeting of the executive council and an "official" delegation was appointed to talk with the hotel management on Sunday.

Officials of the hotel were informed that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the Alpha's "Man of the Year," planned to lead a picket line around the pool unless some satisfactory agreement was reached by 4 P. M., the hour set for the public meeting. In addition, a group of the "frat brothers" would stage a "wade in." Furthermore, the convention would be closed on Monday, three days before the scheduled closing date. And the Alphas would boycott all Sheraton hotels in the future in all cities where the convention might meet.

This "hand-in-the-pocket" technique caused the hotel management to get busy and issue passes to the guests before the designated "deadline-hour."

By the time the meeting closed the pool was fully integrated. Nobody resented the "diving-in" of the "brown beauties" and "bronze brawns." Nobody left the pool out of sheer protest. Nobody expressed any verbal, or showed any implied, objections. And everything worked out harmoniously.

THIS WAS A BIT DIFFERENT from the national bridge club which held its tournament at the same hotel just prior to the Alphas' meeting. It was learned from reliable sources that one of the bridge guests resented being refused to swim in the pool. When she complained to a bridge official, who happens to be a local man, she was advised to let it drop since she was not a resident of Washington and wouldn't be around to fight the protest to a finish.

Many people never know all of the behind-the-scene maneuvering which goes into a victorious fight. This column has information on good authority that some Republican "big-wigs" quietly manipulated this victory through some of the big boys in the executive circle of the hotel chain with headquarters located in Boston. It's amazing what a telephone call can do when it comes from the right people to the right people at the right time and in the right place.

SPEAKING OF REPUBLICANS, it was obvious that they were in the saddle at the Alpha convention. This was probably not planned by the fraternity itself, nor by the Grand Old Party. It rather came as a result of apathy on the part of the Democrats.

The 500 women who attended the Alpha's Wives' luncheon were bewitched by the grace and charm, the poise and personality of Pat Nixon. The sweet smiling, becomingly dressed prospective First Lady made a hit with the women when she assured them that "I want to shake the hand of everyone of you." Her only slip-up was the reference, at one point, to the women as "you people," a phrase which Negroes resent.

Unfortunately Lady Bird Johnson was too busy with family duties at home to attend the luncheon. But the Texas Lady was in Washington the very next day meeting with the women of the press.

It is crystal clear that Lady Bird lacked adequate advice on "how to win friends and impress people" among the Negro group. It is obvious that Mrs. Johnson had no information on the importance of meeting with such prominent Negro leaders as the Alpha's wives. She was not advised on the necessity of letting herself be seen and heard by people who have much influence in controlling the vote.

A HOSPITALITY SUIT with wide distribution of Nixon literature and buttons was provided by the Republicans for the duration of the convention.

Where were the Democrats? Surely they have enough "high-powered" advisors to impress upon their candidates the importance of meeting and talking with the "just-plain-voters."

An election cannot be won by merely placing a few big names in high spots for public consumption. The confidence and respect of the masses cannot be demanded by flouting over their heads a few high-sounding names of "bickering" politicians whose chief interests are fat salaries.

Successful political leaders and advisors must be "people with a purpose." They must be people with the know-how and willingness to mingle freely with the rank and file voters. As Congressman Powell would say, "people who are able to walk with kings and still maintain a kingly dignity."

Campaigns run with this type of politician are more likely to sweep a clean victory than those run by the moon-gazing sort who stare wistfully and starry-eyed at some glittering moonbeam of self-aggrandizement.

Dunnigan

KENNEDY CALLED THIS "the most unfair, distorted, malig-
nant attack," made upon him during his 14 years in politics. He explained that the foundation had not wanted to get involved in this project because of other commitments. But five other foundations refused to put up the money, and it was decided that the Kennedy Foundation would supply funds to pay for the students' airlift. He contended that the 250 scholarships offered African students were a drop in the bucket. He pointed out that Mboya and Frank C. Montero, president of the African-American Student Foundation, visited him at his summer home seeking help after the State Department had refused to transport them to this country.

AS FATE WOULD have it, Tom Mboya, a labor leader from Kenya, who had visited the States before in the interest of scholarships for African students, made another visit soon after the convention. After spending a day in New York he journeyed to Hyannis Port, Mass., to lay his problem before the newly nominated Presidential candidate.

Shepley of the Kennedy Foundation had agreed to fund the $100,000.

Three days after the Kennedy Foundation had agreed to fu
the necessary traveling funds, Montero was contacted by Jame
of Nixon's staff and informed that the Vice President ha
ved his interest in getting Government aid for the students.
raised the question as to why an earlier declaration that no
were available in the State Department, had been reversed
the president of the African-American Student Foundation ex
ed regret that the Grand Old Party leaders had tried to "reap
This raised
funds were
The pr
pressed re
political ad
Remem
the same applies to politics.

Senator Kennedy, who had manifested an interest in Africa because of his position on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, agreed to allocate $100,000 for scholarships-travel from the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation. This foundation was set up in memory of the Senator's late brother.

Instead of meeting with words of appreciation, the "do-gooder" met the "be d—— if you do" theory. He was slapped in the face for his effort by the great liberal Republican from Pennsylvania, Sen. Hugh Scott, who charged Kennedy with trying to "out-do" the United States Government.

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

Pittsburgh Courier 3 Sec. A Page

REMEMBER that old saying: "Be d— if you do and be d— if you don't?" That's the dilemma in which politicians often find themselves.

When Sen. John F. Kennedy was running so hard for the nomination as Presidential candidate, we often heard it whispered around that the Kennedy millions had never been distributed around for the welfare of minorities as had the Rockefeller fortune.

But when the Massachusetts Senator

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

Pittsburgh Courier

THE AGE-OLD "RAPE CRY" used for generations by whites to engender contempt against the black man, has become as fantastic and trite as Aesop's Fable of the lonely shepherd boy who cried "wolf" to generate some excitement. People just don't believe it any more.

Dunnigan

But true or false, believe it or not, this is one of the chief excuses used by the Belgians for sending their troops into the Congo even after they had signed a "friendship treaty" giving the Congolese their independence.

Did the Africans really commit "wholesale" rape upon white women in their colony as soon as they obtained their freedom? If so what was their motive? Had they been prepared to shoulder the responsibility of independence? What's the true story about the secession of the Katanga Province? Did Tshombe "sell-out" the wealth of his country to the greed of the Belgians? These are some of the questions which have been batted around between leaders of both countries. And I'm not sure there have been many satisfactory answers.

■

FRANS T. AELEMANS, spokesman for the Belgian Foreign Office, claimed that their troops were sent into the Congo on a "humanitarian mission" to protect their citizens living there.

They were requested to send in some protection after a gang of native mutineers moved in on the foreign people, he said, murdering, maiming and raping them.

Congo's Premier Patrice Lumumba denied this charge. He claimed that his government struggled for its independence simply because it wanted to run its own affairs. Now that they have their independence they are living in a "climate of terror and anxiety." He told the Secretary General of the United Nations that there would be no peace in the Congo until the Belgians had removed their troops.

He did not believe the rape charges imposed upon the men of the Congo. As soon as he had been informed that white women were being molested, Lumumba said he instructed the Belgian Magistrate to take immediate steps to enforce order.

But not a single culprit was arrested. He considered this an indication that the rape reports were inaccurate.

■

"LUMUMBA LIES!" if he says there was no rape, flashed the British spokesman. He claimed that 291 women were reportedly raped but this might well be multiplied by five or 20.

Aelemans had no answer to whether the Congolese had attacked any foreigners of color such as Indians or other Asians.

Neither did he have a satisfactory answer as to what motivated the so-called Congolese "rebellion." He would not say whether this might be revenge for the mistreatment which the Congolese had suffered at the hands of the Belgians.

These people should have been prepared for their independence, said the Belgian spokesman, because his country had educated as large a mass of the Congolese as possible. Still he admitted that there are only 18 university graduates in a population of around 12,000,000. And that the illiteracy rate runs around 70 per cent.

"But the people of the Congo shouldn't blame the Belgians for their unpreparedness," he contended. "They should turn to the Congolese leaders for pressing so hard for their independence before they were ready."

■

MR. AELEMAN BLAMED the Communists for stirring up all the racial trouble, but admitted that there was no definite proof of this.

The only way out of this trouble is for the United Nations troops to continue the good job which it has started. And Mr. Lumumba has to change his policy—be a little more sincere and a little less versatile. He had charged the Premier with swaying first one way then another. Leaning first toward the UN, then the U. S. and finally the USSR.

What is the true story behind Mr. Tsombe, the self-styled Prime Minister of the supposedly seceded province of Katanga?

This is one of the richest areas of the Congo. The mines there produce 60 per cent of the country's income, and they are still being operated by the Belgians.

Mr. Tsombe requested that Belgian troops be stationed there and protested the "intrusion" of United Nations troops. UN troops are not needed in Katanga implied the Belgian spokesman because there is no "urgent or acute" problem there.

■

JUST WHAT ROLE is Tsombe playing? You be the judge. "Traitor" is a nasty word in anybody's books. But the question remains unanswered as to whether Tsombe "sold-out" the wealth of his country for a "mess of pottage" or a "phony title." Well, there is usually a "mystery man" in every situation.

Mr. Lumumba pointed out that the so-called secession of Katanga is certainly not something coming from the Africans. And that Mr. Tsombe is not a Prime Minister. The Belgian press is giving him an illegal assumption of that title, said Lumumba. He is really the chairman of the provincial government.

The Prime Minister claimed that Tsombe is "being used as an instrument of propaganda and as a screen, because it is Belgium's intention to keep a strong hold upon our country."

Refusing to deny or confirm this charge, Mr. Aelemans declined to predict whether Katanga will eventually join with the other five provinces to make a United Congo. His only comment was that this is something which the Congo Government must settle itself

Washington INSIDE OUT

★ By Alice A. Dunnigan

Pittsburgh Courier 31 Nov 60

"THE IRON RING" used to squeeze gasoline out of Fayette County, Tenn., has been broken, said John McFerren, operator of a service station and general grocery store of that county.

McFerren's tanks have been setting empty since February when the "economic squeeze" hit the county as a "penalization" to Negroes who tried to register to vote. When the local Gulf gasoline dealers removed McFerren's tanks, the spunky little businessman put in his own tanks. But this didn't solve the problem because these tanks remained empty, and the farmers were still deprived of sufficient gas to operate their tractors.

Dunnigan

After this column carried an expose of the Fayette situation, a week or so ago, the ban was quietly lifted and, as McFerron would say, "the iron ring" was broken and gas was sneaked into the empty tanks.

■

WHO PUT THE GAS there, when, where or how, remains a deep, dark secret. The only comment coming from the grocer was: "You can't keep a good man down—if he has friends." When asked what kind of gas he was using, McFerren said you might call it the "Tennessee Squeeze."

PEOPLE AROUND WASHINGTON recall the day McFerren stood before a "mock" hearing of a "voluntary" civil rights commission at a local church and told the story of Fayette County. He became so overcome with emotion that he had to pause for tears. He took his seat for a while until he became composed. He soon captivated his audience again when he came back, gazed at them with his steel-gray eyes, burst into a broad smile, and in his own home-spun phraseology said: "I now starts where I stops." Then he continued with a story that touched the heartstrings of his listeners and had his audience in tears.

His testimony, along with that of others, was recorded and presented to the President's Commission on Civil Rights. It was perhaps these facts, linked with other reports from Fayette County, which carried the Federal Bureau of Investigation into that area.

The findings of the FBI have been reported to the Department of Justice where they are now under consideration for appropriate action. The FBI investigation has the "white folks" scared in that area. As the local white newspaper editor told this columnist: "You won't get many people to talk down here now since the FBI is here."

ONE HIGHLY RESPECTED farmer—the father of 16 children—who had been caught in the "squeeze" said he tried recently to buy merchandise in three different stores, and to his surprise was served most cordially. "I don't know what the story is," he said. "I don't know whether the white folks are letting up or the FBI is bearing down."

Reports around Tennessee are that the so-called boycott against Negro farmers and consumers has actually backfired on the local merchants and distributors. The latter are feeling the sting of the depression more sharply than the former.

There are 21,000 Negroes in Fayette County, and when they stop buying on the local level they leave a big hole in the county's economy. Merchants are now looking for a way out of this situation.

As J. F. Estes put it: "They want to get back in the ball game, but they want to do it in a way to save face." Estes is legal adviser to the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League.

Harvest time is drawing near. Money will soon be in circulation. And local merchants are seeking a way to "get off the hook" and be in position to lure in the loot. This is evident by the little incident indicated by Morgan Wright. Wright is a well-to-do farmer who owns three farms, two in Fayette County and one in Arkansas. He raised about 70 bales of cotton yearly. During the "squeeze" his ginner declined to even speak to him. But the ginner rode past the field where Wright was working the other day and gave him a friendly wave. That was all so well and good, said Wright, but he indicated that just a wave of the hand could not wipe from his memory the terrifying pangs of a horrible "squeeze."

THE DEPRESSION did not work as it had been planned. County officials didn't realize that so much aid in the way of food and clothing would be coming from the outside. They, perhaps, had not realized that farmers would be smart enough to go outside of the county and fill their trucks with gas and siphon the gas into their tractors. As one man said: "I sucked so much gas that my mouth got sore."

Landowners now feel that they have the food, clothing and gas problem on the run. What is needed most now is a citizenship school organized to teach political activities and instruct the people on the advantages and the responsibilities of first-class citizenship.

This county affords the best opportunity in the nation for political action. It would be a wonderful community for some foundation to establish a pilot political project to guide new voters to the goals of first-class citizenship through proper use of the ballot.

The pressure seems to be focused now on the less prosperous—the tenant farmer and the illiterates. The tenant farmers are being evicted from their homes, sometimes being forced to leave their crops. And the less-learned are being arrested on such trumpd-up charges as delinquent "road-tax," and subjected to excessive fines.

Around 400 families of "share croppers" have either been put out of tenant cabins or have been threatened to be evicted.

Allen Yancey Jr., an ousted school teacher, plans to stretch tents on his place to provide homes for the homeless croppers. Yancey is said to have been put out of the school system because he spearheaded the registration movement in the county.

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

FOR THE PAST few months the Democrats have been carefully scrutinizing the party through a Sherlock Holmes magnifying glass in a hopeful effort of finding a man who can lick Dick Nixon, or even Nelson Rockefeller, if he's drafted.

As a result they have fished out a whole batch of candidates, Catholic and Protestant, Northerners and Southerners, Easterners and Westerners and some from the Central States.

Alice Dunnigan

In spite of this bumper crop of aspirants, some of the old "stand-patters" insist on pushing forward the "two-time loser" and "has-been" Governor, Adlai Stevenson.

■

ALTHOUGH STEVENSON has been classified as a "disclaimer" in the upcoming elections, he is still considered in some quarters as "titular head of the party," and therefore "the most logical possibility for the 1960 nomination."

Stevenson, who was nominated and defeated in the 1952 and 1956 Presidential elections, prefers that his name not be included in the list of Presidential possibilities this year. This he has stated over and over again. Still some of his admirers continuously insist that he be drafted.

■

IN COMPILING EDITORIAL DATA on the Presidential hopefuls, a New Mexican newspaper was requested by Stevenson not to run an editorial on him. "I am just afraid," wrote Adlai, "that such an editorial would embarrass some of my friends in the party, who have taken me at my word and are not active in my behalf."

Stevenson conveniently planned a trip to South America at the time the Democrats held their $100 dinner, at which time all of the Democratic candidates were presented. Although the former Illinois Governor was conspicuously absent, he sent a message which was read at the close of the affair.

This inspired a cartoon in one of the Washington dailies portraying each of the Presidential hopefuls as little boys kneeling in play with their toy trains which they were sending forth in different directions. Near the playground was noted a hole from which extended a stick with Adlai's hat perched on top. Implying that although Adlai had gone underground and was not playing fair he was still holding his hat in the ring.

■

BECAUSE OF HIS GREAT intellect, Adlai won the title during his former two campaigns as the "egg head" of the party. This caused a politician to remark the other day: "Stevenson will never be President because he campaigns over the heads of the people."

Another top-flight politician on Capitol Hill replied: "I wouldn't put it that way. But I might say he "flies above the people's heads." Or better still, he doesn't have the "punch line" to attract the masses.

"To nominate him," the big-wig continued, "would mean that the Democrats had just as well give up and get out of the election." With two strikes already against him, the third would really mean "out."

In spite of this thinking and talking, Stevenson has a national headquarters in Washington, the first to be set up in the Capital City. But obviously there are very few Negroes in the Stevenson camp.

The majority of the Negroes say they see nothing in Stevenson's record in which they can stick their teeth. As Governor of Illinois he either did nothing, or said nothing, on the race issue. There has certainly been no national horn-blowing for Stevenson as a great liberal or a great fighter for rights of minorities.

■

AT THE OPENING of the Stevenson headquarters in Washington the only Negro professional noted was Leon Williams, a former District Attorney. Among the women present were Kitty Kvera[illegible]ise Mosby, Mildred Carr and Bertha Lomack.

Mississippi Solon: His Negro Views

By ALICE A. DUNNIGAN

A Mississippi member of Congress let it be known the other day that he would rather be classified as "a nigre lover" than be called "A nigre hater."

This was brought out in a hearing before the House Rules Committee on pending civil rights legislation. The decision was revealed in answer to a charge made by New York's Representative, Emanuel Celler, regarding the violation of voting rights of Negroes in the South.

In one southern state, said Rep. Celler, only one percent of the Negro population is registered to vote. And in Mississippi, the state of Rep. William Colmer, there are 14 counties where not a single Negro is registered.

MADE NO DEMAND

Colmer shot back that this is because the colored people of his state have made no great demand to vote. Before you can understand this situation, continued the Mississippian, "you must go into the background and history of this race of people.

"Here we have a race of people who for thousands of years lived in the jungles of Africa. With civilization growing up all around them, they made no progress.

"But they have made progress in America. More progress than any other race of people. This has been done under the guiding and loving hand of their southern brothers."

Before making this statement Colmer cast his eyes up at Negro reporters and prefaced it with these remarks: "I'm going to make a statement and I dare Congressman Celler or anybody else to call me a 'nigre hater.' If I have to be characterized as anything I might be called a 'nigre lover' because I do."

He claimed that the two races have lived progressively together for 80 years — since Reconstruction — before any civil rights legislation was passed. Now we have to act on some kind of civil rights bill every year. They come as regularly as the appropriations bills and the farm bills.

WHY THE INTEREST?

He wanted to know why all of this sudden interest in civil rights. The interest began to grow when the Negroes started moving "up north" and carrying some political power through the bloc vote, he said, charging Celler and "others like him" with agitating the vote among Negroes.

Colmer said he called these "civil wrongs" bills because under the guise of giving so-called civil rights to one group of people they are denying the rights left another group by their forefathers.

Since all of the "evolution" in the north, continued the Mississippian, "the great metropolitan cities are being forced to increase their police force by 400 or 500 men in order to maintain peace where there is integration."

TIME TO ADJUST

Celler admitted that where these people migrate north it takes a little time for them to adjust from their southern environment to life in the urban centers, but once they are adjusted they make very good citizens, he said.

He told the committee that if cities like New York could get Federal aid to clear up the rat-infested slums the adjustment would be much easier where adequate living conditions were provided.

Pittsburgh Courier

Washington INSIDE OUT

By Alice A. Dunnigan

"I AM A GUEST of your Government," said the Hon. Jaja Wachuku, speaker of the Nigerian (West Africa) House of Representatives, before a pre-convention mass meeting sponsored by the NAACP. "I came to Los Angeles to see how your American politics is run." This brought an outburst of laughter from the 7,000 people gathered in the Shrine Arena.

Perhaps Mr. Wachuku wondered why the laughter. His remarks weren't meant to be funny. He no doubt failed to realize that the laughter was inspired by the fact that the Nigerian politician had no idea how politics in this country are really operated. He saw nothing but the outward impressions—but will probably never know the true story of what actually went on in those "smoked-filled" hotel rooms.

Dunnigan

He seemed impressed with America's free speech. With an audience's right to applaud or bee a speaker as they saw fit. But maybe he didn't know why the "booing." He might not have realized that the former Secretary of Interior Oscar Chatman was booed when he mentioned name of Harry Truman because Negroes were displeased with Mr. Truman's utterance on the "sit-ins."

It was unfortunate that Chatman, a great liberal and a fine person, was booed almost into tears when he announced his support for Lyndon B. Johnson. Here was an example of bad political strategy. Chatman followed three "wheel-horse" speakers. The great liberal, Hubert Humphrey, with his fire and witticism, the calm but deliberate Herbert Lehman with his genuine sincerity, and the forceful Adam Clayton Powell with his fiery enthusiasm.

■

POWELL HAD AROUSED the audience to a high pitch of emotionalism with the statement that Negroes have reached maturity where they no longer need, want or will accept a white man to speak for him. "We can control our own votes."

The house had hardly stopped ringing with applause from this statement when Chatman arose to speak for a man, who by virtue of his place of birth, was already unpopular with Negro voters. This could have been handled much more effective had Johnson's people just sought some advice from Negro political experts.

In the first place, thought some, Johnson should have been there himself to speak out boldly for what he believed. He should have been scheduled as first speaker before emotions had been arousd. The stage should have been set for his appearance by a detailed but factual introduction of Johnson and his early record dating back to NYA days under Franklin D. Roosevelt. This introduction should have been made by a reliable Negro who knew his liberal record and who demanded the respect and confidence of his audience. Such a person might well have been Jake Simmons, the well-known industrialist of Oklahoma, who was highest on the totem pole in the Johnson camp.

Chapman should have been briefed on the fact that he can no longer woo a Negro audience on the story that the deceased Secretary of Interior, Harold Ickse, arranged for Marian Anderson to sing at Lincoln Memorial a quarter-century ago after she was refused admission to sing at the DAR's Constitutional Hall.

■

AN ALERT CONSULTANT could have warned Chatman that the mention of Harry Truman's name before a Negro audience is "dynamite" at this time when the world has gone out in sympathy for the Southern "sit-in" students. Regardless of how much one admires Mr. Truman and respects his past record he becomes unpopular if he praises the elder statesman now on the heels of the former President's "foot-in-mouth" statement about the courageous young people of the South.

Only shrewd policitians in-the-know realized why Mr. Johnson could not come to that meeting at that time. The Texas Senator knew full well that his greatest strength lay in the South. And like Sampson of old, he could not deliberately cut off his hair wherein lay his strength. While he was courting the Negro vote like the rest of the candidates, he could not afford to put himself on the spot by facing a hostile audience without being in position of declaring himself for the things they want most—civil rights and equality of opportunity for all Americans. And he could not afford to speak out boldly on these issues at the risk of loosing the South.

So instead of making public appearances and empty commitments, he busied himself caucusing with Southern delegations behind closed doors trying to whip them in line with the popular trend. Trying to sell them on the decessity of accepting the civil rights plank in the platform. And finally trying to persuade them to give him a free-way to speak out in behalf of the minorities of this country. As soon as he had succeeded into lashing the Southern delegation into the stall of popular opinion, he challenged Kennedy for an open debate. This was used as a springboard to get his announced position before the world—but it was then too late!

In this TV-radio debate, Johnson declared that he has protected the right for every person to vote since he has become an adult. "If you give a person the right to vote he will protect his own rights." Johnson declared that should he become President he would be the leader of all the people regardless to their race, creed or section ot birth.

"Oh," said one colored delegate, who was obviously rooting for Johnson, "if he had only appeared before that NAACP rally and made these declarations, how much it would have meant to him." It was evident that even the delegates were not familiar with the "closed-door" procedures at a political convention, or she would have realized that Johnson had just gotten the green light from his constituency.

■

ALTHOUGH SENATOR KENNEDY made his grand and flashy entree at the NAACP rally blanked by a corps of big-named Negroes and high-ranking white politicians, and surrounded by a battery of his own public relations people and photographers, his appearance was met with a mixture of boos and applause.

No doubt the boos were instigated by Powell's early remark about the Northern Senator who became a political bed-mate with an Alabama Governor and sympathizer of the Ku Klux Klan. It was perhaps this "booing reception" which Kennedy received that caused Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to publicly proclaim the following day that "Kennedy will never carry the Negro vote." It was later whispered around that Mrs. Roosevelt was speaking upon information which she had gleaned from Bob Ming, who was rooting for Stevenson.

Stuart Symington was the only candidate received at the NAACP rally without demonstration. This was justifiable, said George Weaver, top echelon in the Symington camp. "He is the only one with a perfect voting record."

As Symington was ushered into the side door of the auditorium amidst the shooting of flash bulbs, Weaver was at his elbow, whispering into his ear. Symington's confidential consultant had only a minute and one-half to brief his favorite candidate on what he should say before such an audience. But that wasn't necessary because Symington knew the answers. His long years of experi-

ormed the people that he had walked the two miles
signated spot at the scheduled time to participate
to the Arena and back to the Shrine for this meet-
les' youth demonstration which preceded this meet-
ost an hour later before Powell arrived riding in a
rived on the Los Angeles y
in the
ng. It was almost a
White Cadillac.

Mitchell informed
from the Shrine to th
ing. "I didn't see h
in laughter when he
white Cadillac, but it
meeting he would at

IT WAS NOT really necessary for the Senator from Missouri to make a speech because it was made for him in the introduction by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP. As an official lobbyist on Capitol Hill, Mitchell was familiar with Symington's record.

"In every instance except one," said Mitchell, "Senator Symington assured me "in front" that he would support our views on pending legislation. Although on the one issue of which he made no promises, he voted right when the chips were down."

Clarence quoted the Senator as later saying: "I didn't tell you in advance how I was going to vote because my opponents had accused me of keeping my vote in the NAACP's pocket. This time I wanted to assure them that the NAACP didn't know how I was going to vote."

Mitchell, who is a soft-spoken, pleasant-smiling, easy-going, even-tempered, hard-working person on issues of civil rights, became a little riled at the rally by a statement made by Congressman Powell.

Powell was praising the work of Clarence Mitchell Jr., a student leader of the "sit-in" movement in Baltimore. "I told young Mitchell," said Powell, "that if his father didn't get out there and walk the picket line with him he would soon be placed in the category of the Uncle Toms."

Mitchell retaliated by informing the audience that he had ar-

31a 1960

NEGRO (WILLIAM A. FOWLKES)

Dixie Picture Seen Changing

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga 31a

Negro

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Accelerated protests in the South, motivated by the national [illegible] efforts of Negro Southerners to increase their first-class [illegible]ship status and reaction of the white South to these pres[illegible], are rapidly changing the section, Dr. Harold C. Fleming, [illegible]cutive director of the Southern Regional Council, told the [illegible] Street YMCA Hungry Club Wednesday.

Speaking to the Hungry Club [illegible] the theme: "The Changing [illegible]uth: The Re-Defining of Hu[illegible]an Relations," Dr. Fleming not[illegible] that the Martin Luther King, [illegible] affair not only pointed up the [illegible]estion of whether the desegrega[illegible] leader was being treated un[illegible]rly under law, but whether other [illegible]tizens too are experiencing the [illegible] fate for minor offenses.

Southerner can no longer depend [illegible] gradual adjustments to the [illegible]anges in human relations, the [illegible]eaker declared, since they are be[illegible] thrown into new situations al[illegible]ost overnight.

At the national level, Dr. Flem[illegible] pointed out that two recently [illegible]acted major Civil Rights laws [illegible] effecting changes in the South. [illegible] platform of both political par[illegible] have strong Civil Rights planks [illegible] the Republican and Democrat [illegible]ndidates for president are com[illegible]itted to vigorous prosecution of [illegible] Rights, the speaker said, add[illegible] that government agencies and [illegible] are pledged to more fair play [illegible] the minority.

The student protest movement [illegible] produced a great deal of de[illegible]gregation, Dr. Fleming acknowl[illegible]ged, stating that the "sit-in is [illegible] the end of the process, but the [illegible] of the process." The [illegible]vement is not in opposition to [illegible]ditional leadership, as such, "is [illegible] epitaph for legal action." but [illegible] new creative stimulus to change [illegible] psychological and moral [illegible]," the speaker declared. Al[illegible]ugh youth lacks some of the as[illegible] of age, it furnishes a new force [illegible] which to operate for social jus[illegible], Dr. Fleming concluded.

The recent City Hall Conference, [illegible] brought all elements of the [illegible]ship together, resulted in a [illegible]ndous gain for Atlanta rela[illegible] and concert of purpose among [illegible] group, it was declared. [illegible] part of the current world revolution," Dr. Fleming declared

H. S. Murphy moderated the Hungry Club session.

31a 1960 NEGRO (WILLIAM FOWLKES)

Anti-Defamation League Chief Says

Atlanta Daily World

Youth Need Training Against Intolerance

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs, 3-3-60

By WILLIAM FOWLKES 31a Negro

American youth need training against "the evils of totalitarism and intolerance," Arthur Levines, director of the Southeastern Office of the Anti-Defamation League, told the Hungry Club Wednesday.

Noting the rash of anti-Semic acts in Europe and America during the past few months, Mr. Levins said that some of them can be ascribed to imitative behavior on the part of teenagers, compared to cranks. However, some of them also reflect "the indoctrination which these tenagers have received from their homes and from their cultural environment," the speaker noted.

"This point demonstrates again the need for an intensification of the educational program in which the Anti-Defamation League has been engaged so fruitfully for many years," Mr. Levins continued.

"We adults in the United States who lived through the Nazi years are so knowledgeable and so sensitive to the evils of Hitlerism that we have allowed a whole generation to grow up in this post-war era taking it for granted that they have somehow absorbed the same knowledge and sensitivities towards Nazism that we have.

"It may be that the recent rash of incidents has served a worthwhile purpose if it has indicated how badly we have neglected the education of our young people in this particular area. It might be well to explore with school authorities, leaders of youth groups and others having a responsibility for the training of youth, what efforts they are making to indoctrinate them against the evils of totalitarism and intolerance."

Atlanta, Ga.

Of the recent swastika-type desecrations, Mr. Levins reported some [illegible] incidents outside of the United States [illegible] in the United States, the South having had the lowest number of incidents.

H. P. Murphy, member of the Hungry Club executive committee, served as moderator for Wednesday's forum.

Right To Vote First Of All, Editor Says

Atlanta Daily World

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 10-6-60

By WILLIAM A. FOWLKES 31a Negro

P.1

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Everything going on in the current presidential campaign can be drawn against a backdrop of the southern scene, Editor Eugene Patterson of The Atlanta Constitution told the Butler St. YMCA luncheon forum Wednesday.

While praising the strength and similarity of Richard M. Nixon, of the Republican Party, and John Kennedy, of the Democrats, Editor Patterson noted that both had made concessions to the conservatives since the Chicago and Los Angeles conventions when the adoption of ultra-liberal platforms held the national spotlight.

"Platforms will take effect about as much as a candidate in his heart wants them to," the newspaperman declared.

At the forefront of all rights is the right to vote and this should be guaranteed all Americans, Editor Patterson observed, while pointing to the changes taking place in the South. The section will go further with the guarantee and exercise of this basic right which both presidential candidates and parties are committed to protect, he said.

The speaker discussed at length "two uncovered stories" of the Los Angeles and Chicago conventions — why Lyndon Johnson took the vice presidential nomination of the Democratic party and what occurred between Rockefeller and Nixon in the Chicago convention.

Patterson said he thought it was a good sign for the country that Kennedy gave the second position nod to Johnson, putting a conservative on the ticket and recognizing the breadth and scope of the vast interests in this country. It was the Constitution editor's opinion that the Kennedy campaign is ahead of the Nixon effort though he admitted that Nixon is a "great counterattacker" and "not to be written off" in the least. The electoral college is a major factor to be considered in the final selection of the 1960 presidential nominee, the speaker warned.

Of Chicago and the Republican convention, Editor Patterson said that it was clear that a Rockefeller Nixon coalition brought about the GOP platform, after the New York governor set out to "remake" the party to his ideals.

With two strongly similar candidates of the major political parties, "it is up to the people to decide what philosophy they want to guide them in the future," Editor Patterson declared, expressing hope that Americans will express what is in their heart through secret ballot on November 8.

Dr. John Reid, of Atlanta University and a member of the Hungry Club executive committee, presided at the Wednesday session.

Right To Vote First Of All, Editor Says

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Harry
31a
Golden
white

★★
Only
in
America

Where Birth Curbs Can Save Lives

A tremendous volume of mail has descended upon me because of my recent article on birth control. Most of the letters were cordial. Some asked me whether I had suddenly become a Roman Catholic; others if I wanted to see mankind starve 200 years from now.

My position against birth control is not necessarily the Catholic position; it is not a question of dogma; and yet I am not willing to discount the Catholics' position completely.

I would say their antagonism to birth control is probably involved with their philosophy about the sanctity of the individual as outlined by St. Thomas Aquinas in his "Summa Theologica." St. Thomas borrowed this, not from Aristotle, as he borrowed his metaphysics, but from the Hebrew civilization.

Admittedly the Catholics are intransigent on the matter, but do not confuse stubbornness with error. No reasonable man can say the Catholics are wrong.

Lastly, I do not believe that most of these people who argued about my article really read my piece. I did not say, "No birth control." I did say that this is a matter for the conscience of the individual involved. I did say that we shouldn't bank on being saved by the Hindu girl who doesn't know what we are talking about.

★ ★

Segregate a race of people, but you cannot segregate sickness and death. Racial segregation involves 12 million people; sickness and death involve the entire population.

The fight the Negro has brought to the courts to end racial discrimination is more than a fight for human dignity. For the Negro it is also a matter of life and death.

The second highest cause of death in the South is childbirth. It claims 5,000 lives a year in North Carolina alone. Where Southern cities raise millions of dollars for the United Appeal, Red Cross, the March of Dimes, the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish charities, one-half of the women (Negro) giving birth labor unattended.

For every 17 whites who die of pneumonia or influenza 91 Negroes succumb. For every three whites who died of diabetes, 16 Negroes die.

In facilities, training, and supervision, Negro hospitals are far below the quality and adequacy of white hospitals.

* * *

WHY DOESN'T the Negro help himself?

First of all, he is banned from 99 per cent of the white medical associations, nor is he permitted in any of the training sessions of specialties. He is not allowed to intern at the best hospitals.

Only recently was the first Negro doctor graduated from the North Carolina Medical School. Negroes go from weak schools to weaker hospitals.

While a city may build a mammoth coliseum costing $3,000,000, it rarely contributes more than $1 a day for Negro charity patients. Hospitals pass the difference on to paying patients. This amounts to a tax on sickness.

While some integration is in effect at the white hospitals, the limited number of Negroes admitted are always paying patients. This helps reduce the abilities of Negro hospitals even more.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

More Than Just Viewing With Alarm

"Watchman, what of the night?"

* * *

The watchman said black.

You were glad that as chairman he was indeed only "temporary."

And you wondered if the constant trips into blackest midnight were really necessary for putting the ruling other party on the spot in a Presidential campaign.

Senator Church's keynote speech was no mere viewing with alarm — to match the coming points with pride when Republicans meet.

The picture of the nation's state as he and Chairman Butler painted it was so horrific there seemed no hope. We might as well let Khrushchev have his way —or call the Indians back.

* * *

IF THIS IS how we Democrats see our country now, we certainly shouldn't be given the White House to have melancholia in.

If we can see for a country which is earth's great place at earth's great time in spite of all, only a straggly, spent and underprivileged little wave of the future, we belong with the beatniks.

* * *

DAVID BRINKLEY seems to be reporting the convention in a highly emotional state. Blindingly so at times, as when he impatiently made out Southern to-do against the civil rights part of the platform as much-about-nothing.

Reading a paragraph which he said was the whole thing and which had no mention of the sit-in strikes whose reported endorsement in the platform was a main Southern objections, David sniffed.

He makes his best points with sniffs. This sniff was against what he would have the public believe was a Southern touchiness when not even touched.

Apparently he didn't have the full text of the section and didn't know the sit-ins were endorsed by name.

* * *

FOR ANOTHER SNIFF of his — against the temporary chairman's "oratory" however, many had supporting sniffs.

Senator Church, the much touted boy wonder, was just too boyish. And his oratory was store bought and assembly-line.

The only thing original in it was his occasional outbursts of unattractive laughter at his own sallies (although you might call original that shoulders-up, self-hugging gesture with which he emphasized the word "deodorants."

* * *

BY THE TIME this reaches print the South will know whether the civil rights plank is absolutely intolerable and Lyndon Johnson absolutely out and we are facing a choice of easily electing Nixon or committing suicide with "some prominent Democrat who sympathizes with our cause."

* * *

WILL I BE ABLE to recognize my preacher, the Rev. Dr. John C. Turner when he passes by now as Imperial Chaplain of the Shrine of North America!

The question is only rhetorical, for all of us know well that he will remain forever the same sweet-natured, optimistic, bright-idea-ed, unassuming man of God he has been for 22 years at the Church of the Advent.

One of many dear and remarkable things about John Turner's is that he is mixed up in more useful non-church enterprises than any preacher I know and yet manages them all somehow without "mixing church and state" as so many modern men of God do, including some who damn Catholics for doing it.

* * *

FROM SHEFFIELD, disagreeing with this column's faith in the American Legion against the little boy who so precociously scorned its medal, a reader reminds me that "military service is an obligation of citizenship, not, as the Legion would make it, a cause for everybody to take in everybody else's wash."

He sees the Legion as become one of the nation's "gimmie" groups; basically and primarily political.

But I joined the Legion in its first days after World War I, when both war and peace had glamor left in them and when young men like Teddy Roosevelt Jr., an original, were giving it a base in patriotism, comradeship, public serving and great adventure in common which have often been strayed from but never totally deserted.

There are millions of quiet members who prize their membership for this, while the politicians and professionals come and go.

It was such as these who in those early days passed the famous resolution at the National Convention of 1930 in Boston: "We do declare that we condemn the practice of proposals of legislation primarily designed to attract our votes."

* * *

I THINK OF the American Legion as reflecting that sum total of all our men who have belonged to the armed forces in wartime and who, come what may before and after and in between, have known what it is to be disciplined, ready for sacrifice, faithful to a million little moments as well as to a few large ones for "God and country."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Man In The Middle

"How long he endured us, smiling. . . ."

* * *

Not every merry is the merry-go-round of the Mophead from Massachusetts following his overtures to the New York Liberals. The Liberals were pleased of course, and may put him over the top at Los Angeles, but Southern reaction was so violent that the Senator was alarmed. You can never afford to be unpleasant to 128 electoral votes even if you feel no need of saying "you-all."

And certainly it was unpleasant to read the Senator's response when asked by Negro leaders to repudiate his support of Alabama's Gov. John Patterson in order to prove his zeal for civil rights.

"I don't think I have a delegate in Alabama. I know of no candidate so near the nomination who ever had so little support in the South as I have. So far as civil rights is concerned, I want a clear-strong stand taken at the convention."

Thereafter, The New York Times, in a two-column front page headline, announced: "Kennedy Assures Liberals He Seeks No Help in the South."

The first paragraph of The Times story read: "Senator John F. Kennedy told the Liberal Party yesterday that he hoped to win the Democratic nomination without a single Southern vote in the convention. He told them he regarded the civil rights issue as a moral question. . ."

The South howled and the senator remembered the amenities. His leg-men and office force were put to work telling the South "no such thing." He was eager for the vote of the South, etc., etc., finally it was reported that in a frenzy to have the South forgive and forget the senator was writing personal letters to Southern congressmen.

At that, apparently, it was the Liberals who howled, the latest is that the senator is sending word around that there were no such letters to Southern Congressmen, just the Senator's regular letter to all Congressmen. If the senator really wants to make things right with the South he should know that his "moral issue" talk may have hurt him even more than his professed indifference to Southern delegates. It's so sad and smelly from a once shinning figure, this piety against the South in its time of tragedy.

The senator's holier-than-thou is especially hateful when we remember how long he endured us smiling.

And it is especially dubious when we consider his education. He knows too well the issue is not the racial injustice we all oppose now but Federal interference on such an issue—something deeply contra to our Constitution and to the profound moralities that depend for us on limited and decentralized government.

* * *

NOTHING IN biology or the Bible says separation of races is immoral but even it did, a greater immorality would be God-playing government the kind that enters wholly into our lives, that robs us of sense of individual right and wrong, of hearts for enterprise and adventure, of evaluation of life as worthwhile, of the dream of God in man.

This moral question poses itself for both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. As they consider their possibly decisive dependence on the South before all this is over, they need have nothing on their consciences if they plead the sure morality of the 10th Amendment.

The basic separations of the Constitution belong with the "laws of nature and of nature's God."

* * *

SENATOR JOHNSON relies on this when he says he is for equal enforcement of state voting laws without regard to race. He is for what he deems the morally right thing but he is not for Federal performance of it.

* * *

ARNOLD PALMER concedes that a player has to get a few breaks now and then in golf to be at the top. For example, he says the time he sank that 30-yard chip shot for his sixth birdie in the first seven holes of final 18 of the National Open after having holed a 30-foot putt and a 40-foot putt.

Don Ewing in The Shreveport Times says how true. "Many a time we've tried to sink a chip shot from 30 yards away and never even hit the green. Just couldn't get the breaks."

But there are such things as "breaks," as Don will agree. In sports they are likely to occur more often in golf than in tennis because of the larger area of play and the smaller ball.

* * *

SINCE ARLENE Francis is one of my favorites I rush to agree with those who protested recent flip comments here about her dumbbells and dresses.

She's such a good sport and has such a sense of humor I hope she can forgive me. One reader would have me know that the clothes Arlene wears on the "What's My Line" program are probably selected to please women more than men. The presumption that women might go in for very different styles if they chose them to impress other women rather than men is always interesting. But in as much as everybody loves Arlene, I think she owes us merely male admirers some recognition in her outfits.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Cool And Tough

"They are two of the coolest and toughest men in our public life."

Thus Raymond Moley in Newsweek on Kennedy and Nixon, predicting a campaign that should fascinate professoinals and hold amateurs at attention all the way.

* * *

Perhaps it's Southern laziness but they both scare me.

Just as Thomas E. Dewey and his disciplined meticulosity did, you remember what I mean.

Note that David Lawrence, still fascinated with the resurrected scheme for deadlocking the electoral college, thinks of it as a means of getting concessions, not of electing a third candidate.

Some will be remembering the story he circulated last Spring on how Vice President Alben Barkley might have become the President in 1949 if the 1948 deadlock effort had succeeded. The author imagined not only the electoral college deadlocked, but, after that, the House, too, where a majority among the top three candidates is similarly required.

But the Senate, which votes on the top two rather than the top three, quite easily elected Barkley over Earl Warren.

As Inauguration Day came with the House still unable to elect a President, the vice president, as stipulated in the Constitution, became President.

* * *

IN THIS ANALOGY, the Senate would find itself voting for its own universally admired Lyndon Johnson over the Republican nominee, say Rockefeller.

Johnson would be easily elected vice president, and automatically become President. This exact sequence, of course, might be only a little more difficult to achieve than landing a missile on the dark side of the moon, but it is idly interesting.

The only practical hope in a deadlock, as David Lawrence seems to agree, is concessions, not capture of the White House.

* * *

WILL NIXON, when he comes, be as fearsomely organizational as Kennedy? And will his platform be as extremely socialistic and his civil rights plank as terrifying and Constitution-abusing?

Until we know, we can't know where we are at in the South, of course.

But if the two turn out to be about equal, Nixon will be the better choice. Through him, the South would make its freedom emphatic. Going Democratic is just the same dreary old slave story.

* * *

DAYS OF concentration of Kennedy and company have tended to obliterate the image of Nixon for this time being. We'll have it back next week, and in saturation.

* * *

WITH SENATOR Kennedy, after seeing him in action, many of us have the feeling we had when Dewey was Republican nominee and the cold efficiency and completeness of his organization and personality made us so uncomfortable.

For me, it recalled war days in France when cheerful life under a reserve colonel was suddenly altered by substitution of a regular Army colonel, a West Pointer. We reserve second lieutenants and others knew the new colonel must be tops and what we needed, but there was a feeling of being out in a mighty cold world and of nobody loving anybody any more.

* * *

RICHARD NIXON, too, is a hard-driving organization man. Perhaps he will be equally alarming when he takes over. Then again, perhaps not. As a poor man, his past life has had room for more frailties in fellow creatures.

* * *

OUR YOUNG governor seems to find much delight in having Mr. Kennedy address him as "John" and sign himself "Jack"—a "first-name basis" as our Gene Wortsman puts it. But the senator has been doing that on such a wholesale scale for so long that many have come to find a bit pulseless.

It was the great Jim Farley who introduced the first-name business to national politics. He was a marvel at it, but sometimes he would slip.

I have known him so many years that it couldn't happen now but back in the New Deal beginnings I had a letter from him beginning warmingly "Dear John." In the middle, however, came a sentence beginning "You and I, Jim, know this isn't the case."

* * *

HOW GOES IT with the pledge that none shall suffer from the closing of the Spies Clinic, patients or employes?

"It was the sense of the meeting," declares a report of a special meeting of directors on June 17, "that the termination of the activities in Birmingham be brought about with dignity and with full consideration for all the employes, many of whom have spent their adult lives working with Dr. Spies. Dr. Stone expressed the viewpoint that this could be done in an orderly manner by the end of the year. The committee requested that any cases of undue hardship arising from the termination be brought to its attention . . ."

* * *

THE PLANNED national gathering here this Fall to memorialize the life and work of Tom Spies must not have any backdrop of economic or phyhical suffering, surely.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Time To Turn Off?

"If the Red slayer thinks he slays
Or if the slain think he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again . . ."

* *

Will Francis Powers be set free because that is the Russian mood for the moment in the constant game of chicken?

They come roaring at us and we, in response, at them, until just in time they turn off. After much rushing us lately Khrushchev seems of a mind for turning off. The elaborate stage he has set for the Powers trial can presage a going easy on the flier.

* * *

EXAMPLING how deadly is this game are those insanely anti-American crowds in Havana, whipped to such heat by Castro and such confidence by Khrushchev that some can see no end this side of holocaust.

And in the Congo, where a fanatical, irresponsible, wavering prime minister whose education seems only to have implemented his stupidity with a manner of knowing what. He's all about, is permitted to play chicken with world peace in assurance that Russia won't let anybody hurt him.

* * *

THIS COLUMN guesses Powers is going free because Mr. K. feels the chicken game calls for momentary turn-off.

Too many lightweights are playing it.

* * *

THE ABLEST SPEECH for the South at either convention was that of James H. Gray, Georgia's state Democratic chairman, defending the minority's civil rights plank. When he addresses Rotary here today may he lead for the South in an indicated new tack of less talk about states Rights and the Constitution and more about the modern menace to the man in the street and in the field, shop, factory and office the menace of socialism, of centralized and socialized government, and the insolvencies of body and soul, that are coming of them.

The man in the street gets no ulcers over "States Rights," no nervous breakdowns over the breakdowns of "the Constitution." But these other things, which are really the same things, are real to him.

* * *

"STAND NOT upon the order of your going." South Carolina's Democratic Convention has endorsed the national ticket. But it has invited all who don't agree to vote Republican or third party without fear of party disciplining. That should satisfy those who rightly feel they are entitled to vote for Nixon and still be Southern Democrats—and their name is legion, perhaps majority, all over the South.

But it throws away the great bargaining opportunity. With the November result likely to be razor edge close, the Southern electoral vote has a respectable chance of being balance of power.

But the confusion resulting from the capture of Lyndon Johnson and putting him in irons, plus the continued nurse of politicians who say they'll never-never vote Republican, even if they can't support Kennedy, plus the unwillingness of Southerin leaders really to lead in any third ticket direction and the absence of any noteworthy way of bargaining have grievously handicapped if not killed the free elector movement.

The South may have to do its bargaining between now and November.

* * *

"God is not mocked," the Bible says. But He is mocked by Martin Luther King's "kneelins." They should be called "bleekins" or "blaspheme-ins." They are a blasphemus use of God's House for political aggression. They are a blasphemous exploitation of the church's natural unwillingness to turn anyone away or to risk disturbance within its doors. And they are a blasphemous affront to the very different but equally sacred ways of colored people and white in religious worship.

"That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain . . ."

But he may not bore and be a villain. That is where Charlotte's stout and smiling Harry Golden, for whose smiles at the South a national institution has been made and all has been forgiven, seems to have come after a brief career of having the public "wild about Harry."

Calling it an "overexposure of talent," Columnist Sydney J. Harris says of Mr. Golden's new book, "Enjoy, Enjoy" (World), his third in less than three years, that it is "a potpourri of sentimentality, windy anecdotage and sententious philosophizing."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

Something Big May Happen In China

"As a lion, creeping nigher,
Glares at one that nods and winks
Behind a slowly dying fire. . . ."

9-2-60

Well does this newspaper warn against wishful thinking that China and Russia are about to turn on each other.

Many will agree that reverse warning is in order against not being on our toes for whatever opportunities develop in an increasingly fluid and flowing situation.

What China may do when she gets atomic weapons and deems herself fully armed is nothing to wait around for.

* * *

"Something very sick is going on" writes Scripps-Howard's Henry Taylor from Hong Kong. He seems to feel that the net result may not be good news for the free lands. He sees China "capable of any insanity, including war. . ." And he calls it a "chronic craziness."

He means crazy leaders, not crazy Chinese people, I believe.

Craziness can sometimes be exploited to good ends by the brave, wise and free. It may be we can only stand and wait publicly. But what can be done in private may be something else.

* * *

IN W. L. (BILL) Longshore Alabama Republicans have just what the doctor ordered, it seems to me. Youthful, good looking, idealistic, intelligent, up-speaking and aggressive without being offensive, he can do as much for Nixon as Nixon for him.

He can bring about the full-grown, overnight two-partyism in the South which is already existing and needs only recognition such as Mr. Longshore is giving it by playing ball now with Caldwell Marks and the Democratic Volunteers for Nixon.

THE NAME is Rosedale.

"The first concern should be the citizens of Rosedale," says Paul Buchanan, candidate for mayor of Homewood. He is described as middle-of-the-road if he really gives the "first concern."

Ray Acton, former mayor, is Rosedale's lawyer and best friend against proposed taking over by a private corporation in the name of urban renewal. The third candidate is Mayor E. C. (Bud) Walker, who is all for taking the property.

Is there danger in the division of votes?

More than Rosedale is involved now. In its case the taking over for private purposes in the name of slum clearance and urban renewal would be particularly unfair and un-American because it would destroy a community-in-being with genuine community spirit and love, officially declared not to be a "slum area."

But the thing is unfair and un-American in all cases. Rosedale may become a landmark for resistance to this tyranny of taking people's property and giving it to other people.

* * *

AS A LOYAL PARTY man Governor Patterson will naturally vote for the six free electors. It can't be that he will bolt and vote only for the five bound ones. The six are equally—and more—the choice of his party.

* * *

SO MANY THINGS seem to have happened before our governor was born—or aware. The glory of youth and the charm of post-aural humidity are upon him when he tells us that all this civil rights business is Republican and began with the desegregation d cree of 1954. But he compounc youthful error with juevnile deli quency when he calls it a "Repul lican court."

The civil rights trouble bega in 1948 when the threat of it fron Truman and his Democratic Con gress was such that four Southern states refused to vote "the ticket" and a Southern revolt which is today a national revolution was launched.

The decree of May, 1954, was handed down by a court composed, with the one exception of Earl Warren, of men appointed by Roosevelt or Truman.

It was the most Democratic court in our history.

And the radical Socialist-Centralist-Integrationist-New Deal atmosphere in which it acted had been developing for 22 long Democratic years.

It was a parting shot after the battle tide had turned, that monstrous nation-wrecking decree.

Admittedly it has resulted in most of the actual civil rights laws and enforcements upon which Kennedy, Stevenson, Reuther and Co. look with jealous claims that they will do more faster.

Of that nine who held hands and jumped five were Roosevelt appointees — Hugo Black, Stanley Reed, Felix Frankfurter, William O. Douglas and Robert H. Jackson.

Three were appointed by Truman—Harold H. Burton, Tom C. Clark and Sherman Minton. One alone was Eisenhower's folly — Earl Warren. It was Fair Deal Democratic by eight to one.

Our boys and girls returning to school this week deserve better than to be mis-told by the governor of their great state that the historic desegregation decision was handed down by a Republican court. They are not deceived, of course, but what will they think of their governor?

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

School Days Here

"Life treads down Love in flying,
Time withers him at root,
Bring all dead things and dying,
Reaped sheaf and ruined fruit. . . ."

8-31-60

September means school, and chance at home for adults to use the telephone. It could mean, also love of learning and love of teaching, but those loves are an ideal upon which dependence cannot be put in this massive day.

How did they decide what the first teacher's salary should be? What was the norm, the datum point or parity, upon which they fixed it so low? In what theory was it made less than the wage of so many industrial workers when it ought to be several times as high?

* * *

IN INDUSTRY wages are determined by competition, by collective bargaining, by the value added to the product. But this is not the way with school wages.

Imagine trying to determine the value added to the product!

That value is infinite!

* * *

Yet look how we are come upon
The coquetries of chance,
The breeze that blows you here to me
Is blowing me to France. . . .

The same breeze that is making some of our Southern young people integrationists is making many Northern young people segregationists.

Protected all their lives by the Southern segregationist system, and still protected in grand total, the Southern youths are not aware of a need for protection.

And when they go North to school, they encounter only party-lined professors who scorn the Southern practice and exceptional Negroes who seem to prove the scorn deserved.

But Northern and Eastern youth, getting their first contact or near-contact with the other race now in Harlem, in Washington, in public school masses, in average everywhere, are moving in an opposite direction.

Many of them are beginning to accept what Holmes Alexander calls "the fact of race" which is so loud all over the world at this moment.

* * *

"Let thine arms, O queen, support me,
Hush thy sobs and bow thine ear,
Listen to the great heart secret
Thou and thou alone can'st hear. . . ."

Mark Antony had a secret! It was that, infatuated with Cleopatra, he "madly threw a world away."

Comes now Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor Hilton-Wilding-Todd-Fisher, starring in a movie about Egypt's seductress-queen, with word that Premier Nasser has "arranged to have 10,000 men from the Egyptian Army to portray the legions of Cleopatra."

Great Scotts! We knew their name was legion, but not 10,000! small change of the so-called Cold War.

* * *

THE PERIL is not only in the potential power of China but in her unwavering barbarism. "China," says Henry Wallace (remember him?) from his farm to a New Yorker Magazine visitor, "is the one country that could calculate on sustaining atomic war—counting on saving just one or two million out of her seven hundred million people to take over the world that's left."

Mr. Wallace spoke of the patience and persistence of the Chinese. "It is not inconceivable," he said, "that China will turn on Russia, and that you'll see a day when Russia is imploring the United States to help her against the onrushing Chinese."

* * *

MR. NIXON doesn't suit us on the race question. But he's better about it than other candidates. He does realize we have a case and a gigantic problem—so why shouldn't we argue with him, in earnest and amiability!

For example, he seems to think it pleases us or makes a point with us to say the problem isn't confined to the South. We should point out that he is wrong.

The problem is indeed confined to the South insofar as it is a life and death one and insofar as it involves mass mixing but not mass hate.

There's no hate here, only conviction that there are radical differences in the races and that massive mixture in so intimate, domestic and immature a situation as the public school in the South won't work.

There is a problem North, East and West but it isn't the same—in the nature or degree—as in the South where the proportion of colored is so high.

Many a New Yorker never sees a Negro.

* * *

SOME DAY when Mr. Nixon comes into his own, philosophically, he will agree with Senator Goldwater that both the constitution and commonsense say the South must handle this problem for itself and that Southerners are qualified now at last if left alone to handle it.

* * *

HE HAS BOTH political and philosophical reason to listen. Mr. Kennedy has not. Philosophically he's a federalist, politically his hope rests with the Negro as Mr. Nixon's does not.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

School Questions

"It is later than you think."

How soon is "later" for a child?

The first grade in primary school in some respects, and more in the sixth. Even kindergarten can be late.

Many an "unconsidered trifle" then, as well as many a wrongly dealt immensity, determines character, temperament, values and points of view, for the rest of life.

And then there is the pooling of many home environments which persist through those early grades, each influencing each.

* * *

WHAT A BITTER irony in the often spectacle of parents who even before the birth of a child, fix their dream for him or her upon a certain college or university, only to deliver the precious package to that institution at last and find it isn't precious, isn't fit for "higher" learning, and only compounds in college the shortcomings of primary and elementary school.

The sixth grade was later than they thought.

HAPPY IN reverse is the number of our city's leading citizens—mentally, morally, culturally, economically—who had their first schooling with Miss May Ward and whose lives have been lived in the disciplines and primary values of that remarkable little woman.

A few years ago this column printed a list of nobly achieving citizens here who had "gone to school to Miss Ward." It read like a "Who's Who in Birmingham."

* * *

IT IS GOOD news, therefore, and can be very great news, that the Highlands Day School, launched by a group of individuals here in 1958, operating temporarily in facilities of St. Luke's Episcopal Church but not sponsored by the church, is promised magnificent expansion in a gift of 10½ acres on Old Leeds Road in Mountain Brook from Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Simpson.

The gift is being accompanied by a $250,000 campaign to cover the first phase of a building and education program which will accommodate 200 pupils.

I am indebted to Dr. and Mrs. Frank C. Wilson Jr., of the Parents Committee, for pointing the very great significance of this educational step-forward in Birmingham. With the Brook Hill School for girls and the Birmingham University School for boys, it will make complete from kindergarten to college level the private educational facilities of Birmingham.

* * *

OUR PUBLIC school system must never be surrendered—or destroyed from within—but it needs more each year the supplements private schools can give it and which, without regard to the race question, are indispensable to the American ideal's survival.

As Headmaster Robert W. Trusdell, of the Savannah Country Day School, told our Highlands Day School campaigners in a talk here last month, "the advantages of the independent school are, primarily, smaller classes, freedom to select pupils and freedom to select faculty. . . . The quality of the independent school demands support for its own sake; it has an educational pattern from which religion, character and ethics are not removed; it is also less subject to conformity."

* * *

"WE MUST KEEP for each child," said Mr. Trusdell, "the habitual vision of greatness."

Words like that would be treason in Russia and are near it in "century of the common man" circles at home. But "greatness" remains the vision of America's future as surely as it was the dream of America's past.

Greatness of individual living—uncommon men, all of us, fit to be kings or presidents if we try, fit to make of every walk and way of life, high and low, an excellence.

* * *

IT HAS BEEN ruled for the purposes of the libel suits that The New York Times was doing business in Alabama by, through and with Mr. Harrison Salisbury. There is no truth in rumors that Mr. Salisbury and The Times will plead that he was never in Alabama and offer his reign of terror pieces in prima facie evidence.

* * *

TWO PARTY hopes for the South will get nowhere until people stop thinking all you need to do is rare back and have one (or two).

The Democratic Party here is so nearly a monopoly locally and on state levels that two parties can be made only by cutting it in two.

But the Democratic name in the South is still so potent and in possession that neither half would give it up.

What may be the biggest half is more and more Republican in national philosophy and affiliation, as evinced by votes in Congress and votes for President.

Yet that Republican philosophy is what the Democratic one used to be when it was the party of our fathers in the South. What's in a name? Everything in this case. And that's the whole trouble.

Ideologically the Republicans ought to join the Democratic Party of the South. Politically perhaps, Southern Democrats ought to join the Republican Party.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

The Case Of Connor

"There is such nothing as too much lip in a lip service."

People in politics have to play ball. The public realizes it and forgives them many an inconsistency, many a silence and many a noise not meant.

There is the much-discussed case of our nationally-known Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, veteran with many of us of the States Right Revolt of 1948, one of the immortals who walked out.

There's too much lip in what must surely be only lip service from him for the Kennedy ticket.

Far more than he is politcially obligated to render.

He can't be blamed for going along with the ticket after accepting preferment from the party, writes Editor Ed Field in The Selma Times-Journal.

He may feel that way but actually he is not going along with the ticket. Not the ticket of the party from which he has accepted the preferment.

The Democratic Party of Alabama with a States Right majority twice proved in two years chose him over able Loyalist Charles McKay.

He was chosen with the support of this column and nearly all the other States Righters. We were convinced that, more than almost anybody else, he could be counted on to stand fast against socialism, centralism and integrationism in the national party.

That was his mandate from his party and ours. and he is not only ignoring it but being loud on the other side.

* * *

That's what hurts us who have supported him, we majority Democrats of Alabama. We might forgive his feeling that he owes a certain lip service but we can't forgive all the lip.

* * *

Something else is that in Mr. Connor's case there is a vital "conflict of interest," As police commissioner of the potentially key city in the integration crisis, he has just about the most important job in sight.

And he has been handling it well, as often stated here.

What a pity—what a more than pity—if he lets the furies of politics divert him now, impairing his competence, destroying Birmingham's confidence that his hand will be both strong and fair. He is needed to be police commissioner of all our people, white and colored, Republican and National Democrats and his own Democrats of Alabama.

* * *

"Men, my brothers, men, the workers,
Ever reaping something new,
That which they have done but earnest
Of the things that they will do. . ."

Almost but not quite we have come to that surely-coming time when all men will celebrate the work they do in totally fraternal pride.

Never to be forgotten is the part labor unionism has played in bringing about the approach of such a time. Not all the dictatorship, mis-used monopoly, corruption and loss of public-mindness negates the history of labor's advance since the turn of the century and what is owed to collective bargaining.

May we think of this today, not of the ruinous abuse of the union principle in the most populous and economically important area in the world—the North and East of the United States—by a minority of workers for the Pennsylvania Railroad. No pain or underprivilege or disagreement exists that can justify this killing shut-down.

* * *

"Just a kiss—in the—dark . . ."

IF IT IS TRUE—as much reported—that nothing could persuade Senator Kenney to come to Alabama, it isn't only because he thinks his labor and Negro friends elsewhere wouldn't like it. It is also, I believe, because he fears he wouldn't be liked here, and it would show.

A third reason may be his indefatigable little helper here up with whom he would have to put.

* * *

WHAT A TURN of fate if the Federal arm which has been most against the South—the judiciary—should save it from the other two after a Kennedy victory had destroyed the South-saving coalition?

If a radical Democrat with a radical platform is elected this November he will operate in such cahoots with the radical wing of the party in Congress that the Southern Democratic-Republican Coalition will be able neither to override Presidential vetoes of saving legislation nor to depend on vetoes of damning legislation.

The Coalition wouldn't work under Kennedy.

* * *

IF THE SUPREME Court has changed in these six years, has the South changed, too? The South is more determined against some advancements for the Negro than it was before, because it feels they would lead to still more in that wrong direction and because it so resents and fears Court action.

But relieved of judicial and executive force now, the South would be found amazingly alert to Negro progress, I believe, recognizing fully its own shortcomings in the past.

It would hold unflinchingly to segregation in such immense, intimate and domestic situations as the public schools, but regardless of that, the Negro would have a new status, Southern status, genuine because freely recognized by Southern whites.

We have done a lot of thinking as well as a lot of feeling in these last six years.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

A Splendid Novel

"The mocking bird still singing sweetly on . . ."

People studying to be novelists will find Harper Lee's first—"To Kill a Mocking Bird" (Lippincott)—discouraging.

For Miss Lee just seems to take her pen in hand—the book is so easy-reading and real.

She is a natural and will go far.

The scene is a small town in Alabama during the Depression. There are colored people, racial distinctions, sometime injustices, but what makes the book so appealing to me—as to many others—is its dearly familiar atmosphere and background and the blessed freedom from ideologies in favor of a feeling for people as individuals.

Their race and economic situations are personal facts. Before professionals, sentimentalists and politicians made us so self-conscious and put so many chips on so many shoulders, colored and white here were a part of living for each other like this.

Kindness and justice were individual characteristics, as were meanness, cheating and bullying. And whatever they say or forget, "advancement of colored people" was going on.

You couldn't count it up but, like Tennyson's tide that, "moving seems asleep, too full for sound or foam," white and colored were moving forward alongside each other. And they were advancing in ways in which they wanted to advance, not according to some distant somebody else's perfect conception.

* * *

FOR YEARS it has seemed to me that the most genuinely advanced Negroes anywhere — for education, for being characterful, well-heeled and fine-looking—are North Carolina's.

When you consider how far the city is from the Congo to the Carolinas, you wonder if Vice President Nixon's understanding statement (before the conveniton and also since, in spite of the platform) that true solution is not to be forced or speeded but depends on what is in the hearts of men, needs to mean mass integration at all.

He himself, of course, means it, even if slowly. But what could be meant with better meaning is just the opposite.

It could be meant that the Negro is at his best when he lives alongside white people who have a heart for him, who know him, like him and have come to need him as he needs them—and under a separation which means opportunity, not lack of it, for him.

* * *

LET US BE honest and admit this is not exactly the way things were in the South before the desegregation decree put everybody on guard and nearly everybody in opposition. But it's the way things were coming to be.

White and colored in an ever more modern South were working out something super-fine, in race relations, in advancement of colored people, and in development of the South.

* * *

ALABAMA'S CRAIG Smith sees the presidential choice clear and easy.

"I am in complete agreement with the counsel you gave Alabama's six States Rights electors in respect to voting for Mr. Nixon," he writes.

"The conservatives in the South have a clear choice between the liberalism of Mr. Nixon and the socialism of Mr. Kennedy. It is just as clear as that, and, like it or not, there is no other choice."

This enlightened humanitarian-industrialist recalls the work our present States Right electors have done through the years to "preserve the principles embodied in our right to work laws and to keep our unemployment compensation from being completely nationalized . . . It is unthinkable that they would now consider giving even negative support to a candidate who openly states his opposition to these principles and withhold their full support from a candidate who wants to maintain these same principles . . ."

* * *

"I am Sir Oracle. When I ope my lips
Let no dog bark!"

As of today the largest mandate from the Democrats of Alabama is Bruce Henderson's. He led the elector ticket.

He is Sir Oracle and when he makes a statement I am no dog to bark about it.

But when Senator Henderson says a "bloc of Southern voters could name the next President?" I move to clarify.

Such a bloc may indeed say whether the next will be Nixon or Kennedy and perhaps even how he will behave in office. It could be the biggest of all the blocs—and certainly the most American.

Once let it be looked upon as 128 electoral votes free to be fought for, and it is worth three New Yorks.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

Uncle Remus Has A Lesson For Us

Birmingham, Ala. 31a White

"Tar-Baby ain't sayin' nothin', en Brer Fox, he lay low. . . ."

Wed. 9-21-60

* * *

But Brer Rabbit had his turn—as would Senator Kennedy.

" 'Skin me, Brer Fox,' sex Brer Rabbit, sezee, 'snatch out my eyeballs, t'ar out my years by de roots, en cut off my legs', sezee, but do, please, Brer Fox, don't fling me in dat briar-patch' sezee."

And they flung him in the briar patch—where he was "bred en bawn" and loved to be.

* * *

SO WITH Senator Kennedy if independents who are for some dim, devoted, disembodied Democrat should deadlock the electoral college and throw the election into the House.

Each state would have only one vote, true, and the anti-Kennedy South would be, supposedly, at great advantage.

But congressmen, not electors, would be doing the voting there—and one by one they have toed the line for "the ticket," proclaimed their Democratic "loyalty."

Wed. 9-21-60

They would elect Kennedy almost by Southern acclamation.

He would be the rabbit in the briar-patch, and glory be! Joel Chandler Harris, "Uncle Remus" had a tale for these times.

* * *

FOR MEAT IN a nutshell consider this from young B. L. (Lonnie) Noojin, of Gadsden, son of the Lonnie who gave much luster and light to Republican hopes in Alabama before he died.

Commenting on our young governor's latest outburst of post-aural humidity (that "the GOP ushered in the civil rights program"), Mr. Noojin says the governor evidently doesn't remember "that the civil rights issue began in the mid-thirties when the wife of a well-known Democratic President began her meddling in the affairs of what a female cabinet member termed the "barefooted Southerners' by encouraging and working with NAACP and those radical Northern Democratic congressmen who drew up the first FEPC bill, starting this whole business . . ."

Amen and amen!

* * *

"Once more into the breach, dear friends, once more,
Or close the wall up with our English dead . . ."

The name is Rosedale.

Congratulations to Homewood's Mayor E. G. (Bud) Walker on his re-election, but it is too bad that he interprets it as a defeat for Rosedale and rushes to say he will re-submit to the new council the Southgate proposal voted down unanimously by the old council with so fair and American a statement.

Mayor Walker's persistence may be public-minded, but he won by a plurality, not a majority.

His two opponents were both against Southgate, and their total vote amounts to a considerable majority against him. He is not so approved and secure that he can wisely persist in what will destroy a community to which this whole state's interest has been won now.

Alabamians have come to see that a principle is at stake—and a story involved.

* * *

FIRST OF ROSEDALE'S white friends to champion it here was Mrs. Phillip A. DeVore. May she see the day when it will shine for a nation in example of "racial integrity," showing both races what they can achieve side by side but separate.

* * *

RACIAL INTEGRITY! My thoughtful friend Pratt Rather, who has contended long that it is a more true, and proper name than "segregation," will be interested in the new Citizens' Council stickers.

They have the two terms — "States' Rights" and "Racial Integrity."

* * *

"RACIAL INTEGRITY" suggests pride, self-respect, self-reliance, achievement. It makes no racial comparisons, suggests only an excellence to be sought, a loyalty to be served.

The colored people of Rosedale have racial integrity and it promises new dawns. It can produce in the South the finest race relations in history.

* * *

HONORING the man who was its soul and collected its substance, the Street Manual Training School for Negroes at Minter, Ala., will be known from now as "the Emmanuel Brown Training School," I am advised by Board Chairman Virgil McCain. W. M. Moultrie has been named principal.

It is good to know that Mrs. Robert Ingalls Sr. is helping the school, as did her husband before he died, and that Robert Ingalls Jr. is another benefactor.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
Birmingham Post-Herald

If Only Lyndon Had Not Signed Up

31a White Birmingham, Ala.

"I've been workin' on the railroad. . . ."

* * *

Through "Alabam" today the dark-as-midnight choo-choo of Lyndon Johnson rolls.

When it left Washington NBC's David Brinkley reported the band playing "I've Been Working on the Railroad," not realizing that "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon You" has the same tune and was intended. But inasmuch as Lyndon is said to be working on everybody and everything in his conferences between whistle stops, he may really be working on the railroad, too.

Wed. 10-13-60

The Southern, which so famously "serves the South" may soon be pretending not to be Southern at all and to serve New England.

* * *

WHAT A BUILD-UP the South was giving LBJ by the time the Democratic convention met.

In spite of his sins he was the white hope, a Democratic nominee we could accept in belief that his background, associations and instincts were too Southern for him ever to do much business with our enemies even when he couldn't do it with us and that anything he might do against us would be done with a wink.

* * *

PEOPLE JUST wouldn't believe it when he signed up as second man to Kennedy after the monstrous platform had been adopted.

His signature has corrupted the whole 1960 campaign and, of course, has compounded corruption of the Johnson image. Even though taking him as running mate represented an enormous would-be concession to the South, it was insulting in its wrong presumption that the Texan could hold the South in line with its worst enemies.

* * *

BECAUSE LBJ SIGNED up, both the Democrats and the Republicans are limping.

The dominant leftists in the Democratic camp make no bones of feeling corrupted. Kennedy never mentions Johnson's name.

The dominant conservatives and middle-of-the-roaders in the Republican camp feel equally corrupted. They were forced to the Rockefeller leftist deal when Johnson's signing seemed to destroy Nixon Southern hopes and necessitated looking elsewhere.

And in both parties now the thing has turned futile.

Because of Johnson's inability to do what he was taken on for—hold the South—Kennedy has gone back to more "getting along without the South" than ever, and Nixon has come back hoping for the South and being his naturally more conservative self, Rockefeller or not.

* * *

'Of all sad words of tongue or pen
The saddest are those, 'It might have been.'"

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN if LBJ had stuck to the South and West and even in defeat had refused to sign up with the enemy and bring this all-around corruption?

I believe he would be dominating the campaign now and that it would be a true campaign between honest points of view in the two parties.

He would be dominating without official position but as the man with the balance of power, the man who could not only hold the South but direct it to decision between an unblemished Kennedy and an unblemished Nixon.

I believe he would be riding a dawn choo-choo, not a midnight one, and that he would be headed back to his majority leadership in the Senate under conditions that would have made him the biggest man in the country, the true arbiter of its destiny and way.

As things are now, the senator's choo-choo is bound for even more midnight insofar as he personally is concerned.

If the Kennedy ticket wins, Johnson will have no such place as Nixon. He'll be a Throttlebottom in spite of his abilities.

Kennedy is too far from him, Kennedy's friends mistrust him too much, to let him be a powerful vice president. Only Ike, the political novice and man apart, would ever have let Nixon be one, as a matter of fact.

And if the Kennedy-Johnson ticket loses, LBJ may be re-elected to the Senate and his party will hold the Senate, but LBJ won't be the majority leader.

That will go to someone like Hubert Humphrey, more in line with Kennedy, more one of the new boys, less tainted with the South yet rejected by the South.

* * *

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN. Lyndon Johnson is a political overseer, not a philosopher.

Brilliantly he makes things work, and he is able to move right or left as occasion calls. If he had not signed up, he might be looking forward to a shinning assumption of command over the epochal coalition already so controlling in Congress.

He might be the most powerful man in politics and the 1964 choice of the group which proves every day in the Congress its latent majority in the country.

No midnight choo-choo would be carrying him but a locomotive all dawn, drive and constitutional red-white-and-blue.

* * *

ARE THERE SPOOKS about, or did the New Yorker cover the Southern Company's meeting at Sea Island two weeks ago?

In his talk there on scientific research, Thomas W. Martin quoted someone that "the cave men could have split the atom if they had known what rocks to use and how hard to hit." To which Mr. Martin added: "And how to hit that hard!"

Comes now the just-out issue of the New Yorker with a cartoon drawing of an archeological explorer on his knees in a pre-historic cave staring at ancient drawings, symbols, figures and other hieroglyphics on a back wall his flash light has exposed.

Only one of the markings is intelligible. It reads "E equals MC2."

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

Great Gift Made By The Smolians

Mon. 10-10-60

"Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever;
Do noble things, not dream them all day long;
And so make life, death and that vast Forever
One grand sweet song . . ."

* * *

Charles Kingsley to the contrary, the good have an obligation to be as clever—and wise—as they can, lest the goodness be wasted.

That is what Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Smolian have been with their great gift of $100,000 for federal two-to-one matching to build the new psychiatric clinic of the University of Alabama Medical Center here.

With wisdom they have gone to the very heart of goodness.

Mental illness has come to be far and away the major one of these times and there are no sufficient hospital facilities in sight.

By treating patients early enough to be turned back to health before hospitalization becomes the only way, this out-patient clinic will lighten the tragic pressure on the hospitals as well as the incidence of the illness itself.

The Smolians have placed their generous $100,000 exactly where it will do the most good.

* * *

INCIDENTALLY this is the United Appeal point. It is for goodness plus wisdom in consolidated collection of the money.

* * *

IT IS BEYOND mortals to hope that life ever will be "one grand sweet song." But people like the Smolians bring much song to living—their own living and that of others.

* * *

I WAS INTERESTED in what Rose thought of the second Great Debate. She said it made her feel better about the country that two such competent, intelligent, high-minded, amazingly well-informed and on-the-job young men should be competing for its crown place. I thought so, too.

They are not great men but they are exceptional men and the one who wins can be counted on to grow in office.

I hope they find it in their hearts and politics before the campaign ends to name the great issue between them, for it is there and identifying of it will teach all of us much.

"A generation has arisen in our country that knows not the Constitution," says Editor James Jackson Kilpatrick, of the Richmond News-Leader, author of "The Sovereign States."

But in another sense, Jack, there has never been a generation which knew more about the Constitution and about politics, geography, economics, history, art, sex and what-have-they.

Certainly none has been exposed to so much in the sheer course of violent events. There are those who have come actually to understand how the electoral college works, who can find the Congo and the Cameroons on the map, who get the point of free enterprise and competition.

It could be that we are saturated with certain things to the point of inattention and disregard, of knowing but not caring.

* * *

IT'S THE NOT-CARING.

Who that you pass on the streets is eating his heart out for States' Rights? Who has ulcers over the way Hugo Black and company have stretched the Constitution's interstate commerce and welfare clauses?

In speeches in 36 states in the last five years I have found a shockingly great number of people who are persuaded that States' Rights mean something dated out of the Civil War, a hangover from moonlight and magnolias, a Southern fixation remote to modern living.

Our great names and documents need translating into terms that will intrigue the man in the street.

Especially, I think, does the term States' Right need this modern treatment for it is at this very moment the basic issue of all the world.

It means now far more than merely the 10th Amendment's reserved rights of states. Historically it is a term for the contract under which we put this country toegther, made a nation of many nations under a system of Dual Sovereignty.

But for the uses of modern times, States' Rights has come to mean the whole cause against government, against too much of it, too far removed, too devoted to body over soul, too forgetful of the individual for the mass, too little mindful of itself as a servant, not master.

The man in the street has no nervous breakdowns over the Constitution by name.

But he may have one over what results from abuse of the "laws of nature and of nature's God" embodied in the Constitution, over the taxes and restraints, the heartbreaking uniformities, the far-reaching confusions, that result when government plays God and men forget their Image for materialisms.

* * *

ALL OF WHICH is respectfully submitted to Mr. John D. McGill Jr. who has written from Memphis asking for an answer to those who say States' Rights is merely the Southern wish not to be interfered with in race relations and refusal to give the Negro his individual rights, and who have hands out for all they can get from Washington otherwise.

Nothing in the principle of Dual Sovereignty calls on states to forego their parts in the other sovereignty.

Nothing requires them to forego their own sovereignties because there are flaws in race dealings.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

Cynical, Insulting Train Heading Here

Birmingham, Ala.

Tues. 10-11-60

"When that midnight choo-choo leaves for Alabam. . . ."

* * *

Thirteen cars long, and with nearly every car available as a "smoke-filled room" for President-making by way of the deals, compromises, pap and patronage promises and manipulations of this against that for which he is famous, Lyndon Johnson's choo-choo is back-slapping through the South.

What happens at the whistle-stops isn't half so important as what happens between stops.

* * *

HE WAS PUT on "the ticket" to deliver these states in spite of hell and high water, of socialism, centralism and integrationism, of Reuther, Wilkins, Williams and Bowles, of a South-hating that carries venom enough to wish to abolish literacy itself as a voting requirement, inviting the Congo to be our brother and our democratic ideal.

* * *

IT IS the most cynical, sophisticated and insulting train that ever set flange against rail.

The charming snake-charmer and bewitching witch-doctor of each whistle stop will be the man who doesn't want to be a Southerner any more, who boasts of putting through the only two civil force laws, whose voting record is more leftist even than Kennedy's, and who not only accepts the Democratic platform and candidate but is "more pious than the Pope" in support, even of promising the NAACP more for the Negro in the next four years than in the whole last hundred.

He has found in the whistle stop his perfect instrument, privacy for saying one thing in one place, one in another, without being heard everywhere on everything. And there is the additional advantage of whispers between whistles, of consultations between stops, with the eager local office-holders and would-be's who are expected to put "the ticket" over whether the Southern people want it or not.

* * *

"NO CONTACT!"

Senator Johnson's mind at work on "Meet The Press" Sunday evening contrasted as night and day with the minds of Kennedy and Nixon Friday evening as the two younger men raced eagerly to the questions.

No one could call the Texan immature.

He was old as the hills, sophisticated as midnight. With no single question by the overwhelmed pressmen did he establish actual contact.

There was sweet reason in all his accents, modest conviction in his whole manner, forthrightness in every sound he made—but no contact.

Seeming to answer everything, he answered nothing.

You have to have lived a long time mentally to tie things up the way Senator Johnson did. In an impossible situation he sounded like a man sitting pretty.

Memo to MR. A. P. Blackerby, of Clinton, Tenn.—The so-called bill to "curb" the Supreme Court, against which Senator Johnson voted and which was lost by one vote, might better have been called a bill to "circumvent."

It was S654 which would have restored to the states the authority to maintain and enforce their state laws against sedition and subversion. As things stand now, the anti-subversive laws of 41 states remain nullified by the court.

* * *

INTERESTINGLY this paper says the Nixon-Kennedy debates have pretty much fixed "this form of campaigning as a unique and useful way for the voter to make comparisons."

It will be agreed, though, that success as between these two candidates does not assure success as between others. You can't imagine Senator Johnson making a production in this sense of a Great Debate — or, for other reasons, Dwight Eisenhower.

* * *

JACK KENNEDY is overdoing caution in refusals to enter Alabama, it seems to me. He will come as near as Columbus, Ga., and wave across the river, it is said, but he won't set foot on our actual territory where our young governor could get him and play host before photographers.

* * *

NOT BECAUSE of Democratic "loyalties" but for feared disloyalties, for gallant revolt of people against politicians, is the South more in the presidential picture today than it has been since Civil War times.

Alabama, for example, is news for being visited and for being avoided, too. Unwillingness to come here is as significant as wish to come, and calls for even more analysis.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Turn Again

"Turn again, Dick Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London!"

* * *

THAT IS WHAT the bells of Bow Street seemed to tell young Dick Whittington when he had left London where his faith and heart belonged.

If Vice President Nixon is no underprivileged Whittington but if he hears bells today in Birmingham—perhaps the Advent's chimes across the park named Woodrow Wilson—they, too, may be talking. They may be saying "Return again, and then again, Dick Nixon, to this city and South which so become you and which, across the now wanton party lines, is calling you and us to constitutionalism, to individualism, to men in an image! Calling against the socialism, centralism, materialism, and perpetual new dealings of those who have stolen the Democratic Party and are stealing your party, too!

* * *

RETURN BECAUSE the right way is here, and the American, the way of the history that has made America earth's great place at earth's great time, the way of "nature and of nature's God."

RETURN, TOO, because you need to win this election.

The only political majority available to you is the one to which these states mightily belong, the one of coalition between Southern Democrats and Republicans which has ruled the Congress 16 years and the White House eight.

It is a majority composed of positive electoral votes, not mere pressing of pressure groups.

It is a natural majority, come about through no conspiracy or mere convenience but through interests in common.

It is majority as mathematically real as 51 per cent is real, no twisted, synthetic, manipulated total.

* * *

ALL OF A SUDDEN our states bestride the world. It's fate, America's and our own, of a sud- is in our hands. For here this year, by grace of blows for Southern independence some thought we could never strike, the presidential election of 1960 is being decided. For a moment, and perhaps only for a moment, we are restored to more power than we have had since the nation's first days. A minority power, true, a power dependent altogether on coalition or on the courage and will to coalesce, it is nevertheless, decisive.

* * *

LET US BLUSH in this majestic hour that our political leaders, our "office-holding industry," especially our senators and congressmen, are herding together at the old gates of pap and patronage, stampeding to be registered for party regularity, some of them with speeches of unexampled bitterness against that party still quivering on their lips. If there were division among them, some clash of opinion (this isn't opinion, only run to cover) we might contemplate them with less of shame. But their unanimity proves their herd-emotion, their guilt, their lesser over larger caring. Under nobler impulse a proportion of them, at least, would be standing by their speeches.

* * *

LET US BLUSH FOR THEM—and let us be glad for our people who are so unhestitatingly parting company with them for the period of this election.

Whatever the people of the South decide next November they will do it without benefit of their politicians. They will do it with the dignity of history in their hearts and minds, the panorama of humanity and America and the South and eternal truth before them.

* * *

TO HAVE the vice president here in the Deep South, hopefully, as Republican candidate for president, is a stirring and dramatic event. It makes for a great show, great theater, as they say. But it is a solemn show, too, reflecting enormous history, evolutionary and revolutionary processes that alter some of our ways and days and challenge other ways and days they must not alter.

* * *

NEVER WAS THE world so much with us. Observing it, Senator Kennedy sees a crisis which calls for changes as radical as those of 1929, and more. He calls them vaguely a New Frontier. What that is we know not, but we know this is not 1929. The crisis now calls not for bread but for principals, ones with which we have made this earth's great place.

* * *

IF MR. NIXON wins, it will be said that not since the Coolidges have beauty and grace in the First Lady been so conspicuous. Also that not since the Franklin Roosevelt's had a First Lady got around so much. And that not since anybody ever had there been such a difference in the gettings-around.

Mrs. Nixon would never make the mistake of thinking she, too, had been elected president.

With hat in hand, hand on heart, heart in mouth, and mouth wide in praise—a Magic City salutes her for compounding the magic with her call!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Circle Complete

"All the way With LBJ. . . ."

As Richard Nixon completes a Southern circle we may congratulate ourselves at last on importance.

And Lyndon B. Johnson may credit himself with 360 degrees of the circle.

Because, against all ideological rhyme and reason, Sen. Johnson let himself be named Kennedy's running mate and it was believed this master stroke had brought the South back into Democratic line, Richard Nixon surrendered his Southern hopes and made the Treaty of Fifth Avenue with Hi-ya, Nelse.

Because Senator Johnson has failed to bring the South back but has alienated it even more with the cynicism of his alliance with the Democratic "Liberals" and his unblushing fervor for their impossible platform, Richard Nixon has now re-discovered Southern hopes.

Suddenly they are taller than ever, sky-high, victory high.

* * *

LAST FALL I wrote the vice-president about the considerable support for him here, urging him not to overlook the Democratic nature of it. He asked me to send him more of my columns on this theme and I have been doing so. Not until July 14 last, just before the conventions did I hear anything from him. Then came an exceptionally cordial letter well beyond the call of political duty. The incident suggested that he had the South much in mind and hope—and heart—as the convention began, that his letter was one of many in build-up of Southern lines.

But when Senator Johnson accepted the Democratic nomination for vice-president, Mr. Nixon had to enter his own convention with a swiftly changed strategy based on a presumption that his Southern chances were gone. He made the "Treaty of Fifth Avenue," joined Rockefeller on a civil rights plank almost as bad as the Democratic.

* * *

BUT—DOUBLE SURPRISE!

LBJ didn't take.

He was no magnet any more, less even than Kefauver and Sparkman. Southerners who had coaxed themselves into enthusiasm for him when he seemed their only chance couldn't see him as Kennedy's overseer. They began remembering they had called him traitor for letting civil rights bills through. And when, to show "good faith" as a running-mate, he became "more pious than the Pope," speaking ardently for the platform, especially the intolerable civil rights plank, and stressing again that he wasn't a Southerner but a Westerner and "an American," it was no wonder that the polls showed no Nixon losses at all in the South.

The vice-president looked upon the South again and found it fair again.

He found himself back where he had started, definitely hopeful of these states, definitely in need of them.

* * *

HE IS BACK and we are back. He supports his party's intolerable civil rights plank, of course. He isn't remotely near turning segregationist or damning the decree. But he is pointedly repeating the two statements which had pleased the South before the Johnson to-do and the Rockefeller fuss, the one about the law being of no use without a will in the people to support it, and the one about what is in the hearts of men as all that really counts.

Kennedy never says anything like that. Neither does Johnson. Neither to either party's platforms.

He is far away but he is nearer than anybody else and his constitutionalism invites him nearer.

He will be received warmly here not only because of the extraordinary fact of his being here, but because on all subjects save one he thinks as we do and is entitled to our votes. As for the one, for relief from the heat about that, it is necessary only to consider Kennedy, Stevenson, Reuther and all the Democratic radicals who exceed him so and who would never dare the appeal to both races in his words about what is in the hearts of men and the uselessness of law not supported by public will.

Almost the Great Debator seems deliberately to be giving the South two legs to stand on.

For if laws won't work without a will of the people and if no will is in sight, the obvious answer is to admit the law unworkable (as with the prohibition law) and repeal it.

And if the only hope is in the hearts of people, the hope lies in the South, in the sort of South we had before the Supreme Court made us afraid of our own good will toward the Negro.

There is heart for our colored people here.

There is no heart for them anywhere else, only hulla-baloo and hypocrisy.

* * *

AS HAPPY as is Mr. Nixon's decision to come to Birmingham and Atlanta are the auspices under which he comes—Democratic and independent—the "Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge." There is no rebuff to his own party. There is only recognition that his party doesn't amount to anything in the South—or to enough in the nation or the Congress—without Southern Democrats, but that in coalition with them it has controlled the Congress and elected the President for the last eight years.

* * *

MEANWHILE LBJ, the Cynic Without a Cause, the brilliant overseer for whomever he works, is on his new job, and still without a cause. The letter he wrote this column last year gets more meaning with every catalytic agency he exercises. "I believe that a coherent philosophy for the present day," he said, "can much better be formed out of action than out of pure thinking isolated from the realities of the world . . ."

The senator has seen much action since then. It may be that a coherent philosophy is develop-

But thus far it isn't coherent enough to tell him where he stands when he is standing especially on the South and civil force.

* * *

WHAT TIMES are these! "The situation in the once Solid South is in such a state of flux that no one wants to hazard a guess on any Southern state at this time," reports Washington Columnist Bascomb Timmons.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Post-Herald

Then Comes Mouse

"The mountain labored and a mouse was born."

8-20-60

What a Stone Mountain for debate Georgia's Democratic Chairman James H. Gray was before Rotary here Wednesday!

Those granites of argument, that Pike's Peak of logic, those many feet above the sea-levels of mere expediency, those cliffs of constitutional love and lore, those cloud-piercing principles, that sky-high eloquence!

All this—and then, a mouse.

Mr. Gray will support "The Ticket."

* * *

COLUMNIST W. D. Workman speaks of Mr. Gray's Georgia as our most Democratic state, implying that for this reason it is harder to vote against a Democratic nominee for President there. We shall see next month.

Actually Mr. Workman's South Carolina is the "most Democratic State," not Georgia. It is that in proportion of Democratic to total voters.

Yet it is also the most independent state. The revolt in the South which launched the revolution in the nation began there in 1948.

This continuing and accumulating revolution — for man against state, for the individual against society — Mr. Gray told us about Wednesday.

But he doesn't seem to hear what he says.

Perhaps he excuses himself on grounds that he is a Democratic officeholder — chairman of the party in his state — and therefore more bound than ordinary men. But he is also an editor, a Southern editor, and therefore more bound in the other direction than ordinary men, more bound to be free.

* * *

TAKE IT from the experts. Socialist leader Norman Thomas says the Democratic platform is more socialist than the Republican. The NAACP's Roy Wilkins says the Democratic civil rights plank is more pleasing than the Republican.

* * *

MR. NIXON didn't duck on the race question at Greensboro but he said something his platform didn't and wouldn't say and his opponent wouldn't say. The Vice president has been saying it a long time. No law can amount to anything, he avowed again, unless there is will to obey the law. For so champion a debater he leaves himself wide open with that.

If the only real answer is that will to obey and there is no will, if the lack is universal, unwaning, total and passionate among those to whom the law most applies, Mr. Nixon is subject to argument that the only possible answer is repeal.

A practical example was prohibition.

Perhaps the master debater is giving us one up.

* * *

BOB GOODALL'S announcement for mayor of Mountain Brook exposes him to expressions of affection and respect which many of us have been waiting occasion to pay. What a (1) conscientious, (2) capable, and (3) charming mayor he would make! He thinks in terms of other people, individually and collectively.

* * *

MR. GRAY and other "loyal" Southern Democratic politicians who justify "loyalty" by insisting the two parties are equally offensive to the South on civil rights (which they aren't) go further and say they are the same on New Dealing. They are not this by the whole distance between facing right and facing left from the same vicinity. A good way to know and show it is likely cabinets and advisers. Soapy Williams is pretty sure to be Kennedy's Secretary of Welfare, Chester Bowles his Secretary of State, Reuther to be large in the picture and also Arthur Schlesinger, etc. These contrast with such conservatives as Secretary Anderson whom Nixon seems sure to want, Arthur Burns, the conservative economist, etc.

* * *

The "GREAT DEBATE" can't be very great between two cool young politicians. But there can be very real debate—or differences—between the men Kennedy would have around him and those Nixon would have.

* * *

In his address here Mr. Gray recognized this, in part, spoke of the fact that even though the candidates themselves are geniuses provenly willing to go one political way or another as genius orders, their camps include men of passionate devotion to a cause or philosophy and these will be guiding if the camp wins. He seemed to have in mind especially Walter Reuther in Kennedy's camp. In Nixon's he might have named Secretary Robert B. Anderson, Senator Goldwater, etc.

* * *

And, yes, he might have named Dwight Eisenhower. The President has a philosophy and cares tremendously about it, more than about politics, even though he is not profound and is no great shakes as a debater or a propounder.

Mr. Gray's point is finely taken, but seems to for one side only.

Odds Even As Tigers Face Vols

Birmingham Post-Herald

Birmingham, Ala.

"Come one, come all, this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I . . . . ."

P 6 Sept. 9-24-60

Mighty in-defense, Auburn can attack, too, this year.

The team is one of the nation's top 10 on Newsweek's current list and many others.

And the aura of having been national Number One so lately lingers in support of great hopes today.

Also supporting hope today and always at Auburn is the bloom of youth, miraculously surviving into a modern day that wants the bloom back everywhere. There's something country-boy and believing about the shape of things in "the loveliest village."

If this reflects on the proper world-weariness and sophistication of Auburn's young men and women, it is nevertheless my faithful report and profound tribute.

* * *

THEY FACE the Volunteers this afternoon with odds even. There's too much recent flavor of victory about both teams to have them otherwise.

* * *

WILL THE Coalition work under a Leftist Democratic President?

Quintin T. Hardtner Jr., president of the hard-working Southern States Industrial Council, agrees that the Coalition is the main hope of the conservative South and rigidly suggests the importance of selecting the right men to represent us in Congress for combating "the welfarism of both parties."

He dismisses the Presidency race as involving no real difference between the parties or the candidates.

But even if there were indeed no difference between Kennedy and Nixon (I think he is greatly mistaken about that—they face in opposite directions even when they stand in the same place) Mr. Hardtner should consider the effect on the Congressional Coalition.

It succeeds against the leftist Democratic majority in two ways. One is by joining Southern Democratic-Republican forces to make a majority.

The other is by being able to prevent the overriding of a favorable presidential veto by a two-thirds vote.

If Kennedy were President, he would offer no helpful vetoes and even if he did the Democratic majority would be too great for any such salvation-by-veto as has come under Eisenhower and would under Nixon.

As President, Kennedy would be a part of the leftist majority, making that majority all the harder to defeat. Eisenhower has been part of a majority and so would Nixon be if elected, for no one doubts the return of a Democratic majority.

* * *

"They shall fold their tents like
the Arabs
And silently steal away. . . . ."

NOT LIKE ARABS alone but like all people anywhere who stand on the awful brink and know a step to which they are tempted can take them to atomic perdition, the Russians have folded in the Congo. Once again the hell beyond the brink has been approached and humanity has turned back.

Pax Atomica prevails.

The Peace of Atomic Awfulness is not like the one of which the Christmas angels sing, but it's peace. Or rather it is non-war.

* * *

FRIENDS AND FOES alike of the United Nations will note not only that here is its most effective piece of work yet but that it has been achieved not so much by force or authority but by "appearance in public."

Because of the United Nations there has been a place to tell all, to report all, to let the opinion of all materialize and make itself count.

* * *

"TO HEAR YOU TALK," a reader writes, "Harry Truman was responsible for Little Rock."

He certainly was.

Little Rock is one of the many tragedies resulting from the atmosphere created and the chain of events launched under Truman and accelerated by the Truman-Roosevelt-appointed Supreme Court (Warren was the only Eisenhower choice in 1954.

Bitter as many of us still feel about the troops, they had nothing to do with any integration policy. They were a life-long military man's response as Chief Executive to what he was told was a defiance of the law. He "called out the guard."

Stevenson and Kennedy think he should have done it sooner and Kennedy is planning to be superactive on race matters (see current Newsweek), but that's another story.

* * *

T. K. ATKINS, of this city, wants to know if Lyndon Johnson's vote didn't defeat the bill to crub the Supreme Court. It did. The vote was 41 to 40.

The ACA index report shows that Johnson voted to kill it. It would have restored to the respective states the authority to maintain and enforce their state laws against sedition and subversion, overriding a Supreme Court decision to the contrary.

* * *

SENATOR JOHNSON rated 10 per cent on this ACA index of votes for constitutional government. this compares with Williams' 99, Goldwater's 98, Byrd's 92 Lausche 81.

Our Senators Hill and Sparkman rated 15 and 11, respectively, as against Dick Russell's 61 and Herman Talmadge's 53 in Georgia.

This Morning

By John Temple Graves

"Rabid on Race, a Rabbit on Labor."

Oh, the hypocrisy, and oh, the shame!

Shocked by Senator Lausche's proposal to punish anybody but the South, the greatest deliberative body in the world deliberated not at all Friday. It turned down point blank the Ohioan's civil rights bill making it a crime to interfere by threats or force with Federal court orders in all (not just racial but even labor) cases.

Leading the stop-movement was Javits.

Javits the Rabid on Race.

Javits the Rabbit on Labor.

Once again people will be asking the great Ohioan to run for President.

I mean the people, not the pressure groups.

The Man on Horseback picks Montgomery—with his eyes shut. Walter Reuther demands that Ike tell his Attorney General "immediately" to "restore law and order" in the Alabama city. Law and order sound fine but not as Mr. Reuther means them. He doesn't mean the Negro students who have illegally aggressed at lunch counters and who have defied police orders with their marches and demonstrations. He means a few white men who seized clubs against a sea of trouble — and the thousands of whites who have swarmed to the streets to see the show.

How can Mr. Reuther spare time for this extra-curriculum activity when his home work calls him, when he is so needed with his own people in his own part of the country and everywhere else? Or has destruction of law and order by union labor pickets and manhandlers become so much the "order" of the day that it's no longer disorder?

A right-minded Attorney General — alas, Mr. Rogers isn't — would refer the Reuther complaint to national headquarters of CORE and NAACP. Why pick on Montgomery? This business started in North Carolina. CORE actually boasts of organizing it nationally.

Young Robert Kennedy, brother of the Senator and a coming man in his own rights, spoke in Birmingham Saturday. As former chief counsel to the McClellan Committee, he made Hoffa and Beck what they are today. Those who criticize him for not giving Democrat Walter Reuther his own due fail to note that it is a very different due. More dangerous by far than skulduggerous Hoffa and Beck, Reuther's comparative honesty and patriotism win a hearing for his socialism which the other two can never have for their simple sin.

The McClellan Committee had nothing to do with socialism or, by that token, with Reuther. If it were not so Mr. Kennedy would have resigned even earlier from his job with the Committee for he is his brother's campaign manager and Reuther is his brother's buddy.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

North Alabama And States Rights

"Thou wilt not yield the vandal toll,
Maryland, my Maryland,
Thou wilt not crook to his control. . . ."

* * *

Why should North Alabama help the States' Rights cause when South Alabama holds out so on reapportionment? Mrs. Inez C. Hartung, of Cullman, asks and the point would have logic if it stood alone.

Why indeed, if this were a matter of barter or exchange? But it is one of right and wrong. The issue in the campaign for free electors goes far beyond rights, race or reapportionment.

It is whether the South is to be absorbed or is to remain an increasingly component and growing part of this land, contributing values which are not antiquated but eternal.

It is whether we shall play a part of our own in the nation's advance or be carried along as caudal appendages or kept provinces. We have much to contribute to our country, more than any other part. In this day of politics overmare. Who is entitled to take that all, we'll never contribute it if weaway in the name of a New Deal that is dealt.

* * *

TO VOTE FOR free electors Tuesday in North Alabama will have nothing to do with South Alabama. It will have to do with the blessedly indicated wave of the Southern future, machinery replacing slaves to make a civilization as ideal for all people as it was once for some people.

But to vote for "loyal" electors can mean the samenesses of the store-bought, of socialism, of New Deal materialism that counts only its money and goods received.

Necklaced from shoulder to shoulder with the lake-jeweled Tennessee River, dramatic with last pointing arrows of the Appalachians, high-bosomed with Sand Mountain, storied along the Natchez Trace, rich-deposited with coal, iron, limestone, crowded with incomparable trees, sociable with paths, by-ways, roads and six-lane highways!

North Alabama! Gridled with the Coosa and the Warrior, sweet with the hills of Blount and the blue of its spring.

The New Deal task is done everywhere in spite of the musty perpetuals. The job now is insurance against Federal domination and dulling, against collectivist ideals and low common denominators which turn a shinning new Southern industrial revolution that remembers its agrarians into carbon copies of Pittsburg, duplications of the damnations of Detroit, patterns of Paterson, N. J., neons of New York.

North Alabama needs only to look at itself in one of its mirrored new lakes to know how predestined it is to vote free and Southern and brave next Tuesday, to vote for Blair, Dixon and Givhan, for Hornsby and Johnston, for Malone,, McNeil, McQueen and Mizell, to vote for Newsome!

* * *

May we have it when they are done?

This loyalist advertisement about how the politicians - both senators and five congressmen (they might have added the Patterson Administration and the Folsom machine) - are on the Loyalist side - fits perfectly the case we free Democrats are trying to make - that only officeholders want our state slave-tied to the socialist-centralist-integrationist crowd who control the National Party against the Alabama one.

Who wrote yesterday's Loyalist Statement? Are they sure he's on their side? He had them pledging never to vote for a "Republican integrationist." The simplest of us wonder why they swear against Republican integrationists with nothing against Democratis ones.

To be as tricky, some of us might point out that National Democrats have at least four times as many integrationist candidates (having four times as many candidates - and Nixon being in wrong now with the NAACP.)

* * *

The peculiar statement beats a drum, too, for a bald assertion that "no Civil Rights bills have ever passed except under a Republican President."

The trick is that Congresses, not Presidents, pass bills, and Congress is Democratic. Both in 1957 and last month, it was a Democratic Congress that passed a civil rights bill.

The pixillated statement speaks for " continued support of Democratic programs such as TVA, REA, social security, home loans, old age benefits, veterans benefits, river development, farm support, etc."

But what gives! After eight years of Ike the Democratic majority in Congress (which wouldn't exist without Southern Democrats) is still doing business with these things and so is the Republican President.

Can Senators Hill and Sparkman be the geniuses behind this slew-footed statement! They are predicting materialistically that Federal money will be harder to get for Alabama public works if the states leaves the Democratic Party.

"The only real assurance we have that future funds will be voted, says Senator Hill, "is to stick to the party and the leadership." Having had funds for eight years now, it might be presumed that the senator meant the status quo but he doesn't.

He wants to impose on the Congressional Coalition which has achieved these things a radical Democratic leadership that would kill it and the South with it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

31a Birmingham Post-Herald

Southern Progress During 49 Years

P. 10 Sun 5-27-60

"All of which I saw and part of which I was. . . ."

* * *

The picture Saturday of Thomas W. Martin, coatless, hat in hand, arm extended over the scene, his small, competent, dynamic figure as erect as ever, looking down upon the panorame of the Lewis Smith Dam in construction at Sipsey Fork on the Warrior recalled another picture nobody thought to take.

It was one of young Tom Martin with James Mitchell at Cherokee Bluff on the Tallapoosa 49 years ago, overlooking what was to become the modern Alabama Power Co's. first project planned—known now as Martin Dam and Lake.

Mr. Martin must have remembered the immensities envisioned by James Mitchell and himself on that day in 1911 when he and his board members inspected last Friday this more recent immensity of a company now kilowatted with things achieved and amphered with more to come.

From 1911 to 1960—what a story of America, the world, the South! And what paralleling operation of the Alabama Power Co. under Thomas W. Martin—success and failure and success again, marching with Alabama, with the South, leading at last this very nation!

And below them there the Lewis Smith Dam, compact with a nation's tops in engineering, policy and regional serving, newest part of a company called The Southern!

It was proper and yet improper that newspapers of the same last Saturday announced the naming of Thomas W. Martin as "Management Man of the Year" by the National Management Association.

Proper because he ranks so in every field into which life has called him to command. "Wherever MacGregor sits is the head of the table."

But improper by reason of not being enough to say of a true leader of the South at a Southern time like this.

We have come to a place where we must have it known that what we recognize and honor in a man like Mr. Martin is more than the economic march from Cherokee Bluff to Lewis Smith Dam.

It is the dreaming in between, the visions of a civilization and a culture expanding with an economy, the "manufacturing of customers," the America-mindedness, and the miracle of an Old South escaping with its most precious baggage into a New South.

* * *

All is not McGill that is Georgian, and glory be!

In Herman Talmadge Georgia has one as nation-minded as the other is nation-socialist-minded as straight-forward as the other is slippery, as understanding as the other is confused, and blessed as the other is not with ability to see that the South's way now is America's way and the "way of nature's God.

Confounding Ralph's almost psychopathic insistence that Southern revolt on the race question is hurting Southern economy, Senator Talmadge has just released for nationwide distribution U.S. Department of commerce reports of nearly seven billions of new plants and equipment in the Southeast in the last eight years.

They show this seven-state area well ahead of the nation as a whole in rate of increase, its 68 percent gain in manufacturing outlay in 1958 over 1947 exceeding the nation's by 21 percent.

"An appropriate and convincing reply," the senator calls this, "to those prophets of doom whose real concern is not the areas' economic well-being but the South's uncompromising devotion to a way of life - one that will not be intimidated by shouts of money."

How Georgia's fine senator contrasts with Alabama's notorious ex-Gov. James E. Folsom, his cronies, hangers-on and hayriders, his political stalking horse, his fellow dreamers of that hateful dream of Negro political exploitation that "waves before the half-shut eye."

No one is more outright than Herman Talmadge today in call for a South whose loyalties on state and local levels do not make it a slave to the National Democratic party. "Neither party can win the November elections without the South," he says. "The independent elector plan is the one constitutional way. . .we have the strength and we must corral it and use it right."

Birmingham Post-Herald

Remember Alabama's 10 free electors to be voted for on May 31, my fellow Southern democrats: Blair, Dixon, Givhan, Hornsby, Johnston, Malone, McNeil, McQueen, Mizell and Newsome.

When I see a comparatively young writer developing a soul, an art, a substance, I'm glad I'm old and world-weary enough to forget much and salute him as I do E. L. Holland Jr., for his current contributions to The News.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

31a Birmingham Post-Herald

Peepholes Needed

"The Genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council. . ."

P. 12 Sun 5-27-60

* * *

That's how it is when an important new downtown building goes up.

Birmingham area

No wonder they provide sidewalk peepholes in the boards for some of the biggest ones in New York City and other places. It's a great show. Men and materials are in council, professionals and their practice are met, builder substantial as the foundations visand blueprint are joined, science ible through the peepholes and and art, God and man, are to- evident in the investment and gether. banking operations of their institution.

AS DEMOLITION begins to make way for the beautiful, multi-purpose building of 15 or more stories which is being constructed by the Bank for Savings and Trusts on the Louisville and Nashville station's Morris Avenue site, two gentlemen who should be provided with deluxe peepholes are the bank's Chairman Milton Andrews and President Will T. Cothran.

Historic and fascinating as operations may be for us-the-public they are far more so for the two gentlemen who have made so much of the history, achieved for the bank so much of the attraction, won personal names as

* * *

MEANWHILE—tears for the Ellen N, and every tear a pearl of promise, as the storied road suffers "sea-change into something rich and strange."

They called it the North and South Railroad in the pioneering seventies here when its passenger station was only a box-car at a muddy crossroad and when its great Milton Andrews — I mean Milton Smith—was "spending $30,000,000 following Henry DeBardeleben around" with tracks to the new mines and plants, capital in aid of the swelling operations, new customers for new output.

The lot at the northeast corner of what is now 19th Street and Second Avenue sold for $75 at about that time.

* * *

PRACTICE HAS made perfect. Our John can do it in one sentence from one side of his mouth now. He warns free Democrats: "You will give away your right to vote for the Democratic nominee in November even before you know who he will be."

To the Christian observer this "having a right to vote for somebody even before you know who he will be" seems no great boon. Indeed voting before knowing is the great objection to the Loyalists. If the nominee, when known, turns out to be acceptable, then the free electors will be perpectly free to vote for him. That goes with their promise — and their freedom.

* * *

HERE'S HOPING it is true that a task force of States Rights citizens who understand the complicated situation is being organized to sweep like commandoes through certain precincts of North Alabama on election day and before, to make sure all the names that belong on the ballot are there.

The stories of what certain (named) precinct officials are doing to confuse States Rights voters and even to eliminate their candidates from the ballot under one pretense or another are enough to make certain there is skullduggery.

Certain precincts are going to be checked—and hard.

This effort in North Alabama to keep the States Rights vote from counting seems to stop at nothing this time, with Loyalists controlling every precinct office.

States Righters are getting their courage up and their wits up enough to refuse to be cheated this time. There is going to be big trouble.

* * *

IF LISTER and John put their state and South before the National Democratic Party and its pap and perquisites what will they advise our "Loyalist" congressmen to do if the election is indeed deadlocked by our free electors and thrown to the House? Should Loyalist congressmen vote for the Democratic nominee there or for the indicated choice of Alabama via its free electors?

* * *

JAMES E. SIMPSON, distributor of the Putnam letter, run-off candidate for delegate at large and deserving loud election, has asked the Democratic Presidential candidates whether they favor any more civil rights legislation.

I nominate him to ask our nine congressmen what they will do if there is a deadlock and the election is thrown to the House. Most of our congressmen are Loyalists. Would they give Alabama's vote to the Democratic Presidential nominee or would they feel bound to the choice of the free electors and their direct mandate from our people?

* * *

OF NINE delegate-at-large candidates elected May 3, seven were on the list endorsed by The Post-Herald and this column. Hardly a Patterson-Kennedy victory! Those endorsed by this column for the run-off will be named tomorrow.

* * *

"HELL TREMBLED at the hideous name." In olden days hell did indeed tremble so at the then indeed hideous name "Republican" that our John and our Lister think it is still a swear word. We Democrats who still prefer Democrats when you can find real ones, don't agree with John and Lister that neither segregation nor states rights is the real issue. They try to makes it Republicanism but that is an oath here, not a reality.

For every sin at Washington they say "we must throw the Republicans out." But for every virtue they say "we must hold fast to the Democratic majority." The truth is that there is a Democratic Congress and a Republican President—and have been through nearly all of the Republican regime in the White House.

Are Lister and John for the government or agin' the government?

It all depends.

Who's asking, please.

enemies hereby lining up with the NAACP and the 80,000 "bloc" of Negro votes which went to the "Loyalists" in the first primary. The issue here is whether we help our fellow Southerners on matters that are purely Southern.

Furthermore, the very principle on which organized labor functions is that our terms of employment must be "conditional" toward the employer. To fight that principle as to the South's problems is inconsistent. The South definitely must take its support of nominees of convention "conditional."

HUGH MADDOX,
114 No. 74th St.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

Lubell's Findings Shock Some Here

"A chiel's amang you takin' notes. . . ."

A famous pre-Presidential note-taker is among us, taking notes.

He is Sam Lubell, and oh, how his findings shock some Southerners about other Southerners!

Mr. Lubell hears Nixon, Nixon, Nixon.

He finds Nixon with much support in these states. About half the Eisenhower voters of 1956 to whom he talks tell him they are for Nixon against "any Democrat." Only one out of seven Eisenhower voters tell him they will vote for "any Democrat."

He finds a large and increasing number for putting up with token integration if necessary to keep the schools open—two out of three in 10 cities now as against one out of four in 1958.

He reports many Southerners feeling "there isn't any difference between the Democrats and the Republicans on segregation."

* * *

"PERHAPS the most surprising finding," says Mr. Lubell, "is how little resentment is directed at Nixon because of the segregation issue."

Mr. Lubell simply reports.

If he explained, too, he might put down this lack of resentment to the fact that even if Mr. Nixon wanted integration as much as Stevenson, Kennedy and Humphrey do (which he doesn't) he and his party have increasing philosophical and practical reasons for looking South in years ahead.

Philosophically they talk states' rights, decentralized government, anti-socialism—as Southerners do and as "Liberal" Democrats don't.

Practically they are faced with the fact that they have more future with the South than with organized labor and the Negro Liberal Democrats will always outbid them for the latter two.

* * *

SIGNIFICANCE will go to Nixon's choice of former Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey to manage his campaigns. People who accuse Nixon of going left will remember Mr. Humphrey as the rightest of all Eisenhower cabinet members.

* * *

"He stole a sophistry."

SOME OF RALPH McGILL'S sources for unoriginal originalities are better than others. A few years ago he went about being applauded as he vowed that he "never could believe Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden."

While thousands cheered and Ralph took his bow, Killjoys looked the words up and found a singular coincidence. Exactly the same had been spoken 260 years before by Richard Rumbold on the scaffold and reported in Macauley's History of England. (In what might be called a "doubly singular" coincidence, Ellis Arnall was using the words in his own speeches, too, also with nothing to indicate he had not originated them).

* * *

Lately Ralph has been involved in a variation. You might call it a compounded plagiarism and wrong in the first place.

When he devoted one of his recent columns to what he called "The Myth of State Sovereignty," this was the other singular coincidence. For it was exactly the title and theme of a booklet published shortly before by the NAACP.

The "myth," of course, happens to be the basic fact of the Constitution.

Ralph had borrowed a sophistry.

And then he elaborated that "the much talked-of Tenth Amendment merely affirms the duties assigned to the states . . ."

Evidently he had read the Cumberland University address of Florida's distinguished Attorney Giles Patterson quoting words to the same sneering effect about the Tenth Amendment used by Justice Stone in the case of U. S. Versus Darby for what Mr. Patterson described as the first time in history.

They are not likely to be used again now that the Court's trend to centralism and socialism is blessedly being reversed (as noted in five instances cited recently by Fifth Circuit Judge Ben Cameron in a majority opinion).

Justice Stone went so far as to call the Tenth Amendment "merely a truism that all is retained which has not been surrendered . . . nothing more than declaratory of the relationship between the national and state governments."

He said the Founding Fathers meant to create a government "adequate to deal with every situation" and that he would have been surprised to "learn that the Constitution reserved a legislative field to the states . . ."

* * *

ATTORNEY PATTERSON cited this as the extreme example of federalism in Supreme Court decisions during the New Deal and the post-New Deal era.

Even those decisions generally paid lip service to states' rights and dual sovereignty but Justice Stone seems to have gone berserk with federalism this time. Ralph offers the thought as his own. The present court would let him have it, I believe.

* * *

THE NOBLE reverberation you hear is Henry Grady turning in his grave.

* * *

MAE WEST must need the money—bad. I'm sorry I looked.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

A Sadness Shared

"Yet once more, O ye laurels. . . ."

Tom Spies will be buried this afternoon in the little town of Bonham, Texas, population 7000.

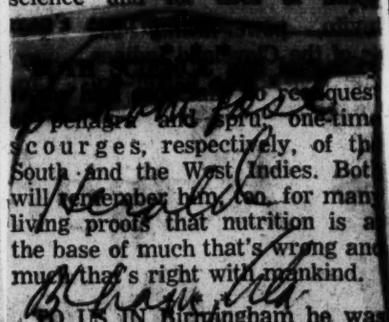
How his past life in Birmingham rushes before those of us who were his partisans and members of his committee in the first dramatic, in-fighting days!

His death in New York after months of carrying on in unsurrendering endurance of the malignancy from which he had fought to save all men (and had indeed saved some) brings to our city a sadness shared by the whole world.

It swells hearts in admiration and sympathy, too, for his only family—the family of his associates at the Spies Clinic here, Dr. Robert Stone, Frances Bomer, Jean Grant and others who served him so ably, selflessly, faithfully and long.

* * *

IT DIDN'T SEEM likely in those first days but never have a man's great services to fellowmen been more greatly recognized, surely, than those of Tom Douglas Spies. Practically every honor in the medical world has been bestowed on him, both for contributions to science and for [illegible]



scourges, respectively, of the South and the West Indies. Both will remember him too for many living proofs that nutrition is a the base of much that's wrong and much that's right with mankind.

TO US IN Birmingham he was a person, a vivid, extraordinary personality, capable of evoking a love that asked only to serve, unselfishly and without stint.

The angels will have hozannas for his science but they will have a sweet and special song, I think, for the devotion he won from some noblest souls here below. One of these was Hugh Comer. There were others, even more.

* * *

A SIN OF SINS against the South now, as often noted here, is party-ism. It is the sin of trying to deal with the race question and serve the Democratic Party at the same time, forgetting that it was those in command of that party for the preceding 21 years who created the atmospheres and habits of socialism, centralism and anti-Southism that made possible the desegregation decision and its hell to pay.

* * *

OUR GOVERNOR says people who talk the tokens which may or may not be required under Alabama's famous thrice-Supreme Court-confirmed placement law are "undermining his position." That sounds mighty bad until you consider that his position is actually total surrender and absolute defeat.

He proposes to close the schools and then vaguely to hope that private schools will somehow some day replace them. Closing our schools now is the second worst thing which could happen to this state.

The worst is integration of our schools.

* * *

THERE ARE PLENTY of Alabamians so un-surrendering that they propose neither to close the schools nor endure the integration. They are looking now—and with good cause—to the placement law in which our people by their votes have invested their hopes.

If it fails they will look elsewhere. They have many miles to go and maneuvers to make before they will join the governor in wishing to surrender our public schools.

* * *

"California, here I come!"

What should the properly equipped Southern delegate take to Los Angeles?

A gas mask, of course, with a convention extension; an emergency sleeping bag; a toupe for scalping; a pillow for the seat; a Butler-slapper; an eye wash; a spit-removing; throat lozenges for up and up; a copy of the Constitution of the United States; a memory of how different colored folks back home are; and a photograph of his fath to remind him whose party this once actually was.

ALSO A RASPBERRY for those who talk any more of fighting it out within the party, a party now composed of (1) ourselves and (2) our worst enemies.

* * *

IT CAN BE that no one is more shocked and alarmed just now than our own colored people at the situation—totally uncalled for, totally costly in national sympathy, totally threatening the good will between sensible white and colored in the South—which has been brought about by alien Negro leadership headquartered in Chicago and New York.

If the trouble many fear should actually come it will fall far more on colored than on white.

Let these sensible colored people tell the alien leaders and the misled youths that "sitdown" is no name for what they are doing.

The name is push-in.

The name is aggression, law violation, violence and a calculated incitement to greater violence. It can end in a crack-down which will set advancement of colored people back 30 years. For this advancement has come to a place now where it can go no further if it has not the good will of white friends in the South.

* * *

AS FOR THOSE jails the conspicuously missing Martin Luther King wants to see filled with his people, it is one thing to be in jail while a nation cheers you but quite another to be there with a nation saying it serves you right and ready to let you rot there.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Post-Herald

A Special Hunger

"And in the mist of tears
I hid from Him . . . ."

Wed. 3-2-60

John Elbridge Hines, of Houston, Episcopal bishop of Texas, born 49 years ago at Seneca, S. C., educated at the University of the South and Virginia Theological, curate in St. Louis, rector in Hannibal, Mo., Augusta, Ga., and Houston before being consecrated as bishop coadjutor in 1945 and bishop in 1955 — conducts the noonday Lenten services at our Church of the Advent this week.

You can believe there will be a poignancy and hunger about Lenten observances in this year of social, political and economic confusions, of questions-without-answers, with infinity and eternity closing menacingly in, that will sound the personal note as it has not been sounded in many years, the personal longing and relationship.

Sound it for many who may have been running away from it in cynicism or socialism or lack of hope or non-realization that religion can still be personal.

Francis Thompson spelled it in "The Hound of Haven"—

"I fled Him down the nights and down the days;
I fled Him down the arches of the years;
I fled Him down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the mist of tears
I hid from Him . . ."

* * *

How eagerly we individualize in this day of masses and machineries.

The frenzies of welcome for President Eisenhower in South America and before that in Asia and Europe speak in part of the man and his country, of course, but they speak, too, of what Arthur Koestler calls "The Age of Longing" (Macmillan).

The longing is for individualized, personalized faith, for not only man, in an Image but for the Image in terms of man.

* * *

IF ALABAMA'S mature, devoted, intelligent lieutenant governor, after having warned that proration of school funds would be inevitable with taxes yielding only $135 million this year and having been scoffed at for the warning, now hears the proration which has had to be ordered as he sorrowfully predicted called "the Boutwell Plan"—he may put the outrage down to infantilism in office—or what some call post-aural humidity.

* * *

MARTIN LUTHER KING is no Gandhi. He talks law-abiding and peaceful resistance but his program is for law-breaking and provocations to violence.

The "sit-downs" are examples. He is bringing upon his people—less educated and less protected than he is—a wrath that may soon be nation-wide and stop all advancement of colored people.

Infatuated with the frenzy he has aroused in his followers and with the sounding of his name, he may be pulling down the whole effort of his people—and who knows what else!

* * *

WHAT THE YOUNG Negroes of the South have been regimented by their New York and Chicago leaders and the "peace-loving," "law-abiding" Rev. King into doing is neither peaceful nor lawful. They need to know. And carrying along school books makes no difference. The "sit-down" is against the law.

"The courts have so held in recent weeks and months," writes Editor Caleb King Jr., in The Florida Times Union, "The Maryland Supreme Court ruled that a proprietor has a right to decide whom he shall serve. The Delaware Supreme Court has made a similar ruling."

LAST JULY the generally anti-South Fourth Circuit Court dismissed a suit brought by a Negro who had been denied service in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Alexandria, Va.

For the court, Judge Soper declared "dismissal was in accord with the decisions of the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts. . . . The principle has been firmly embedded in our constitutional law that the action inhibited by the First Section of the 14th Amendment is only such action as may fairly be said to be that of the state. That Amendment effects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful. . ."

* * *

THE 14TH Amendment applied against the State of Virginia, not against Howard Johnson. Editor Henry Cauthen, of The Columbia, S. C., State, is meticulously correct when he describes the so-called sit-down as "unlawful and premeditated aggression on the part of ill-advised young Negroes."

Let our older colored people whom youths at college tell them they are engaged only in peaceful propaganda and point to the school books carried in childish proof of peace, take these facts to heart.

Let them tell their would-be all-wise youths that what they are doing is not peaceful but violent, not lawful but law-breaking, not resistance to denial of rights but assumption of rights they haven't got and violation of rights of others.

* * *

THE END to all this business if they keep it up—is not good. The Supreme Court of today is not the court of 1954. The 101st Airborne will not repeat. The nation wearies of professional agitators, of politicians, of pious hypocrisies.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Post-Herald

N.Y. Times Shows A Mind Entrenched

"A mind entrenched beyond mortal assault. . . ."

Thurs. 3-3-60

The New York Times' defense of its Harrison Salisbury, in spite of the presentation for Birmingham by Mortimer Jordan and William P. Engle for the Chamber of Commerce and the Committee of 100 recalls George Meredith's "picture of a mind entrenched beyond power of mortal assault."

Many are like that about the South. Most notoriously Time Magazine.

It is hard for anyone reading Time's excellent foreign and general stories to believe the same magazine could indulge such venom and dishonesty where the South is concerned.

The thing seems psychopathic. There are matters concerning which all of us are beyond reason and being fair, but in Time's case not even appearances are attempted to be preserved.

My first experience ytih this anti-South complex of Time's was some years ago in course of an anti-lynching bill debate in Congress when the magazine overstated enormously the current lynching of the South.

The error could have been honest for the World Almanac had carried the same one (and, later, corrected it). But when this column pointed it out Time's editors refused to make a correction even though admitting that error it was.

Their excuse was that the subject had been discussed so much it no longer had news value(!) And this with the anti-lynch bill debate raging in Congress!

It seemed to be so shamelessly unfair to a whole quadrant of the United States that I developed an anti-Time psychology which may just possibly have become as psychopathic as Time's anti-South one is.

* * *

"SAY NOTHING of my religion it is known to God and myself alone." That was Thomas Jefferson.

Frank Lausche, Ohio's genuinely liberal governor and senator, a Roman Catholic quoted him to this column in 1956 when talk of the Ohioan for President was already lifting the religious issue now rampant.

"Its evidence before the world," Jefferson said, "is to be sought in my life; if that has been honest and dutiful to society, the religion which has regulated it cannot be a bad one . . ."

"I have judged of others' religion by their lives, for it is from their lives and not from their words that their religion must be read. By the same test must the world judge me."

* * *

"Her feet beneath her petticoat
Like little mice stole in and out . . ."

TUESDAY WE had feet — and ankles — below the voting booth curtain and some were too pretty for politics but they all made perfect reporters of progress with the long ballot. The nervous tap for starting, the back-step for the bottom of the ballot, the shuffle for getting it straight as between the Dixons, the heel shifting of a thought for changing at the last moment, the slide right for the bond measures, and the masterful, firm-planted effect as the end came and the curtain-opening lever was turned.

* * *

IT IS HARD to make out the situation as regards delegates to the Democratic convention. Some of the names on the list favored by States' Righters and The Post-Herald were also on what was called a Patterson slate although the governor denied he had one.

This column, for example, endorsed several men known to be Loyalists or on the fence but nevertheless outstanding enough to add to the general tone and quality of the delegation.

This in a conviction that the South is to be much observed but little granted at Los Angeles and that its best bet there is the impression it makes on the American public.

* * *

OH, THESE IGNORANT, bigoted, race-minded Southerners who have been demanding that blood for transfusions be "segregated" by races! They have actually brainwashed scientists to their thinking, and that involves recognition that there actually are races.

Come scientists of the Columbia-Presbyterian Center Blood Bank in New York, speaking through their director Dr. John Scudder at Tuskegee Institute (of all places!) with word that the blood of someone of another race should be used for transfusions only "as a last resort."

He says "blood is tissue . . . (and) is subject to all the laws of sensitivation and host response and host rejections."

It may be that crimes committed in the name of equality surpass those in the name of liberty.

How great a total of tragedy is accumulating for Planet Earth by reason of this pretense that all men are equal rather than entitled by their inequalities to equal protections and to brotherhood under God!

All over Africa and Southeast Asia the one-time colonial lands set free are tottering with their freedom, in danger of falling back to a worse-than-colonialism under Russia or Red China.

And America, earth's great place at earth's great time, is being stabbed at its present heart, which is the South, wounded where most it is burgeoning, most promising and vital.

* * *

FRANK HANNIGAN of Human Events called me from Washington yesterday about the free electors campaign here.

He said that even though the idea of deadlocking the electoral college is an old story now to us in the South, it seems new in the North and East and is attracting wide attention.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
Birmingham

The Worst Yet

"Something the cat brought in. . . ."

* * *

The attorney general's latest is his worst.

Now he would have Federal officers meddling with state as well as Federal elections and even issuing Federal certificates of voter eligibility.

Birmingham, Ala.

Significant but not admirable are the reactions of the President and the vice president. Mr. Eisenhower dismisses the new plan as "a legalistic amendment" — after having washed his hands of the prior proposal for Federal voting registrars.

March 28-60,

And Mr. Nixon lets it be known that he had nothing to do with working out the new plan.

They wash their hands.

That is significant of their increasing South-consciousness. It is more than any avowed Democratic candidate would do. But it is not admirable

Especially in the President. Not all the soap and water in Washington can wash his hands of his own attorney general. Yet with Mr. Rogers as with Mr. Brownell he has tended to act as if the Department of Justice were a strange world in which he didn't know his way and must follow blindly where "experts" led.

* * *

AMAZINGLY a Southern hope against this newest civil force may be the Supreme Court, greatest sinner of all heretofore against dual sovereignty. The court may be becoming state-conscious. Fifth Federal Circuit Judge Ben Cameron cited five recent decisions this month in his majority opinion on a case undertaking to have two City of Fort Worth ordinances voided.

"These actions of the Supreme Court in recent days and the language used by it point clearly in our opinion," wrote Judge Cameron, "to an increasing recognition of the important role of the states in the proper functioning of the partnership of sovereignities which is the American system."

FLORIDA'S distinguished constitutional lawyer, Giles Patterson, of Jacksonville, will note this indication of reversal with joy—and no little pride. He is one of those who have been fighting the contra policy many years.

No later than last October he reviewed the New Deal-Fair Deal history of encroachment to a brilliant Law Day Address at Cumberland University, finding its high water mark in the case of United States versus Darby where the court called it "a mere truism that all is retained which has not been surrendered" and scoffed (via Chief Justice Stone) at the idea "that the Constitution reserved a legislative field to the states."

Only through public opinion was there hope, Mr. Patterson believed. But he called the roll of constitutional amendments to show how public opinion had indeed been effective of reversals.

And he cited recent criticism of the high court by 37 chief justices of state courts as reflecting a gathering public opinion "which can ultimately bring about a return by the court to its long recognized construction or to the adoption by the people of an amendment that will accomplish the desired result."

* * *

IN A LETTER to this column Mr. Patterson fears the court is so committed "that it is not likely they will materially modify, much less reverse themselves unless public sentiment demands it."

But public opinion may be working simultaneously on court and Congress.

Senator Talmadge's amendment specifying exclusive state control of public education might just possibly, through the public approval it is getting, "amend" the court before it amends the Constitution.

Certainly it is no "lost cause" as some have thought, especially now that it has been revised to provide for equal schools in the "separate but equal" ideal.

The senator believes it can be passed and he may be right. It could bring peace, constitutionalism and education to this country in one package.

* * *

BUT HOLD EVERYTHING, Americans!

Ralph McGill has just spoken—ordering the waves to recede, reporting there are no real waves anyhow. Ipse dixit!

This state sovereignty stuff is guff.

He has so decreed in a column describing Governor Faubus as "symbol of the deceiving propaganda that states are sovereign."

Making Governor Faubus such a symbol is to smile, of course. He may not even have been a states' righter until Harry Ashmore and Little Rock's mayor saw those lions in the streets.

* * *

YOU WONDER HONESTLY how a man who, for better or worse, has come to be editor of a great Southern newspaper, or any newspaper at all, can scoff at the idea of sovereignty in the states (even remembering U. S. Versus Darby at folly's top).

It could be that Mr. McGill's illiteracy rests on confusion with the fact that the only real sovereign, Federal or state, is the Supreme Court so long as the court can declare anything in the world unconstitutional and get away with it.

* * *

BUT THERE MAY be coming to be a new Supreme Court!

If there is, it will owe its existence not only to public opinion but to courageous and clear-minded lower court Federal judges in the South who have hewed to the Constitutional line and let political chips fall where they might.

* * *

DRIVING ALL OVER Rosedale yesterday and noting what a treasured scenic, economic and geographical position it has come to be since Negroes pioneered in settlement of it years ago and many bought homes which they still are holding, I was reminded of Indians out West upon whose lands oil was found.

Progress is progress and the community is mightier than any of its parts—but the case for those colored people deserves tenderest and fairest consideration and the best council available, especially as they have refused NAACP aid.

John Temple Graves 31a White
The News and Courier

Analogy Can't Be Used To Define Integration

Charleston S.C.

"God created woman . . ."

NIETZSCHE OR NOT, you can't believe God intended woman's biology to be cited in proof of things biographically, sociologically, politically philosophically and esthetically unrelated. Such as the overworked cliches that you can't have a little socialism or integration or this or that "any more than a woman can be a little pregnant."

Socialism is a matter of degree. Many things which the government does with full assent of all are socialistic. You most certainly can have "a little." Carrying the mails is a little. Maintaining highways is a little, and coining money. It's a question of when, where and what to stop. It is very importantly today a question of not playing into the hands of real capital "S" Socialists by foolishly saying you can't have a little.

Then there are the libertarian sentimentalists who go around using the pregnancy analogy on freedom, vowing freedom is indivisible. The fact is that every law on the statue books and every clause in the Constitution divides freedom for somebody or something.

SO WITH integration. Attorney Grover McLeod of Alabama says of the placement laws and their possible but not certain tokens that you can't have a little integration any more than — you guessed it! — you can be a little pregnant.

Who says you can't, Grover? This Southern world of ours, unlike New York's, swarms with "a little integration." We mix with our colored people in thousands of ways, and think nothing of it. Never from the beginning has it been a question of other than where to draw the line. The great, passionate line we are drawing is against mass integration in the intimate, immature, domestic situation of our public schools.

Some say "token" integration will save us from that.

Some say it will lead us to that.

But Mr. McLeod will find few say as he seems to say that tokens all by themselves are intolerable.

He seems to feel followed in this position by a vast public. Maybe he'd better look around. I don't think so, and even if he is, he is wrong.

LET US BE thankful that Georgia's two senators, outstanding in Southern leadership and the trust of our people, talked no closing of schools when called on in their Georgia homes the other day. Obviously they don't know what to do and are leaving it to state officials — even while vowing to "leave no stone unturned" (Russell) and "fight as long as I can stand on my two feet and utter a sound" (Talmadge) in the less imminent matter of the civil rights bills.

More and more the simple truth of the situation seems to be that only one thing can be worse than closing our schools and this one thing is mass mixing in our schools.

Unless and until "tokens" mean mass mixing they are preferable to closing the schools.

And they do not mean mass mixing. Efforts will be used to make them mean that but we can defeat those efforts or retrace our steps. If we fail we have many other things to fall back on, including the awful ultimate, closed schools.

"I AM DEEPLY grateful for the generosity of your comment," Sen. Talmadge writes. My comment was on the fix he is in, and all of us who follow him, and the need of statecraft rather than loud never-saying. Those who really mean never don't vent it in "fighting" stands that get nowhere in this complicated, sophisticated situation.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Fight For Rosedale

"The name is Rosedale . . ."

* * *

One of Alabama's leading attorneys finds it hard to understand Homewood's failure to see how it will hurt its white people's interest and those of its merchants to let Rosedale be destroyed as a Negro community.

The fine Negroes there have a purchasing power which may not be replaced and many have a special usefulness in their jobs which may be lost to Homewood and Birmingham employers if they are forced to move some distant place.

Add that the planned shopping center will compete with Homewood's merchants and the city fathers certainly don't seem to be making sense.

Not insofar as the city as a whole rather than, perhaps, a few favored, influential individuals, is concerned.

* * *

DAVID P. ANDERSON, state manager of the Lawyers Title Insurance Co., applauding what has been written here says "these Rosedale Negroes and their forebears moved there over 60 years ago at the invitation of a white man named Theodore Smith, a florist, who owned the land and subdivided it into residential lots and sold them to Negroes. He would not sell to any but those that were highly respectable, honest and industrious. To take their homes away now would be a crime. Having been in the abstract and title business here for 56 years, I knew many of these people and always held them in high esteem . . ."

* * *

"REAL SOUTHERNERS know the colored people (like this) who strive to build up their race and position in the world," writes Mrs. B. H. Sargent. "Who are the 'Homewood Fathers?' Patriotic Alabamians should take heed of this situation . . ."

FROM ROSEDALE'S colored people, organized as the Rosedale Civic League comes a telegram: "Dear Mr. Graves we thank you for the publicity and ask you to continue." My own thanks to Mrs. Phillip A. DeVore, of Park Lane Court, who interested me in Rosedale. And to Mr. R. C. Hundley, who has stirred himself mightily.

* * *

MR. PERRY ORR, described a similar take-over from Negroes in Decatur last year, agrees that private property may be condemned for a public use, but he says that when a Housing Authority forces a sale or condemnation and then sells to the others for private use, this is condemning private property for private use and is something "not recognized in the past as legal."

He believes "this is a very dangerous, radical departure from our old fundamental conceptions of private property rights" and that each case should be "minutely scrutinized."

That's exactly the term.

The Rosedale proposel doesn't seem to be having enough "minute scrutiny," legal, moral, or economic. I hope the Homewood Council will take the question up tonight and that some of our ablest people who know right and wrong as well as the law of a situation like this will be on hand to announce "minute scrutinizing."

* * *

THAT RIGHTEOUS and Godly sound you hear in Alabama's Baptist leaders buckling on the sword of the Lord to battle for the sick and sore distressed of all denominations with a magnificent new hospital. Tomorrow is the night, and the Baptist name is legion.

* * *

DOES BIRMINGHAM appreciate what a center for science and youth it is to be Thursday when the fourth annual Science Youth Day Dinner, commemorating the 113th birthday anniversary of Thomas Alva Edison, will be held at the Dinkler-Tutwiler under auspices of the International Edison Birthday Celebration Committee?

That Birmingham should have been selected for this world event is a tribute to the place won for us in science by our Southern Research Institute and its chairman, Thomas W. Martin, who is a member of the United States Committee of the celebration.

Edison's son, former Gov. Charles Edison, is to be one of the honored guests, as is Eugene Williams Kettering, son of that other great man of modern science, the late Charles Kettering, who was such a friend to our city, science and society.

The principal address will be by Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, president of the California Institute of Technology.

Also on hand will be Walker Lee Cisler, president of huge Detroit Edison Co.; international chairman of the celebration.

Governor Patterson has made Thursday Science Youth Day in Alabama by gubernatorial proclamation. High school youths from every county will receive Edison Science Youth Day citations from Mr. Martin, who is a trustee of the Edison Foundation.

* * *

FROM SAN JOSE, Cal., come stirring and spurring words. "You are doing all right, boy" writes a gentleman who signs himself Sam H. Splivens (that sounds like a Pegler character). "However, I think you ought to lay it on a bit more thick. Give 'em hell, John, give 'em hell!"

Wait until I get to California again, Mr. Splivens. There's nobody around here to give hell to. Our enemies don't live here.

Where everybody wears a blue cockade there's no point in waving one—unless you are running for office.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Question Of Voting

"The finest electorate in the world."

* * *

New York's brilliantly rabid Senator Javits, the South's enemy No. One on civil rights, stuttered on the Meet the Press program Sunday when asked if he would like to see a Negro elected governor of Mississippi.

Puerto Rican and Negro troubles in his New York City have touched him with facts of life.

His hesitation gave something basic away in the anti-South case.

He came through eventually with a declaration that any Negro qualified to be governor of Mississippi should be able to be elected, but even here he may get NAACP demerits for being hypothetical.

* * *

ALTHOUGH no state in the South can imagine itself yet with a Negro governor, the thing would be mathematically possible if the total potential Negro vote were voted. More possible would be a Negro balance of power such as exists in New York and a dozen other states.

That is why Alabama needs to begin putting James E. Folsom on the spot right now with his Negro voting "dreams that wave before the half-shut eye."

He was premature with them when he began catering to our colored people during his last term. Left to themselves they might never accept him. But a greatly augmented Negro vote, bloc-led by the NAACP, could assure Mr. Folsom's re-election unless he is so identified with that vote that he loses enough other votes.

* * *

IT IS HARDER to argue against all-out Negro voting than against integration in schools. Many outside the South who have been won to the school argument can never be won to discriminations in voting. Voting is so fundamental a right.

Criticism of the South has undoubtedly been augmented by failure of blundering Sam Engelhardt and others to make some sort of voting provision in Macon County for perhaps the most qualified Negroes in the nation, those of Tuskegee Institute.

That has put our very worst foot foremost. It would have been simple and right, to give the Institute Negroes a separate city and county government. Their case is altogether special.

* * *

Domination by NAACP-led bloc-voting Negroes is certainly an equal threat to the South with school integration, and basically greater. It would lead to school integration and many other intolerables.

The South's defense-in-depth is the 10th Amendment, embodied now in Senator Talmadge's school amendment and in Southern arguments before courts and Congress.

* * *

BUT THE immediate defense is disqualification.

A better word is qualification.

* * *

WE WHO are ready to sacrifice even our public schools to avoid real racial integration should certainly be ready to disqualify some of our white voters in order to disqualify many Negro ones now. Or, rather, we should — and must — set up voting qualifications so strict and so fair that literally millions of Southerners no longer are allowed to vote. Qualifications based not on property (never that, alone!) but on character and responsibility as well as intelligence and education.

This including especially matters of sex.

The simple statistics show that if every ascertainable father and every mother of every illegitimate child were disqualified as well as every individual unable to graduate from an elementary school, the bloc-voting Negro would be appreciably eliminated.

And, presuming the American people won't still further subvert the Constitution by passing an amendment against poll taxes, if the present poll tax exemptions of war veterans and people over 45 were abolished and the tax restored in states where it has been abolished, still further limitations of more colored than white would result.

Unfair to whites? Unfair to Negroes? Undemocratic? It depends on your understanding of government by the people and of the responsibilities of citizenship in atomic times.

It was never the concept of the Founding Fathers that voting should be without any qualifications. And the sophisticated civilization developed today calls for a constant move, lest we are destroyed in the face of our Russian enemy by rule of too common and too low a "lowest common denominator."

* * *

IT COULD BE that because of this hateful race question, the South would develop the finest electorate in the world. It would include many Negroes but many more whites, and their average of character-with-IQ would be the envy of all other electorates.

* * *

SENATOR TALMADGE says the Attorney General Rogers is "digging up again the bleached bones of those unspeakable (Reconstruction) statutes of oppression as the model for a contemporary force bill".

The present bill to put election machinery under Federal supervisors differs only, says the senator, in that this time the name has been changed from supervisor to referee and the scope has been expanded to cover state and local as well as Federal elections. He shows how the Federal statute of 1871 which was to disenfranchise Southern Democrats was used to perpetuate machine control in New York.

* * *

WILLIAM A. SACHS, of the Brainwashed City, writes The Post-Herald that the parole oath Robert Lee signed is being violated by Southern resistance today.

He goes far to fetch that. He and Attorney General Rogers need reminding that this is 1960, not 1870, that now it is the South, not the North, which is undertaking to save the Union, and to save it by saving the dual sovereignty without which so various a country couldn't remain "one nation, indivisible."

31a 1960

White (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Post-Herald

Fury And Shouting Mark Georgia Scene

"Ah, love, let us be true
To one another, for the world which seems. . . ."

Sat. 2-20-60

* * *

ATLANTA—Here where it has been said that "all things are possible" nothing seems so now.

Nothing political at any rate in a community whose average attitudes may be as remote from its brain-washing editorial, church, political and school leaders as from the wool-hats in its hinterland.

It is "a world which seems" like Matthew Arnold's "swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight — where ignorant armies clash by night . . ."

* * *

You hear treason charged against supporters of the placement law with its possibility of tokens—even as others, such as E. E. Moore Jr., attorney for the Negro plaintiffs in the school case, complain that Atlanta's placement plan has academic, sociological and psychological criteria which make it "more restrictive" than placement laws elsewhere.

The NAACP is saying the plan is based strictly on race even though it does not mention race.

There is misunderstanding of the proposed grade-a-year desegregation. Many think it means complete integration of a grade a year. But it would be subject to all the rejections the placement law allows, and might mean no integration at all, as things are now.

* * *

THERE'S CONFUSION about that good old-fashioned hell-for-leather segregationist Marvin Griffin who is running for re-election as governor. Suddenly he finds his purity as a segregationist impugned.

"In recent years," his foe, Governor Vandiver, says, "he has stood with forces that stand for segregated schools. Prior to that he was adjutant-general under Ellis Arnall. That was the other side of the picture."

* * *

CONFUSION isn't confined to Atlanta, of course. You read Washington dispatches on civil rights confusions worse confounded, even though with apparent certainty that the South is doomed to more civil force.

* * *

IS THERE cheer in the very last place which would have been looked to for Southern comfort (no payola, please) heretofore—the Supreme Court? Not in desperation alone are some Southern eyes turned in that direction now.

The court has changed, the political situation has changed, the "psychology" isn't what it was expected to be, Nixon is actually leading the Gallup poll in the South with all the beholden that could put on him and the Supreme Court, as pointed out in a recent Fort Worth decision by Fifth Federal Circuit Judge Ben Cameron, has handed down five recent decisions indicating a concern for states' rights and dual sovereignty we thought it had forgotten forever!

* * *

IF THIS concern expresses itself when the placement law which it has three times called constitutional comes finally before it — perhaps from Atlanta — who knows!

* * *

IS THE REV. Martin Luther King overestimating the brain-wash which was to have eased his entry into Atlanta from Montgomery? No matter what the real imports of his stands in Montgomery, he talked love and peace there. Now he is telling his people they must be willing to "fill up all the jails of the South." In other words he is proposing force and law-breaking. The Montgomery boycott is far away and long ago.

Even this sainted man can get himself and his race into a disastrous mess.

IN SOUTH CAROLINA yesterday Governor Hollins well-said that the luncheon-counter sitdown strikes in the Carolinas and Virginia "are calculated to promote violence and not promote anybody's rights."

* * *

DISCUSSING THE prospect of free Democratic electors from the South, Governor Hollins didn't hesitate to use "the hideous name" at which hell has been supposed to "tremble", to wit, Republican.

He said the free Democratic electors might be expected to vote Democratic or independent or Republican. But he said they "would retain the integrity of the Democratic Party in the state."

He would have the state convention meet three times, once in March, again after the national convention, and again after the election, the last two meetings devoted to choosing uninstructed electors if the Presidential nominee is "not satisfactory" and to deciding upon a course of action for the electors.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR is said to share with our Governor Patterson a belief that Kennedy would be satisfactory to the South. Many of us who profoundly doubt it and who note that Lyndon Johnson holds the South in Gallup polls must agree that as confusion grows confounded in the Senate now, Senator Johnson's Southern fortunes are at least as likely to decline with his antics as to hold or rise but it is hard to imagine Senator Kennedy inheriting. His "liberal" commitments are going to be requiring more and more of him in his primary battles and alienating the South more and more.

* * *

NO ONE CAN say Senator Kennedy has played false to any promise when the South kissed him in the dark at Chicago four years ago, not knowing who he was but assured only that he wasn't Kefauver.

He was willing to be kissed, it is true, and thereafter, he sought more Southern kisses—but he never concealed the fact that he was a married man, husband to the NAACP, ADA and AFL-CIO crowd.

If an ordinary married man permits himself to be seduced, and enjoys it even while letting his married state be known, that is legal adultery.

But the political kiss is different.

You are entitled to all you can get without deceit.

You can play Dr. Finch—or what Dr. Finch said was the agreed play.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Birmingham Post-Herald

Just A Little?

"God created woman. . . ."
—Nietzsche.

* * *

For which all thanks! "grief forever after."

But the Lord never intended His intriguing creation's fascinating biology to be cited around in proof of a lot of dull things biologically, sociologically, philisophically and aesthetically unrelated.

Such as the increasingly over-worked cliche about how you "can't have a little socialism," "integration" or "freedom" any more than "a woman can be 'a little pregnant.'"

* * *

Certainly you can have a little socialism. We'd be in a bad fix without it.

Many, many things the government does with full assent of us all are socialism. Carrying the mails is "a little socialism." Maintaining the highways is a little. Coining money is a little.

It's a matter of what—and of where to stop. Importantly now, it's a matter of not playing into the hands of real capital "S" Socialists by foolishly saying you can't have "a little socialism."

* * *

THEN THERE are the freedom people, the libertarian sentimentalists who go around applying pregnancy to that. They put it that "freedom is indivisible," yet every law on every statute book and every clause in every Constitution divides freedom for somebody or something.

* * *

AND SO IT IS with integration. My friend, Grover McLeod, argues me with me against possible tokens under Alabama's placement law (whose criteria make massive integration impossible and may make tokens impossible too) writes me that "you can't have a little integration any more than—(you guessed it!) a woman can be "a little pregnant."

* * *

WHO SAYS YOU can't, Grover? This Southern world of ours swarms with "a little integration."

Unlike such places as New York where many white and colored never meet, we mix with our colored people in thousands of ways, think nothing of it, couldn't do without it.

Never from the beginning has it been a question of other than where we draw the line.

Our unyielding line is the intimate, immature, domestic situation of our public schools where there are masses of both races.

* * *

SOME ARE SAYING tokens will save us from that. Some may say they will lead us to that. Mr. McLeod will find few saying as he seems to say that tokens all by themselves are intolerable. Yet he seems to feel that he is followed in this position by an immense public. Perhaps he is, but I don't think so. And even if he is, I think he is wrong.

CONGRATULATIONS to the Rome, Ga., News-Tribune for its balanced and fearless editorial stand in favor of "keeping Georgia schools open—and keeping them segregated."

And on the clarity with which it puts the sophisticated but saving proposition: "Let the Georgia Legislature act immediately for removal of statutory and constitutional prohibition against school integration. In their place adopt a state-wide plan restoring to local school boards the authority for pupil placement and placing where it belongs—in the local community—the power to act, such power to include denial of pupil transfers on grounds other than race . . ."

"This would not be—as many politicians insist—acceding to integration. Instead it would be withdrawal from an inflexible and legally-indefensible position to one with freedom to maneuver within the law."

* * *

ONE MANEUVER, pictured by The News-Tribune, would be to contest every appeal of every student in the Federal courts. It pictures the NAACP trying "to finance every one of those fights."

* * *

THE ROME paper points out that the segregation law under which Georgia proposes to close any school that is integrated is contra to the 1954 Federal decision and as subject to being called unconstitutional.

Georgia is leaning on a very thin reed.

"That is why," continues The News-Tribune, "we say the time has come to act on a plan of pupil placement which makes no reference to race to be challenged in court, but which gives school officials authority to pass on transfers from one school to another . . ."

"Such a plan would comprise a complicated legal barrier to the NAACP's attempt to infiltrate the schools of Georgia and make their effort a highly expensive process. With such a law we could await and battle each individual integration attempt and keep all our schools open—and segregated—in the meantime."

* * *

FAMED EDITOR Tom Waring, agreeing with The News-Tribune and this column, says "endure" rather than "accept" is the word for whatever tokens might be

temporarily taken in some communities. Believeing "that honor and courage will outlast oppression," he sees the "enduring" as only a temporary tactic of unceasing Southern resistance.

Amen! If it doesn't work, our people are united, passionate and numerous enough to have done with it and seek still other ways.

We have it from Henry Grady that "the South will find a way" which will not be a way of defeat such as closing schools or hopeless resort to violence.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

Time To Decide

"I commend you on your position. . . ."

* * *

Ingrained in Southern consciousness through long experience is conviction that whatever Sen. Richard Russell, of Georgia, says is absolute on the race question. That could explain a prominent Birmingham lawyer's wire to the senator after his recent speech at Winder:—

"I commend you on your position."

The Birmingham hadn't noted that the senator took no position. Neither did Senator Talmadge.

* * *

"SWEPT WITH confused alarms of struggle and flight. . . ."

There are confused alarms in my loved native state.

Governor Vandiver is sticking to his guns—but without guns.

The never-say-dies are saying it louder but in words whose only logic is another War Between the States which we could never win.

And home-coming Senators Russell and Talmadge, true hopes of their people and of the South, wash their hands of the school situation, refusing to "interfere" with the General Assembly and the governor, calling distant attention to Mr. Talmadge's constitutional amendment which the country might get around to in three or four years and to the civil rights bill Senator Russell says they can't really win but will put up a fine fight for.

Senator Russell is war-weary, growing old. But Herman Talmadge is young, a shining knight, our Henry of Navarre, man of the hour—but 20 minutes late.

We who are his disciples cannot believe he really proposes to let his people at home go without any word, plan, battle cry or calm reappraisal.

There are things to be done in Georgia which Herman Talmadge alone can do. An agony of decision is upon him but he must make a decision.

* * *

HENRY GRADY, in his last speech, no longer "loving a nation into peace" but defying the same federal force bill so monstrously resurrected today against Southern voting practice, said we would "find a way."

He didn't mean the demagogue's finding of brave-sounding defiance and lost cause again. Nothing in his thoughtful, nation-loving career suggested that he meant that. He meant we would find a way in intelligence, fact-facing, maneuver, resolution, and contrivance—not in such self-destruction as is proposed now in closed schools or dim resort to arms.

HENRY GRADY'S editorial successor in Atlanta has not let the people of Georgia know the true philosophy of their great editor. Ralph McGill prefers to have them believe Grady a national-socialist like himself. Grady's last speech is one Ralph just doesn't recognize or let his people read. For in it Grady was no longer the forgiving, nation-minded American but a man turned by the federal force bills to challenging, stand-taking Southern resistance. But it was challenge with intelligence, love, statecraft, imagination and political daring. In this understanding his last words, never yet to my knowledge appearing in The Atlanta Constitution of today need great recalling at this moment. They are needed to rally the real resistance—and to bring reason to the planless or demagogic among non-surrenderers.

Grady wanted no-surrender, but he wanted it with a plan, a way.

He believed the South could find that way.

* * *

HE SPOKE in days when, without thought or capacity for any more making of war, but with unlimited resort to statesmanship, imagination and political daring, the South was facing the force bill of 1871 which as unconstitutionally rode down these states as do the desegregation decision and the registration bill. He spoke of a post-war victory that had been won with this intelligence and plan, and of victory to be won again with those things even if point-blank resisting no longer held hope—

"We wrested our state government from Negro supremacy," he told the Boston Merchants Assn. in 1889, six days before his death, when th efederal drumbeat rolled closer to the ballot box and federal bayonets hedged it deeper about than will ever again be permitted in this free government. But, sir, though the cannon of this Republic thundered in every voting district of the South, we still should find in the mercy of God the means and the courage to prevent its re-establishment."

Six years later the force bill was repealed.

"We still should find a way . . ." I like to believe Georgia's two true-blue un-failing senators mean to find a way. I like to think that is why they have refused to shout loud defiances that please their people but provide no way.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES
Birmingham Post-Herald

Here Is A Warning

"'Charge, Chester, charge!' and 'On, Stanley, on!' Were the last words of Marmion."

* * *

High in the hierarchy of nightmares is the familiar one where you dream you are leading a charge or a march — big as all outdoors — and suddenly you turn around and nobody is following.

You are all alone and a few feet from bad trouble.

* * *

That is the position of professional Negro agitators who fondly imagine the 101st Airborne with fixed bayonets is following them as they whip the colored youth of the South into dangerous aggressions.

* * *

If they will turn around and look they will see that Little Rock was a mistake the Federal government isn't going to repeat. And that the Arkansas city is no such Southern one as Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Virginia communities with whose fire they are playing now. And that no Federal court is involved.

* * *

Nothing can have been more exemplary, restrained and fair than the attitude of Southern police authorities thus far toward the obviously herded Negro youths who are taking blind parts in these demonstrations.

If the police are forced to crack down, it will be with this record of moderation behind them and a national sympathy won with the record.

* * *

SPEAKING OF policemen some of our Southern leaders who have been forced by avalanching public opinion to talk big about going free to the convention and the electoral college have so little idea of doing anything effective that you are reminded of the policemen in Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance" who were "about" to march against the pirates.

"Go, ye heroes, go to glory!" sang the chorus of admiring maidens.

"We go—we go," the policemen basso-ed, stamping their feet ferociously. The maidens sang on—

"Die, and every Cornish daughter
With her tears your graves shall water"

"We go, we go, we go," the policemen mark-timed.

Finally one of the maidens noted in high soprano "Yes, but you don't go!"

It was then that the policemen delivered their famous complaint: "Although it's very evident—These attentions are well-meant — Such expressions don't appear—Calculated men to cheer—Who are going to meet their fate—In a high nervous state—We observe too great a stress—Of the risks that on the press—And of reference a lack—To our chance of coming back—Still it's very evident—These expressions are well-meant," etc.

* * *

DEADLOCK or not, the next President is going to be the Republican nominee or the Democratic one.

Impressed with Gessner McCorvey's piece in "The Alabama Lawyer," David Lawrence writes me that deadlocking the electoral college is "not easy, but it can be done . . . there are a lot of Southerners who at least would like to try it."

And the current issue of his U. S. News and World Report discusses the likelihood of "another Southern bolt." The term begins to grow loose and all mixed up.

But deadlocking this year should not be hard—with division between the parties indicated as so close and with the South more in revolt than in 1948.

* * *

The question is whether it would be a good thing.

NOT ALL WHO are proposing free electors have this deadlocking in mind. Some mean only free to choose between the Democratic and the Republican nominee, while remaining Democratic at home.

When South Carolina's Governor Hollings says he is for free electors but not for a third party, this can only mean he is not for deadlocking.

You can't deadlock the college without a third candidate. The Constitution requires a majority, and if there are only two, one will have it.

Governor Hollings is one of the few Southern leaders who is using "the hideous name." He dares to picture Democratic free electors as voting Democratic, Republican or independent. But since he finds Kennedy satisfactory his electors mights as well not be free.

In any event, he has spoken the Republican name. In my opinion the Southern people are many miles ahead of their leaders on this. They don't think hell trembles at the name at all—not after having supported a Republican nominee three times running (if you count Nixon's present lead in the Gallup poll.)

Deadlocking the college could be disaster unalloyed for the South if the deadlockers held out through the ensuing vote in the House for the third candidate with whom they had achieved the deadlock. Yet this seems to be their plan.

It would be different if they planned to hold themselves over the Democratic and the Republican candidate and eventually decide between them, with all the prestige and importance for the future that would mean.

But before they had a chance their "segregationist coup" would probably have brought enough Democrats and Republicans together to elect a President without benefit of the South.

Pretty certainly he would be Nixon (who would in all likehood have been shown leading in popular vote and would have the additional advantage that defecting Southern states would be defecting from the Democrat.)

* * *

NIXON WOULD be elected with the South in darkness and gnashing of teeth.

* * *

HAVING SUPPORTED Bruce Henderson for governor and had much part in the 1948 revolt (a much-reproduced column of mine from Dallas early that year sounded its first call) I shall certainly vote for him for elector.

I know he will be free, brave, honest, pro-South and anti-socialist. I only pray that he will be for making freedom ring, even if that means Nixon, rather than for a sound-proofed corner.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

Keep Them Both

"Your money or your life!"

Birmingham, Ala.

Here we mean to keep both.

Welcome to my distinguished young friend, Dr. Marshall Fishwick, professor of American Studies at Washington and Lee, who lectured in the Liberty National Auditorium tonight under joint auspices of Birmingham-Southern College and local Washington and Lee alumni.

Mon. 1-18-60.

Third speaker on the Hilltop's Distinguished Southern Professors Lecture Series, his subject is one which dominates his thinking and writing — "The Uses and Abuses of Tradition."

* * *

Living in Virginia and under academic shades, Dr. Fishwick has found Southern tradition more binding than we of industrial Birmingham do.

Here we begin to dream of a certain return to some of it, not of getting away. And to believe there can indeed be return to substances if not forms.

* * *

Noth that Dr. Fishwick opposes Southern tradition. He adores it. But he thinks his love illicit.

He is no Harry Ashmore yowing industry has killed tradition (and good riddance!) nor Ralph McGill warning that if the South doesn't give up tradition, especially racial, industry will die or fail to be born.

Rather he is a present-day William Alexander Percy, weeping for something gone with the wind, loved long since and lost.

In beautiful prose and beautiful heart, too, he "sits upon the ground and tells sad stories of the death of kings."

But the kings don't die.

Many outward aspects of what is called Southern tradition are gone but the inwardnesses remain, or are attainable goals.

Those who pose an issue of "your money or your way of life," your abounding economic promise or your tradition of dignity, privacy, individualism, manners, God and out-of doors forget that the South may be changing industry more than industry is changing the South.

Or, rather, than modern industry, more and more electrified, decentralized, countrifed, automationed and humane, makes possible at this moment some of the traditional values of the South as they have not been possible since the War Between the States.

Agrarianism as such is gone. The old gray mare isn't what she used to be. But the values persist in hearts, minds and souls of Southerners and other Americans, too. They are capable of all-American recovery.

That is what the Battle of the World is about.

Take it from Pasternak.

* * *

"THE UNION! Next to our liberty most dear . . ." Recalling how President Andrew Jackson's famous toast ("Our Federal Union—It must be preserved!) was quoted at the recent Newcomen Dinner here by Thomas W. Martin in his paper on Horseshoe Bend, Editor Herve Charest Jr., of The Tallassee Tribune, quotes Vice President John C. Calhoun's toast in reply:

"The Union—next to our liberty most dear. May we all remember that it can only be preserved by distributing equally the benefits and the burthens."

* * *

IN OTHER WORDS, what keeps this vast nation "one and indivisible" in all its parts is respect for the parts.

* * *

Talk about the lengthy and bibulous toasts at Russian affairs, this Thomas Jefferson Memorial dinner at Washington in 1830 at which the Jackson-Calhoun toasts were exchanged, was just as he-manly and more.

It began at five in the afternoon and lasted until the small hours. There were 100 guests and 100 toasts, some followed by long speeches.

It was 10 o'clock and there had been 24 scheduled toasts, which were printed on the program, when President Jackson made his toast, looking "sternly and unflinchingly" at Calhoun, according to Calhoun Biographer Charles M. Wiltse (Bobbs Merrill).

After Calhoun responded both men seem to have left the banquet—but the toasts continued "until everyone present had offered at least one sentiment and it was doubtful if anyone present could be called exactly sober. . ."

* * *

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE of the dinner was to untie South and West in the Jeffersonian philosophy of states rights and individualism, ultimating making Calhoun President.

It was hoped to identify the Jackson administration with this South-West alliance. But canny Secretary of State Martin Van Buren, of New York, broke that up. The dinner ended in confusion and discord. It was Van Buren, not Calhoun, who succeeded Jackson thereafter in the White House.

INTERESTINGLY, three of the toasts were in praise of what we are calling today "Interposition." There was one for the Kentucky Resolutions of Jefferson, one for the Virginia Resolutions of Madison and one for Georgia's successful defiance of Supreme Court interference with eviction of the Cherokee Indians.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

Governor Indulges In Shadow-Boxing

Sat. 1-16-60

"Come! let us lay our dusty lance in rest
And tilt at windmills under a wild sky. . . ."

* * *

For bold and never-say-die shadow-boxing, behold our governor!

Daily he defies those who would handpick delegates to the Democratic convention. But where are they? Search indicates that he alone is raising this question prominently.

Nobody wants the delegates handpicked—especially by a state committee which can be manipulated as the governor did this one when he handpicked its chairman. What is behind his constant talk against what nobody is proposing—and his silence on the unit rule even as he yearns for unity?

* * *

A California plot obviously explains the date-lining of my column from Florida's Palm Beaches yesterday as "Palm Springs."

* * *

ARGUMENT here Wednesday for constant, ruthless examination of the $40 billion spent annually on our defense establishment brings approval from Alabama's most qualified soldier-and-economist.

"For years," writes Lt. John C. Persons, chairman of the board of the First National Bank of Birmingham, "I have been preaching publicly and privately (indeed he has!) that this is the field where we can reduce our expenses of government. I firmly believe we can reduce these expenses substantially and at the same time improve our efficiency.

"Whenever anyone says 'Cut the military budget', there is a great hue and cry to the effect that we are sacrificing our security and the average person immediately decides that we mustn't do that at any cost.

"I am entirely in agreement with the average person's views except that I know the military establishments are the most wasteful departments of our government.

"One only has to look around and see that we have too many men doing nothing, too much duplication in our services, and too little supervision of our costs. If these things were efficiently and carefully handled, there would be a tremendous savings in the military budget . . .

"I think you are on the right track. More power to you!"

It is the biggest expense item in the world, our country's $40 billions for defense. The defense is sacred but the $40 billions is plain money and needs plain scrutiny.

* * *

AN INFANTRY major in World War I, John C. Persons served as commander of the famous 31st (Dixie) Division, leading his assault troops in capture of the island of Morotai in the South Pacific (General MacArthur waded ashore to congratulate him). He won a DSC in World War I, a DSM in World War II.

* * *

THOSE WHO LYNCHED Mack Charles Parker at Poplarville, Miss., deserve to be hanged twice, once for murder and once for treason to the Southern cause.

They are typical of nothing and nobody.

But if the Southern press doesn't ring all day with denunciation and if neither a state nor a Federal jury can be induced to indict, these are expressions not in favor of the lynchers but against the unconstitutional Federal interferings that have so agitated race relations here and elsewhere.

The wonder is that there is not more violence.

The pride is that the South behaves as well as it does.

* * *

CONSIDER THE MORAL and mental arrogance of well-intentioned Mrs. Marcia Matthews, described as "a Southern white woman teacher in a Negro college."

Her article in the current Saturday Evening Post, entitled "The Difference Betwen Black and White," begs every question in the book with presumption against what she calls "the fixed idea" that there is a difference, the "peculiar cast of thought that is called 'Southern.'"

Mrs. Matthews teaches a course in "Humanities" at Morehouse College for Negroes in Atlanta. Because she is well treated and finds the young colored people actually human, just like white ones, she overleaps, history and the curtain of the future to presume people of light all agree that the only difference are between man and man, not between white and Negro.

It is something she doesn't know and nobody knows yet she presumes that only illiterates and Southerners dispute it.

* * *

THERE'S CONFUSION about unpledged delegates. What our free (or States' Rights, or Southern) Democrats want is delegates free of two pledges, not just one.

Free of pledge to any candidate in advance, and free of pledge to support the nominee if they can't stand him. But when Senator Hill calls for unpledged delegates, he means only the first but not the second pledge.

* * *

CERTAINLY there is danger that free delegates and electors will vote wildly in all directions and count for nothing.

That's why there needs to be a unit rule or agreement. In a letter to this paper Thursday, Mr. J. E. Wyatt pictured the unit rule as some sort of dictatorship or slavery, "muzzling freedom of choice by Alabama Democrats at Los Angeles." He should note that another name for unit rule is rule by majority.

By that name it smells better.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

This Is Florida

"Summer isles of Eden, lying
In dark-purpled spheres of sea. . . ."

* * *

THE PALM SPRINGS, Fla.—The Australian pines still look as though they had spent most of their lives in this moonlight; the mullet leap from Lake Worth as if willing to drown for a kiss of this sun; the Everglades Club is sweet with romantic secrets (some mine of them ago); the sea is "deeply, darkly, beautifully blue", and Florida is a coral finger dipped in the blue, pointing the Gulf Stream to its place in the Atlantic, pointing North America to South America.

But where is that last dime I lost here in the great real estate boom at whose geometrical top I invested?

* * *

EDITOR ED STUMP, of The Palm Beach Post and Times, who introduced me last night, recalled those boom days. He was publisher of The Times then and his managing editor was a young Lochinvar come out of the West—named James E. Mills.

Col. Harry A. Johnston, prominent Palm Beach County attorney, recalled the boom, too, especially a bibulous Armistice Day parade in which some of our best friends got themselves described as "be-medaled, be-ribboned, be-booted, be-spurred, befuddled."

* * *

THE VICIOUS virous known as "Q-flu" which is sweeping Los Angeles" is faithfully reported by Florida papers, especially Republican ones. Paul Butler, who forced Los Angeles on the Democratic Party for its coming national convention, didn't know about the Q-flu, of course, but he certainly knew about the stingaree smog and the discouragingly large cost of transporting Southern Democrats across a continent to restrain Butler-Reuther radicals.

* * *

FAMED CRITIC John Mason Brown, lecturing to the Four Arts Club here Tuesday, is weary of the beatnik bum who has read a book. "My mother was not frightened by a bluebird," he told the Four Artists, "but I am tired of the unwashed and the dirty and find the so-called intellectuals who begrudge the beatific and abandoning "other states are moving towards the Virginia policy." He can't mean that.

It is Virginia which is moving towards a placement policy born in Alabama and reared in North Carolina.

Virginia's own placement law ruled out because accompanied by so-called massive resistance laws making it automatic that placement permit no Negroes.

* * *

TO A STATEMENT here that nobody believes Ike would have been party to a political plot in the steel settlement, Mrs. S. K. Yarbrough of Guntersville comes forward with this sharp-sighted and brilliant rebuttal: "Just how silly can you get?"

I retire in confusion.

* * *

GARLAND WHITE, of the Palm Beach Post editorial staff is remembered in Alabama as a Montgomery Advertiser man for some years.

He shines in an art our profession fails often to shine at—interviews.

His with me made me sound so intelligent I knew at once he was an exceptionally faithful reporter.

If Mr. Brown lived in the South, New York would call him romantic with his beatific stuff and for speaking of "visions" which are obviously dreams.

He described "Lolita" as "brilliantly written, dirty and degraded." Would a Lolita in reverse be as repulsive, you wonder? Perhaps more so. Few things are as unattractive as a middle-aged woman making a fool of herself over a boy or young man.

* * *

THERE MAY BE bigger and busier new airports than Miami's but as I came in yesterday a departure was being announced from "Gate 72, Concourse Six." There's a glamorous hotel, too, whose lobby adjoins Concourse Five. Six dollars a day from eight to eight.

* * *

VIRGINUS DABNEY tells the United States News and World Report that placement laws may make it "legally possible for Southern States to satisfy the Federal Courts, keep open their public schols, and yet hold mixing of the races in the schools to an absolute minimum." The Associated Press describes the laws as a "limited form of racial integration."

But token integration isn't integration at all.

It is a face-saving hypocrisy.

The South should be willing to settle for it if the Court persuades itself the law is served.

If token admissions fulfill the law, no admissions at all would do so, too. Tokens, indeed, in fact and by definition, are a sign that real integration is not taking place.

A token is not a mixture.

* * *

THE HYPOCRISY is as regards the law, not the principle. The principle is that where people can't go to school successfully together in their own and the community interest, they may be assigned elsewhere.

* * *

MR. DABNEY is quoted as say-

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Did Johnson Wink For The South?

"Ma, he's makin' eyes at me. . . ."

* * *

How far does Lyndon Johnson's wink go?

Southerners reconciled to the fact that he can't seem too Southern and have any hope of the presidency must decide for themselvs. There is a sure wink when he goes around swearing he's really a Westerner.

Was there a wink Tuesday when he by-passed Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee to get his own civil rights bill before the Senate by hooking it on to a minor measure about rent of a school building in Stella, Mo.?

He robbed the South of a first line of defense but he may have softened the South's ultimate defeat by getting there "fustest with the leastest."

His bill is a shrinking violet against the tiger lilies of Javits.

Presiding over Mr. Johnson's senatorial antics was the country's other master politician, the Republican nominee-designate.

Is Mr. Nixon, too, winking at the South as he walks in daily danger of some conspicuous misstep that will turn the South away from the Gallup poll lead it has given him?

The large question for the vice president, it seems to me, is whether he is looking on the South as merely one of many special groups to be won or whether he sees that the South is the one passionately united force in the nation now and therefore more to be trusted for balance of power in a close presidential election than the Negro, the union leader, the farmer, or what have they.

And that these states are in so delicate a condition with this passion that one false step can turn them away just as one dramatically favoring step can hold them in unexampled fervor.

* * *

IT ISN'T a matter of expecting any presidential candidate to take the South's side on the race question. It's a matter of somehow indicating enough political valuation (and constitutionalism) not to make a specialty of bullying the South.

It's a matter, too, of recognizing this strange modern portent called the Southern Democrat, understanding that he isn't going to surrender his control at home by becoming a formal Republican even if he votes for the Republican nominee, and that he isn't part of the regular Democratic National total no matter how Dr. Gallup lists him there to make a national majority.

* * *

FROM GADSDEN (with some truth) a reader says he, too, is going to vote for Nixon "if the Democrats come up with a nominee too radical for the South on the race issue . . . but don't you think you should wait and see. You are campaigning for Nixon before you know who is to be the Democrat."

It may seem a distinction without a difference but what I am campaigning for is to persuade Democrats to feel totally free and willing to vote for Nixon if the Democratic nominee is intolerable or even less tolerable and he is more than likely to be.

This does differ from campaigning for Nixon.

Before the South can call itself politically free the long-gathered prejudice against voting for a Republican, the feeling that ancestors will turn in their graves, the presumption that Republicans are against the South and Democrats on the Southern side, must be campaigned out of existence, no matter how Southerners actually vote.

* * *

THE VICE PRESIDENT said he broke the Senate tie against a Federal aid to education bill because of his desire to maintain "our traditional school system without Federal control." And he continues to use that favorite phrase of the President's and his when on the race problem—"equal opportunity."

They could if they wished say "integration" but they never wish, not these days.

The Columbia, S. C., Record thinks these expressions could possibly be "laying the foundation for a reasonable stand on this great issue once the campaign has begun." Mr. Cauthen finds it significant that the vice president "didn't have to say (them), but he did . . . This is no proclaimer of the Nixon the States' Righter. It is one noting what could be the genesis of something to watch. . . ."

EXACTLY, and if some of us are making industrious note of every expression from the vice president and the President, it is not necessarily in committal to the Nixon candidacy. It is rather to persuade fellow Southerners that Mr. Nixon nor his party are untouchables except to Southern politicians who have vested interests in Democratic jobs.

* * *

NOTHING could be more meaningless and maudlin than our talk of going free unless we mean free to take the nominee of the other party if he turns out to be more nearly our man.

* * *

WE WANT MINDS open enough to avoid the painful anti-climax to which some come now when they talk big against the Democratic Party and vow that neither our delegates nor our electors will be slaves.

The anti-climax is in the then-what.

Since no third party or ticket is importantly proposed and since the childishness of "going fishing" with these infinite directions at stake is evident, the only alternative to supporting the Democratic nominee that isn't confused, maudlin and meaningless, is supporting the Republican nominee.

* * *

IN "DR. ZHIVAGO" Pasternak says "man does not live in a state of nature but in history." The Southern Democratic situation results from nature and history, too, however. And suddenly it has become so large a fact of American political life that history and Mr. Nixon need to look at it.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

The South's Story

"Far off, through creeks and inlets making
Comes silent, flooding in—the main."

* * *

The mail comes in like that, too. Doesn't it, Mr. Moncus, our popular postmaster.

Flooding from the South to all the compass points are letters and enclosures on the Southern cause. You can believe that nothing else in Southern resistance is such a force (counting out the letters that are name-calling, bigoted or illiterate).

"I read your column every day and have sent clippings from it to different friends and kin in the North," writes Richard Smith of Florence, Ala. "Nearly all that I hear from are very sympathetic toward the South."

Multiply Mr. Smith by thousands and this columnist by hundreds — and you have not only a vast fan mail but access to innumerable places and people not otherwise within reach—but the personal touch.

The magic of that compounds all.

* * *

HAVE YOU WRITTEN Richard Milhous Nixon today, Mr. Smith?

Getting word to him is more important even than mail to friends and kinfolks. The most hostile candidate and the least hostile on the race question have been the two Republicans, Rockefeller and Nixon.

Now that Rockefeller is gone Nixon is even more conspicuous as the least hostile of the Presidential possibilities.

At his elbow, however, as friend and guide, is Attorney General Rogers.

Nixon and Rogers may decide to outdo the Democrats in pro-Negro stands, but if they leave things as they are right now, Mr. Nixon amounts to our best hope.

Party history, Southern, American, world history can depend on the course taken.

It was Mr. Nixon himself who pointed out a few months ago in a speech to republican officials that in spite of all overtures the Republicans had not been able to win the Negro vote in the last election.

It could be that he was invoking the officials to try harder. But more sense-makingly it could have been that he was wondering over the worth while.

* * *

WHAT MAKES Attorney General Rogers run on the race question? Is it fanaticism, or official duty as he views it, or politics as he sees politics?

The South had hoped for a better deal from him than from Brownell, yet there hasn't seemed to be much difference. And he is so close to Nixon that his animus can be vital against Nixon's popularity in the South.

* * *

Here's hoping it is politics that rules Mr. Rogers.

And good politics.

Good enough to know the Negro and labor votes can't be won by Republicans from now on in competition with Democrats but that the South is going through an epochal process which could make its support of Republicans as available at presidential polls as in Congress—and enduringly, for it will reflect status and philosophy.

* * *

Have you written of this to Mr. Nixon and to the Attorney General, dear fellow Southern Democrats and you of our Republicans who are enlightened?

Have you sent him clippings, messages, observations and polls to tell him how big an investment the South is worth at this clock-tick in history?

And have you suggested the two courses that make Southern sense for him and his party now:

(1) To let the most recent Nixon statements on the race question stand, the one against the possibility of forcing the hearts of men by legal enactments, the one for a longer approach, and the significant ones that take care to stand against discrimination rather than for integration (even though, of course, he can't endorse segregation and isn't expected to), and the one about having studied law at Duke University, and

(2) To leave alone for this campaign the Southern development of a Republican Party by name, looking rather to Southern Democrats who control their states and will be doing so for many years to come but whose honest convictions align them with Republicans in Congress and should do equally in the national election, not in mere marriage of convenience but in true wedlock of convictions and modern interests.

* * *

GEORGE WASHINGTON Slept Here!"

One of the few places where Washington never slept, Associate Editor Webb tells us in The Jackson Times, was the White House. It wasn't built when he died in 1799. But the first President spent nights in many places, and reputedly slept well.

It has seemed to me that the Pass Christian Chamber of Commerce in Editor Webb's own Mississippi should make more of the fact that Woodrow Wilson slept in a house facing the Gulf there, and, in spite of his insomnia, something in the balm and calm let him sleep. He visited there during the sleep-murdering war years.

That Washington, a good sleeper, slept anywhere, isn't really much import. But that Woodrow Wilson, with insomnia, slept at Pass Christian, is news.

And advertisement. But no payola, please.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Tallulah's Views A Bit Out Of Line

"O my darling, O my darling,
O my darling Clementine,
You are lost and gone forever,
Dreffful sorry, Clementine. . . ."

* * *

Miss Tallulah Bankhead, everybody's darling (or, rather, whose darling everybody is) tells the Negro magazine, Ebony, of her distress at the "rising resistance to segregation" in her native Alabama and throughout the South.

She blames racial prejudice on "influences at work in the family and community where attitudes are formed."

In her own childhood in Jasper, she recalls, she was never exposed to such attitudes. "I was given so much love and security that I had no need to feel either inferior or superior to others . . . Love is the key to elimination of hate."

ME, TOO, darling!

Many of us, like Tallaulah, grew up with no thought of either inferiority or superiority. But she has picked up in alien parts the sophistry that affection and acceptance depend on integration. They depend more often on separation — the Southern, not the total New York type.

* * *

NO HATE EXISTS in the South as in Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Portland, New York and other non-Southern cities.

The South hasn't solved the problem, but it is far nearer than the North because it has this base of affection and understanding. If, as is argued, the base has depended on a servant-master relationship that is because this is what the relationship has been. The base can and will be carried forward into the new relationships developed and developing — unless professional agitators kill it and make this region a hell for both races.

* * *

Many miles separate Tallulah from the South even though she professes undying passion and calls her article "A Southerner Looks at Prejudice."

Her father, the late Speaker Will Bankhead, was always infinitely proud of her (he had wanted to be an actor himself) but her uncle, the late Sen. John H. Bankhead, would change the subject at every mention of her.

* * *

HOW DOES IT happen that the conservative counter-revolution, especially the ultra part of it, is so much in the hands of women?

Within the year, on speaking trips, I have come to know such brilliant conservative women leaders as Mrs. Robert Fitch, of the Women's Lucheon Club in Dallas; Mrs. Phoebe Courtney, editor of the American Independent in New Orleans; Mrs. J. Templeton Smith in Pittsburgh, a trustee of the Americans for Constitutional Action; and Mary Cain, indomitable Mississippi editor and publisher.

And there are the Daughters of the American Revolution, who are generally under the same ultra-conservative leadership (but not in Alabama where those epochal Mobile resolutions of 1958 were adopted).

Granting that nature meant women to be conservative and men liberal, feminine importance in the conservative movement in this day of feminine importance in everything is to have been expected.

What will they do to the conservative movement other than, perhaps, make it more so? They are still so new to public affairs they are not as concerned with abstractions, principles and party lines as men are. They go for concretes.

This reminds me of the lady at a party of Elizabeth O'Neill Verner's in Charleston the evening before I was to speak to the annual convention of the Southern Concrete Masons Association. When the lady asked me to whom I would be speaking and I told her the concrete masons, she said her late husband had been a Mason but never got to be "a concrete."

* * *

"Teacher, teacher,
Won't you reach a
Helping hand to this little
scholar,
If you only understood
I know you would . . . "

OH, TO BE A boy again and go to school to Miss Gail Evans at Green Acres Elementary. She is the young woman, all loveliness and light, who is to be queen of Birmingham's 1960 Festival of Arts.

Or, oh, to be as young, handsome and brave as Leon Edwards (son of Sterling and Beth) who will share the throne with her and be subjected for her sake to competitive treason from every commoner.

Brooke Hill, Goucher, Sophie Newcombe, the Sorbonne in Paris, world travel, a charming and magnetic mother, a sailor-gentleman-scholar-engineer father, a glamour of Spain from having been born in Mexico City and knowing Spanish before English—all this "and heaven too" make of Miss Evans, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James A. Evans, a queen entitled to all the purples in royalty's book.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Look At The Record

"Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
'Far, far ahead' is all her seamen know;
And where the land she travels from? 'Away,
Far, far behind' is all that they can say."

People who think it day-dreaming to imagine Nixon carrying Southern states may be right, but they could be wrong.

It has been 16 years since a Democratic Presidential candidate has won the whole South. In 1948 the nominee lost South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

In 1952 the nominee lost Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In 1956 he lost all these and Louisiana, too, with the Republican nominee winning a definite majority of the South's total vote.

WHAT NORTHERN Democrats fear, opines Columnist Jay G. Hayden, "is that the South has discovered in course of President Eisenhower's White House residence that a Republican President and Democratic Congress are ideal from its sectional standpoint."

* * *

Mr. Hayden points out that after the 1948 break many predicted a two-party system was just around the corner in the South—but it hasn't come, "only a Congressman here and there in Florida, Virginia and Texas."

He would agree that what has come in its place is the "Southern Democrat", progressively more willing to vote Republican on Presidential levels.

In 1948 four states voted against the Democratic nominee but none for the Republicans. In 1952, with the Star of Eisenhower over all, four Southern states progressed further and voted Republican unblushingly and point blank. In 1956, under that star, five voted Republican and the party had an actual majority in the South.

* * *

THE NEXT STEP will be voting Republican without the Star.

If Gallup polls have point, that can happen. Recently the poll showed Nixon and Stevenson running practically neck and neck in the South, 51 per cent for Stevenson, 49 for Nixon.

"It will not be surprising, says Columnist Hayden, "if in next year's presidential election the Republicans should not only hold their Southern gains (for President) but add to them, along with continuance of a Southern-ruled Democratic Congress."

Imagine how Master Politician Nixon would put out then for the South's second term support.

* * *

"GEORGIA HAS preserved its own culture" a headline over Irene Corbally Kuhn's column in The Florida Times-Union recites.

Just as I rejoice at such news from my native state whose culture I feared was being sold out by East Tennessee's Ralph McGill and company for a mess of New York pottage, I read on: "The Georgians, tall, dark, mustached men from the mountains and dark, slender Oriental-looking women. . " It is Georgia in the Caucasus, the Russian Georgia. Comes the dawn—and my Georgia still threatened, its culture still fouled and despised by some of its adopted own.

* * *

"IT IS GOOD to be reassured by those who do not go with the tide or change with the wind . . . who keep faith with the eternal," writes Mrs. Allen J. Weaver, of Jacksonville, Fla. Southerners who take this stand today are no foes of progress. They are friends of the only progress that is real, the one which "puts the temporal into relation with the eternal."

* * *

"HILL FAVORS Free Delegation"—the headline is misleading. What the Senator favors is an unpledged delegation.

To coin his own 1948 term, he "would stay and fight it out in the convention."

It will look rather silly for our people, defeated and scorned, to insist on staying in there and fighting until the scrubwomen come and the janitor jangles his keys out, but there's no real harm in this. It isn't the delegates but the people of Alabama who will finish the fight—on election day.

The Senator says naught of a unit rule. That might be a give-away, although I do think he is going through a process away from the Northern Liberal crowd.

If there's no unit rule, an unpledged Alabama delegation might scatter its votes, with its governor and senator making noises that wouldn't represent it. Its fine place at the top of the roll (Alaska doesn't quite horn in ahead on this) would be without advantage.

Alabama should be in position to make the first sound on every convention rollcall a clear sound, clearly Southern, constitutional and American.

* * *

FOR BEING a States' Rights man and an advocate of the unit rule at the convention, Mike Bagwell gets this column's vote for delegate.

South Seen Leading Fight On Socialism

KNOXVILLE, Jan. 12 (UPI) — A Birmingham newspaper columnist said here he saw the South as the core of a "counter-revolution against too much government."

GRAVES

John Temple Graves, a columnist for The Birmingham Post-Herald, said the counter-revolution was against socialism. He added "wars, depressions and the fore-and-aft of these created emergency situations to justify socialism and centralism in degrees alien to our philosophy, our love and our success of living."

"The only authentic political passion in America today—in this weary and cynical day—is the passion of the Southern people not to have massive integration in the intimate domestic immature situation of the public schools," Graves said.

He spoke to the Knoxville Executives Club.

He said Southerners "stand first" in the counter-revolution and in return to individualism.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

South's Fate May Be In Balance Saturday

"Tell them we still make war!"

Patriot, philosopher and Washington and Lee friend Henry P. Johnston held it proper that Sons of the Confederate Revolution, over whom he has presided, should hold their customary dinner on Lee's birthday Tuesday.

Lee is in history for the American Revolution as well as the Confederate War.

Through him the two have their noblest association. Both causes were liberty's and American individualism's against distant, uncomprehending, over-bearing government.

* * *

JONATHAN DANIELS, who hasn't even yet discovered the South in spite of what his book said, has picked up the point about Negroes having more political power in America than Southerners, and made it his own.

The Greenville, S. C., Piedmont finds his analyses of the Southern scene, including this one, "often cloaked in a disturbing vagueness."

In this case the trouble is not vagueness but omission of half the point. There is superior Negro power in electing presidents, because of the electoral college system and the way Negroes vote together in the big doubtful states.

But there is superior Southern white power in Congress. That is because Southerners are free there and use the freedom in a coalition that rules the Congress.

The blindly Democratic South has less weight in Presidential elections than it is entitled to. But the free Democratic South has even more weight in Congress than its numbers alone would give it.

* * *

FATE OF South and nation may be presiding at Montgomery Saturday when Alabama's State Democratic Executive Committee meets.

The greatest single potential political force in the nation is the poor, pitiful underprivileged Democrat-bullied, Republican-unseen South. It is potentially a greater power than organized labor. It is even greater than the pampered Negro bloc's. It is the South solidly in coalition with Republicans in a Democratic Congress and under a Republican President.

In other words it is the situation as of right now.

* * *

THAT SITUATION, however, is subject to dissipation by loyalists in the South and by Southern anti-loyalists who want to run wildly in all directions. This is why the hope of these states and of this nation, too, may lie with the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee this Saturday.

It may depend on (1) the continued dominance of anti-loyalists and their immunity to such manipulations as they suffered last year, and (2) the adoption of a unit rule for our delegates to Los Angeles and (3) the avoidance as of political death of the idea to urge a unit agreement among our electors to be of a third party as distinguished from a balance of power between Republican and Democratic parties.

* * *

WHERE JOHN PATTERSON will stand and what his stand will be worth—remains to be seen. He is still, insofar as national politics are concerned, a babe in the woods. His post-aural humidity in this respect seems to grow, not diminish. Never was a young man so in need of advice so poorly advised.

* * *

WHAT COULD BE more statesmanlike than the plan for a meeting of Southern Democratic leaders in behalf of a united front at Los Angeles, with Dick Russell or Herman Talmadge nominated as favorite son to lead but not run!

The Democratic convention need not settle things for the South this year. After the convention will come the November polls and after that the electoral college. The people of the South, not their party-bound political leaders, much less their bandwagon hogging ones, [illegible] settle things this time.

It is no reflection [illegible] leaders that they want [illegible] to the party, come what [illegible] But it would be a [illegible] and damnable reflection [illegible] Southern people if they [illegible]

It is liberty or death [illegible] Southerners this year.

* * *

SINCE THE 1948 [illegible] seemed to many of us [illegible] ing in the world could [illegible] Herman Talmadge to [illegible] Democratic Party to the [illegible] of voting another president [illegible] et while remaining Democrat [illegible] all else. But we must take [illegible] a leader without fear [illegible] he goes. After that, we [illegible] our own.

* * *

IF HE WON'T go all the [illegible] and it has to be goodbye [illegible] while, we'll be seeing him [illegible] after the election, following [illegible] again as a coalitionist.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES— 31a White

Birmingham Post-Herald

November Dream

Birmingham, Ala.

"The mountains look on Marathon
And Marathon looks on the sea,
And, musing there an hour alone,
I dreamed that Greece might still be free: . . ."

Fri 6/3/60 * * * p. 12

Last night, an yesternight, I dreamed of first dawn on the first Wednesday after the first Tuesday after the first Monday of next November.

And of Frank Dixon parked alone near the Grand Hotel at Point Clear looking seaward across Mobile Bay—thinking such thoughts as no American ever has before.

I dreamed the electoral college was deadlocked between Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon and that because Southern congressmen were mostly loyalist and would vote that way if the election were thrown to the House where each state would have a single vote, the free electors had decided the issue must be determined in the electoral college without throwing it to the House.

And I dreamed the free electors themselves were so closely divided that their decision was given to one man alone—ex-Governor Dixon, statesman, politician, soldier, patriot, constitutionalist.

And that his question mark covered Planet Earth. He had already been approached, openly and secretly, with offers of the earth and all its treasures as he undertook single-handed to say who should be the next president of the United States, the next top man of the earth and master of fate.

And I dreamed the decision was so unprecedented and so cruel upon mortal nerves that Governor Dixon's divine Juliet had come with him to a Point called Clear.

There he sat all day looking to sea beyond the bay, to the mysteries and withheld answers of the sea.

He was still there when I woke up.

* * *

THE SCRIPPS-HOWARD papers' announcement for Lyndon Johnson as their choice for Democratic nominee is coupled with a statement that they will choose their Republican nominee later on (if competition appears). Presumably they will choose after that between the Democratic and the Republican nominee before the November election, holding themselves free to consider both nominees and parties as they see them.

THAT IS AS should be, for any newspaper but especially for a Southern one, it seems to me (and it happens that Scripps-Howard is the most Southern of the great chains, with papers in Memphis, (two papers), Knoxville, Houston, Fort Worth and El Paso, as well as Birmingham.)

You can believe in a two-party system without believing individuals should be bound to either of its parties. The point of having two is competition between them. And that means individual choice.

* * *

AS STATED many times this column's much talk of and admiration for Richard Nixon are directed partly at the man himself but even more at the South's bitter need at long last of choosing periodically between the two parties and nominees on merit.

* * *

THERE WAS indeed a "party of our fathers" and its name was Democratic and many of us prefer it still.

But it has come to pass that neither of the two parties is "the party of our fathers" any more. That is why nothing is more dated and self-defeating than the Southerner of this moment who lets himself think of the word Republican as an epithet and the name Nixon as some sort of obscenity.

The choice which the Scripps-Howard papers seem to be posing for themselves—between Johnson and Nixon—is between two who are not only the ablest politicians on the presidential scene but the most matured and maturing statesmen.

Neither is to be judged today by what he was 10 years ago.

Both have had incomparable experience.

Senator Johnson, as Senate leader in a time of such coalition that he has led both parties almost as often as he has the Democratic.

Vice President Nixon as a vice president who has been given so many unprecedented assignments, has been so much called up, and so much in pictures at a time of such never ceasing crisis that, if elected, he would be the only occupant of the office to come with such vast and specific on-the-job training.

* * *

AS FOR THE SOUTH'S Peculiar Problem, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Nixon are—for differing reasons—nearer the South than any other candidates (even though that isn't very near).

As politicians, both are finding the South indispensable, the one as a home base, the other as a margin against minority. As statesmen, both find it easy to talk states' rights as none of the other candidates do.

* * *

THE DECISIVE element ... choice between them may be on... that one is a Democrat, the oth... a Republican.

But that choice, too, has speci... aspects for these times and th... South of this moment, with a... other Democratic Congress a... most assured, is it better for th... South to have the set-up of th... last eight years—or a Democrati... president to go with a Democrati... Congress?

If the Democratic president were a Northern liberal or Western radical, the South would suffer, for the Coalition that save... it would be ridden down.

Senator Johnson isn't identifiable yet as either, however.

If a Republican president were a national socialist like Rockefeller and Dewey, the South and the Coalition might have more chance.

For national socialism is still far enough away from Republicanism not to be very contagious. An "if" like like this is more or less academic, of course, with Nixon so surely the nominee and so fundamentally conservative.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald 31a White

Something For All In Wisconsin Vote

Birmingham, Ala.

Thurs. 4-7-60

"East is east and west is west,
But the birds fly South, and they know best. . . ."

* * *

There was something for everybody on the Wisconsin Christmas tree.

For Kennedy there was victory. For Humphrey there was a better showing than had been expected.

And for Richard Nixon, who got only 30 per cent of the votes in a traditionally Republican state, there was another invitation to the sweet-warm-South.

The election obviously is to be no landslide. No matter how he may or may not try, Mr. Nixon can't outbid the Democratic candidates (except Johnson) for the Socialist vote, the labor vote or the Negro vote.

But for the Southern vote he has made extraordinary progress. It is plainly the line of least resistance if he will recognize it and take care. He isn't expected to be for us. He is expected only to continue to be less against us than the Democratic candidates are.

* * *

IT IS POSSIBLE to interpret the Wisconsin primary as meaning that the free electors of the South, if they don't lose themselves in confusion or bump themselves off with overcrowding or die of blind staggers at the mere name of a Republican, are more than ever likely to determine the election.

* * *

HAS BIRMINGHAM'S one-time James Saxon Childers, over-long of Atlanta, become the "What will Asia say?" man on the McGill-Ashmore-Hodding Carter-Jonathan Daniels team? Not that Jimmie asks about Asia. He answers. How man Asians he has interviewed to be able to report them spending their days in sorrow for the awful treatment of colored people in the United States he doesn't disclose, nor does he identify those who give Asia so false an impression of our country where Negroes at this moment are more petted, pampered, well-heeled and fanatically championed and advanced than anywhere else on earth.

I forget the name of Jimmy's forthcoming book about this. Please don't anybody tell me. It may come to me — years from now.

* * *

THIS PAPER'S Managing Editor Bill Lindley is guilty of suppressing what in his heart, he recognizes as front page news and relegating it to mere page seven. That is news that the newly elected business manager of the Corolla, student annual at the University of Alabama, is William L. Lindley, of Birmingham, son of this paper's managing editor.

* * *

FLASH! Free Elector Candidate Bruce Henderson refuses to say never. That's good enough for me. In an important letter to The Montgomery Advertiser Tuesday he wrote that he would vote "for the candidate of either party."

True he ruled both out by stipulating that the candidate must advocate a constitutional amendment "to clearly define the right of each state to control its own civil rights and its own schools."

Neither candidate is remotely likely to propose or favor such an amendment.

If neither does, Senator Henderson uses the worn old formula. He will favor "the man who isn't there," voting "for some great American like Senator Byrd, Senator Thurmond, Senator Lausche, or any other leader who will make this pledge and declaration in his platform."

* * *

BUT THE BIG POINT is that Bruce Henderson would not have our electors go crippled to the college with a never, no never vow against Nixon. It might be that with a Byrd, Thurmond, or Lausche leading, our electors could obtain important concessions, even if none such as stipulated. But only if free to "vote for the candidate of either party."

We can never bargain if bound against one of the sides.

No more than we can ever elect a third candidate of our own.

* * *

SENATOR HENDERSON'S amendment is the reverse of the one to be submitted under Interposition Resolutions passed by a number of Southern states.

Our contention is that state control of civil rights and schools is already in the Constitution. By joining in a proposal to amend the Constitution to say so, we would be as much as agreeing that it isn't there already. If the amendment were then defeated, we would be honor-bound to accept Federal control.

* * *

INTERPOSITION—from Jefferson's day to right now—has provided that when a state interposes its sovereignty against a Federal law a constitutional amendment must be submitted denying state sovereignty.

If this passed, the state would then submit. Getting the necessary two-thirds and three-fourths would be so unlikely that the state could afford to gamble. But Senator Henderson would have an amendment affirming the state's sovereignty.

Even if we accepted the implication that would be much more difficult than defeating an amendment. We would be accepting heavy odds.

* * *

A READER SAYS one of my candidates is actively anti-Semitic. If so, he is mine no more. Even if it made sense or were civilized or Christian or American, anti-Semitism is simply too big and ugly a load for Southerners to carry with their already big and ugly Negro problem.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Kennedy For Sure?

"Yet look how we are come upon
The coquetries of chance—
The breeze that blows you here to me
Is blowing me to France."

* * *

The breeze that has now made Lyndon Johnson the South's sure choice at the Democratic convention may well have made John Kennedy the nation's sure one. The current Johnson sweep is confined to the South. Kennedy's extreme stand on civil rights, his making them a moral issue, may be enough to give him a majority now on the first ballot.

They should be just enough to remove all chance for him in the South, no matter what his exact words about getting on without us.

* * *

THE SOUTH'S course now, is clear. Johnson all the way to adjournment. Johnson until the cows come home. Johnson until the heavens fall and hope is gone.

And then—Nixon.

* * *

Politicians who are so far behind the people in the South these days that the people shock them might consider this:

The only hope of getting the Democratic Convention to take Lyndon Johnson is to convince it things are this way in the South, that South is not only for Johnson but, failing Johnson, is for Nixon and will win for Nixon.

God save us in this clear-cut situation from the "little man upon the stair, the little man who wasn't there," the "some Democrat of national stature" for whom we "will favor casting our vote."

Tell the world and tell the Democratic and Republican parties that the South proposes no lost cause for itself this time, no bath of sentimentility futility and defeat, no fighting go-down, but a place in the unyielding constitutional line.

* * *

"Courage is but a word, and yet, of words,
The only sentinel of permanence,
The ruddy watchfire of cold, winter days,
We steal its comfort, lift our weary swords—and on . . ."
"Be Brave," says the Young Man, (like me). Be true (like me) adn sound the high and moral note!"

So saying last week, and checking once more his Gallup Poll leads, and, most of all, on the gathering coolness, the Young Man finally put out of his life the Southern girl he met in Chicago, the one who had kissed him in the dark.

He was, after all, a married man, married to the NAACP, the ADA, the CIO, the AFL. But, more than all this, the girl was cold to him now. At first there had been "the sweet, warm South —Like a kissing mouth—To carry you into heaven . . ."

Here had seemed to be 128 wanton electoral votes asking to be his, quadrennially kissable by whoever happened along as Democratic nominee.

The pick-up seemed perfect.

The young man had forgot home and family. He had come courting. Never had the South been so sought after by a Presidential candidate from outside.

Especially, forgetting his morals, did he court the most segregationist Southern states—Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, making commencement speeches, receiving honorary degrees, addressing chambers of commerce, women's organizations, veterans, devoted still to the Negro and to organized labor when forced but avoiding the subject otherwise.

The South had been seething by now with revolt against the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decree and the attempts to enforce it, but Senator Kennedy had managed somehow to remain out of that picture to let millions of Southerners, including our careering young governor, think we could make-do with him even if not on our side, that we could be on his bandwagon and his pap-and-patronage preferred list on the old basis of a wink rather than a nod.

But as passion and solidarity gathered here against the decree and against the whole New Deal-Fair Deal set-up behind it and as the forces of radicalism and national socialism elsewhere began to swell Kennedy presidential poll percentages into something near sure-thing, the Young Man had given the situation a hard look at last and suddenly turned soft and moral. Perhaps it was his reaction to those breakfeat smiles from the ardently segregationalist governor of Alabama that did the trick. Last week Mr. Kennedy finally decided—after consulting the Gallup percentages and his immortal soul—that things were going too far and thanks to good Dr. Gallup, farther than they needed to go. He could make it without the South.

* * *

If only the Young Man had left out the high moral note and the "profiles in courage." His prize-winning book about being brave in politics was no more kin to this situation than were his belated moral posturings.

What's brave about defying a South which no longer has anything to offer you?

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES

Lyndon In Irons

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the South wind
rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging through
the thunderstorm . . ."

* * *

People in Los Angeles, in Chicago next week, in the Congo all the time. Who really carries the standard?

* * *

It wasn't enough to defeat Senator Johnson, it seems. They had to put him in irons, too, and solitary confinement.

But Publisher John Knight says LBJ invited himself, that the shocked and amazed Kenedy people decided they couldn't afford to refuse. Mr. Knight has it from "some one who was present."

* * *

The Texan is a strange man. You have a feeling that Fate is engaged in constant and complicated maneuvers around him.

For the moment it would seem that his nomination was decided upon as a way of completing the defeat and disarmament of the South by consigning its only man in power to the dark pit of the vice presidency.

He can be great in that office only by being greatly the agent of the President, as has Nixon. He'll be that or the usual nobody.

* * *

OUR GOVERNOR may consider himself now on the bandwagon where he longed so to be. But they've got him hid under the seat. Right up to the finish the Kennedy people showed their little appreciation of his "help."

When he manuevered to get a few more delegates they sent him word they had enough and he needn't trouble. You sensed that even 3½ were bad enough. And when Kennedy called in Southern governors for advice on the Johnson selection, ours wasn't even included.

His approach to Kennedy in future as some see it will have to be through LBJ by way of MacDonald Gallion.

Two bitter pills at once!

* * *

YOU WOULD think from the noises and the nominee that this was the Democratic convention of 1932, not of 1960; that there was awful depression in the land, not unexampled prosperity; and that American inhumanity of man to man compared with the Congo's.

Who really serves the people—in these days when giving them whatever they ask for and sacrificing God's truth to be on their winning side seems the top of statecraft?

I say they serve who, through the lusts and confusions, hold to the principle of qualification, of excellence.

ing Africa is no sign of the e's new day. It is a sign e disease that besets the es' latter day—the worn and day of cynical yielding to nqualified, the cowardly day ing at beck and call of the loudest noise or the most calculating leader, the sentimental day of invoking principals of greatness without any show of greatness.

* * *

WILL THE Republican convention echo only the departing Democratic one?

Will there be talk of "leadership — leadership — leadership" until you forget how to spell it?

Will we be told this is "a time for greatness" as if that were not something always said and needing to be said?

Will we be reminded of "crisis-crisis-crisis" as if we couldn't hear or see for ourselves?

Certainly we need leaders, certainly it is a time for greatness, certainly crisis is everywhere. But God save us from the God-players who mean by leadership simply more government; whose picture of greatness is of great meddling; who definition of crisis is something you yell when you need votes even if you foul the name and compromise the safety of your country.

* * *

"Safe in your amrs,
Far from alarms. . . ."

IT MAY BE there is balm in Chicago, but a South home from Los Angeles where the party of its fathers spat on it and removed its ablest leader may long more confidently for the sheltering arms of Congress.

In Congress the South is somebody. It has status, face, is said "sir" to.

In Congress the ADA-CIO-NAACP-Liberal element despised it at Los Angeles and rose massively over it is only a little more than one half of the majority party and would never be a majority of the Congress without the South.

In Congress the majority will and power of the whole American people, represented by the epoch-making Coalition, would have no such power without the Southern Democrats who are an equal part.

* * *

THE SOUTH is a majority of nothing, true.

But nothing can be a majority without the South.

As one of the two elements of the Coalition it can rule on most issues, and be respected on the Special Issue when it keeps its wits and discards its sentimentality.

* * *

IN THE CRUSH and cruelties of Los Angeles, all the world seemed against us. Especially when they took Lyndon away. But now we know it isn't rue. We are loved. Arms are open. There are alarms we need endure no more.

BETWEEN THE LINES

By DEAN GORDON B. HANCOCK
For The Associated Negro Press

Birmingham World

Negro Leadership; Great Responsibility

Birmingham, Ala.

The late Kelly Miller who headed the department of mathematics at Howard University for more than thirty years, was easily one of the finest characters this nation has known. He was not only an eminent scholar, but one of the nation's top-flight writers and rhetoricians of his generation.

Oct 4-9-60

Without doubt he and Dr. Du-Bois were the most facile writers the Negro race has produced. Kelly Miller for many years espoused the notion of a Negro Sanhedrin which would be a directive force in Negro life.

P-8

He contended that there was great need for a body of Negro leaders to give direction to Negro life ad aspirations. He saw the danger that would vex too much individual leadership, which has many dangers, wiles and snares.

With a Sanhedrin, thought Kelly Miller, Negro leadership could be channleled in such a way that all would be saying the same thing.

AN OLD SAYING

Just as it is said that "too many cooks spoil the broth," it may be said with equal truth that too many leaders spoil a plan of action.

Today's crisis calls for a unified leadership. It is true that the main objective, full liberation, is clearly outlined in all that is said and done, but we wonder if more could not be accomplished if some definite plan were being followed wherever the struggle is going on.

It is all the more marvelous that our Negro students have stood up and offered themselves on the altar in such fashion that the world's attention is dramatically called to the Negro's plight as a second rate citizen of his country.

With Dr. Martin Luther King's idea of non-violent resistance the Negro student caught on fire, and the wondering world looked on. Dr. King set forth the idea that the jails could be honorably filled with protestants fighting for freedom and now the jails in Orangeburg, South Carolina are filled.

This shows that the new Negro is ready to follow wise leadership in ways that have not been true heretofore. It means that if a blue print were given to the Negro race with directions spelled out, the race would follow in good order. Negroes are responding to constructive leadership.

SPECIAL CARE NEEDED

The critical nature of impending events makes it imperative that special care must be exercised if the current movement is to achieve the edsired ends without violence.

Non-violence has been one of the most powerful weapons in the struggle for freedom currently going on and dramatized by the sit-down movement. It is going to take a lot of good leading to keep the movement non-violent.

Sight must never be lost of the fact that there are those of our enemies who are itching for the opportunity to see violence to the end that the fury of the Old South will be losed against defenseless Negroes.

It is the moral force of non-violence that has stayed bloody hands. President Truman has indicated that if a bloody crisis developes the nation will play hands off. The Negro leader must advise with this fact in mind.

Some one remarked recently that Russia was making much of the situation in the South, but Russia is not much after helping the Negro as in propagandizing for the spread of communism. The sympathy of a godless communism is always of questionable importance.

NEED A SANHEDRIN

The situation is too critical to be met without a unified leadership. Men like Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins and a few others should go into a huddle. We need a Negro Sanhedrin.

Many years ago this writer was visiting with friends in the rural districs. With dramatic suddeness my host sprang the question as to which needs his mother's care more, the infant in the cradle or the older child running here and there? He had already found the answer and said that the child running around needed a mother's care more than the infant in the cradle for the reason, the child running around could get to trouble, whereas the infant child could not.

The Negro race is a growing child now and needs special attention in a way it did not seventy-five years ago. A scattered leadership might have been sufficient in the early years of our struggles, but today we need a unified leadership.

We are in sad need of a generalissimo at the present critical moment.

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Recently there appeared a newspaper account of the Birmingham Metropolitan Audit on politics.

Of course this writer has not yet had an opportunity to read copies of the audit. However, it can be assumed that there are no Negro scholars, researchers and analysts connected with BMA.

The report, according to the newspaper account, found slender electon ate, or under-suffrage; political neutralism, and voter - registration indifference. It also suggested that a non-party municipal primary would be better than a two-party

I am at a disadvantage in trying to tackle such a report. Yet it seems that the Negro group should give serious attention to these reports. They disturb me because they seem to ignore the existence of the Negro segment and also the Community Chest and its vehicle, the United Appeal, serves this segment without effect, or even token representation. Where it counts.

Apathy is not entirely the reason, or excuse, or explanation for the low political suffrage among the Negro group. There have been times when the racial rejections by registrars seemed to be too high to be fair. The poll tax chops down numbers. It is in this observation that ignites the curiosity about the make up of the staff putting out the socio-civic audit.

The civic audit suggests that the electorate should be given a choice on issues instead of party labels. Yet it seems to me there have been more racial than party labels in city politics. Racial issues seem to be placed outrageously ahead of real or civic issues. One civic issue overlooked is the open, disease - breeding, neighborhood ugling ditches. Negro civic - service leaders have failed to project neglected civic service into the political arena. Open ditches in Negro neighborhoods stand as a crying shame on municipal government and an indictment of Negro community leadership, it seems to me.

The B. M. A. tends to reflect what hapepns in a city, state, or nation where politicans are allowed to have a manageable electorate. The vote size has been relatively too small in Jefferson County for any freedom comfort. There are 16 high schools, two colleges, and numerous special schools which enroll members of the Negro group. To say that in the light of these school Negro citizens are not competent for the ballot would seem to discredit the quality of education available to the Negro segment.

It it can be said that there is massive political indifference, something must be wrong with the press and other mass media of communication. Where the press does its duty, serving freedom, riding relentlessly on injustices, and battling fearlessly against bigotry, there could hardly be any widespread political indifferecne, it seems to me. Political denial at the ballot box refects itself in various civic affairs.

Usually bad race relation reflects a bad daily press. Bad race relations usually point up terrible voter-registration and political action relations. A bad press and bad democracy go hand in hand, it seems to me.

The Birmingham Metropolitan Audit, if I read the newspaper reports correctly, reflect the absence of Negro participation in the study. Yet the Negro civic - service leaders seem to be drugged by some strange force into silence. The reports, as presented in the daily press, seem to be lacking in total and depth interpretation.

In Atlanta, Ga., a group of Negro scholars published "A Second Look: The Negro Citizen in Atlanta," which appeared in booklet form January, 1960. Such a study is needed in Birmingham in light of the studies called the Birmingham Metropolitan Audit, it seems to me.

The B. M. A. reports, on the basis of the press accounts, seem to be incomplete, inadequate, and occasionally restrictive. It seems to follow the traditional pattern of Southern textbook history, with its omissions, ignorings, and detours. These surveys deserve the attention of local Negro scholars, business leaders, and civic -service leaders.

The surveys seem to give a flimsy or frail civic image of the Negro segment as a participating, functioning and contributing part of the civic, cultural and economic life of the Birmingham community.

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Alabama's "proration" crisis in education is but one of the many vexing educational problems facing this state.

Proration is enmeshed with taxation and the latter is rooted in politics, or voting. There is a relation between proration of funds and the ballot.

Revenue is not the only problem facing public education in Alabama, and other states. In the South, revenue is often tied up with race relations. Where there is a racial differential in the wage rate there is a corresponding drag in the tax production. The wage gap means a tax gap.

Yet there are scholars who tend to overlook this factor. Some freedom scholars point out that the two-division educational system is wastefully costly and that by eliminating it there could be some economizing. Public education in Alabama will continue to be something of increasing costs. Unless wage improvement rises faster than new taxes are added the situation is not likely to be corrected.

Still there is the view "of the frontiers of education in the nation's public schools" as discussed by Arthur D. Morse in the Sept. 17, 1960 issue of "Saturday Review. About so-called "ability-grouping," the writer says:

"The most common defect of ability grouping is its failure to accomplish its central purpose—to enable youngsters to work to full capacity. When a "fast group" has completed its required program for the year, the typical teacher assigns more of the same sort of work to fill out the term. Thus fifth-graders read more and more fifth grade materials instead of pushing ahead to more advanced work.

Morse claims the "ability" system "avoids the obligation of challenging the child" and is presented in "a phrase of purest educational jargon . . . called horizontal enrichment." He also argues that "there appears to be no evidence that a fixed pupil ratio is ideal in all learning situations."

Rather. Morse asserts, "The caliber of the students, the quality of the teachers, and the nature of the subject matter would seem to be ideal criteria for class size."

The class-size theory seems to have the upper hand in current-day education. The enrollment explosion together with the class-size emphasis have provided much of the pressure for fresh money for the schools. Whether effective teaching depends upon the class size is something for the educators and scholars to debate, it seems to me

Morse takes a swing at the traditional pattern of teaching. He put it this way: "The teacher in the conventional environment is put upon to a degree undreamed of in other professions. Her workload has increased staggeringly and with the paper work. It has been estimated that a teacher spends up to one-fourth of her working day handling routine clerical chores. The work she lives in has automated but the teacher fills out the same forms and slips, collects the money for the various benevolent causes and school services, takes attendance, acts as charwoman, and performs tasks normally assumed by less educated clerks and stenographers—all this while we are told about an acute shortage of qualified teachers." ..

Yet that observation does not seem to touch some of the things which Negro teachers have to undergo in some of the Alabama rural schools. In traveling over Alabama I see things in some of our schools which are heart-breaking. Often Negro civic leaders are voices to protest and lack the communication power of the ballot box. The sales tax load falls heaviest on the poor.

Another observation by Morse says: "The world is dominated by change but the teacher is dominated by a relentless schedule that prohibits the reflection and study necessary to introduce change where it is most needed—in the curriculum."

In his inspirational remarks to the section of Jefferson County Public School teachers which met in general meeting Oct. 1 at Parker High School, Dr. I. F. Simmons, superintendent of Jeffcho Public Schools, gave illuminating emphasis to this "exciting age of change." Change is bound to have some effect upon customs as well as curriculum, it seems to me.

The proration situation is a symptom of the need for constructive change in Alabama, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

Can school athletes be classified as "talented and gifted" students? Or is the phrase a disguise for favored and elite students?

In perform in sports one has to have certan talents, abilities and desires the same as is necessary in art, music, debate or the campus newspaper. Performing pupils are talented and skilled in varying degrees and ways. Yet the art teacher, the music teacher, the dramatics teachers all have to approach their assignment with a feeling of competency and with the approach of thoroughness. The thorough teacher should be able to reach the normal student who comes under his or instruction.

Educators are debating the subject. In one sense it is method teaching vs content teaching. The athletics coach has to blend content & method. He has to know and apply many methods to impart his ideas, information, idealism to his charges. An athletics coach makes teaching by himself and [illegible] by his players a joint effort. As Vernon Law, pitcher for the Pittsburgh Pirates put it, "When you're through learning, you're through."

Prof. Talleferro began his teaching of Jordan High School, Columbus, Ga., is quoted by Carolyn Martin in the August 21, 1960, issue of the Sunday Ledger-Enquirer, Columbus, Ga., as saying: "Educators are shirking their duties in emphasizing quality education for the superior students alone."

He adds, "It is the educator's responsibility not just to relate facts to our youth but to teach them what to do with those facts. The quality education is the ability to use information to benefit man-

Prof. Talleferro began his teaching career 28 years ago as a coach and mathematics instructor. The effective coach has to teach his charges to relate information, to live with others. Teamwork, respect for authority, understanding of the game's rules, the proper reaction to victory and defeat, the character to compete fairly, are among things the coach has to try to teach. An official in a game is a symbol of authority. The coach has to try to deal with values such as regard for the other fellow.

Some years ago when the now dissolved Greater Birmingham Interscholastic Athletic Conference was formed, school sports served to provide an opportunity for creative teachings. I once heard Nathan Pitts, first coach of Immaculata High School, talk with his athletes about sportsmanship. He told his team that they represented both him and the school when they take the field and that he was more interested in building the right kind of player than in winning the game. Immaculata has had seven coaches.

When W. H. Hollins was coach of Fairfield Industrial High School he used to stress sportsmanship so firmly that he was often kidded about de-emphasizing coaching. One has to understand some of the problems which faced the coaches in this area to appreciate the work that was done by them to help build manhood principles into the athletes.

The late H. Lovell (Hog) Mosley (Brghton High School), the late James Smith (Powderly, now Wenonah, High School), the late B. A. (Yak) Collins (Parker), were among the other founders of the old GBIAC. This was the first successful organization of interscholastic athletics in this area which included all of the high schools in this area. A. J. McClung was at Westfield, W. J. Bolden, Hooper City, Archie McCord at Rosedale High School and Herbert (Dizzy) Pigrom at Dunbar High School (which has been reduced to an elementary school).

Actually, one of the first organizational meetings was held at the home of Coach Smith with Dr. T. J. Know, coaches in some of the junior high schools in attendance if memory is reliable. Coaches in the junior high school of the Jefferson County Public School System played a vital role in the organization of inter-school sports on the prep level in this locality. Clyde C. Osborne had served both in the GBIAC and the Jefferson County Negro Athletic Association. He has left the Jeffcho school system and likewise giving up the position of secretary-treasurer of the JCNAA.

Coaches in the Jeffcho Public Schools who were banded together in an informal arrangement due to the program of physical education and athletics in those schools played a heroic role in the organization. At the time it was not certain whether some of the other high schools could affiliate with the setup. But Parker Coach Collins put himself on the altar, so to speak, for the organization. Since then, Parker has played a significant role in organized sports.

signficant role in organized sports.

When Mrs. Odessa McKinney in 1936 asked me to serve as chairman of the basketball committee for the junior and senior high school Jefferson County Negro Schools of which she was supervisor, it provided for me the prestige to accept the challenge for trying to get a school athletics organization going. Under my chairmanship the first Negro officials, "Mule" Knox and Lincoln (Morty) Clark were employed to officiate at the basketball tournament. In those days I was teaching at Spaulding Junior High School.

Most of the pioneers of organized scholastic athletics in Jefferson County are no longer teaching. The present-day coaches have built nobly upon that pioneering. Coaches can see the fruits of their teaching.

Yet the members of the Jefferson County Negro Athletic Association never even sponsors for itself a fellowship luncheon where they can give word-of-mouth distribution of their year to year contributions.

THE TIP-OFF

Birmingham World

Birmingham Ala.

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. (SNS)—Oakwood College is one of the twelve institutions of higher learning in Alabama devoted to the education of Negro youth.

It is one of the seven church-related educational institutions in Alabama which attracts Negro youth. Oakwood is psonsored by the Seven-Day Adventist. Dr. Garland Millet is president of this college.

Some years ago Periclean Club of Birmingham, Ala presented several of the presidents of the Alabama colleges which enroll Negro youth as speakers on its annual Negro History Week Forum.

The Oakwood campus focus creates the impression of a mina-

ture business [illegible] ler and a model farm outlay with the college buildings standing as shrines of learning. One looks about and gets the feelings of the competition of sweat and scholarship.

Come to the campus and one gets a friendly greeting & reception of ununforgetable magnetism and warmth. Inquire at the roadside campus business center and you get direct, helpful, intelligent information.

You drop by Oakwood College on a trip unrelated to reporting and come away with a desire to report. For you know little about the college and has only on one occasion had the opportunity for more than a passing greeting with its president. Yet you have seen Oakwood College students who told you they were trying to work their way through college.

Back in the Huntsville community a youngster of steaming aspirations had talked disturbingly of what he felt was the inadequacy of civic and job-opportunity leadership in the Rocket City. Negro lettercarriers, he observed, are absent from the Post Office. A $30,000 building program of Radio Station WEUP is held up because of a zoning complaint from an outstanding Negro business man. Apathy abounds, he suggested, in Negro voter-regsitration.

Negro leadership is able to reveal almost nothing about job opportunities for the Negro group in the rocket and missile industries. Huntsville lacks an organization which explores job opportunities for Negro youth. The fault is thrown on the shoulders of Negro youth .One hears that Negro youth just doesn't seem to be interested. Yet there are two colleges in the Huntsville area which serve Negro youth.

The federal government is pumping big money into the peacekeeping new industries of this city. But there is a question of how much opportunity is being opened up to Negro youth as result of these federal investments. Huntsville as a city is expanding and improving.

About two weeks ago, Aug. 15-16 at the Annual Work Conference of Principals and Supervisors, in Montgomery, Ala., there was discussion of the theme, "The Role of Leadership in the Maximum Development of the Individual." The "role of leadership" in civic and job opportunity needs to be seriously examined, it seems to be. How can the "role of leadership" be explanied on the job front where in the new federally-finance industries there is a strange absence of a fair percentage of Negro employees.

In the August 27 issue of "Saturday Review," Calvin Kytle discusses some new aspects of the American situation in an article titled, "Crack in the Cornucopia." He talks about "the Technological Revolution" and the 'depth and impact" which it has had on living standards, learning standards and attitudes. He speakes of 'leadership of heroic dimensions" to cope with events and to fit itself to change. He says that this leadership must blend "the finest intellect with the most sensitive heart."

He adds: "For what this leadership must do is nothing less than to articulate the ethics of a mature America to developing a new central philosophy, an intellectual spine, around which our people can act, if not altogether masterfully, then confidently and constructively."

Ktyle says that this leadership "may come from the church. It could come from the government or from the universities or even from some of the big corporations. Those who remember the vitality of the self-help farm movement have hopes that the cooperative movement can provide it."

Absence of vital leadership is a terrible obstacle. It becomes more distressing during the present ferment for freedom. Without competent, dedicated, determined leadership the Negro group in Alabama is likely to become frozen into second-class citizenship. Job opportunity is another yardstick for measuring the quality of leadership a city, of nation, or group has. ....

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

This is American Education Week, November 6-12, but how does it look in Alabama when flashed against American credo of equality of opportunity?

A report from the Southern Education Reporting Service, Nov. 1 says in part: "In four Deep South states — South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi — all public schools, including colleges, are segregated. The University of Alabama is still under federal court order to accept qualifi ed Negro students, but none has enrolled since Autherine Lucy's tumultous stay on the campus in 1956. A suit by two Negroes asking admission to the University of Georgia is pending in federal court."

Nobody has suggested an Autherine Lucy Day during the observance of American Education week here in the Magic City. Yet there are sorts of appreciation days, recognition services, and other personality promotions. No one has suggested that a school be named in honor of Autherine Lucy, although her name seems to have more meaning than some of those names stuck on some public schools.

Another report telling about the sources of revenue for one of our public school systems does not seem to identify any money coming from the federal level. This is an interesting slant in the light of a recent study which shows the Federal government spends about seven billion dollars (annually) in various state local grants in aid programs. This sutdy reveals that "the five states which have refused to desegregate public schools and preach total defiance of the Constitution on racial matters receive from 15 to 22 per cent of the income of their state budgets from the national treasury. The approximate percentages are: Alabama, 22 per cent; Georgia, 16 per cent; Louisiana, 15 per cent; Mississippi, 21 per cent ,and South Carolina, 15 per cent."

Is it that some states want Federal money but not Federal standards?

One of the sub-topics which will be discussed is that of "Able Board Members - Stronger Schools."

There is not a public school city in Alabama which has the name of a Negro person listed as a member of its Board of Education. In recent times only in one instance has a member of the Negro group offered for a election to such a board. However some boards are appointive. Approximately 34 per cent of the Alabama population is made up of members of the Negro group.

The celebration of American Education Week in Alabama needs to be viewed against the American promise of equality of opportunity. How can the absence of Negro citizens on Boards of Education be explained to the Negro student? How can democracy be explained to those African students who are studying in American colleges and universities?

Then there is the statement that the same "average" outlay is spent on the Negro pupil in Birmingham as is spent on the white pupil. "Average" amount is not the same as actual amount. For instance if the actual amount of $40 is spent on a Negro child and the actual amount of $60 is spent on a white child the "average" amount spent on the Negro child and the white child would be $50. On this basis the actual amount spent on the Negro child would be $10 less than the average while the white child would get $10 above the average.

Some of the school revenue in Alabama comes from poll tax. Yet out of 506,000 Negro persons in Alabama of voting age there are only 64,937 qualified Negro voters. In Wilcox and in Lowndes counties Negro residents have been barred from the voting lists since 1901.

If poll tax is an honest revenue tax why isn't it made compulsory like all other taxes. The poll tax is the only voluntary tax in Alabama. The state income tax is deducted, in some instances, from the weekly wage of the poor.

The slogans, the themes and the topics used during American Education Week lose some of their glow when placed against the background of the American credo, it seems to me.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Post-election debate on the national election rages furiously. Some try to find the meaning of it. Others probe the reasons for its outcome.

Politicians are planning. Within the two major parties bids are being made for control. Some of those who believe in standpat politics seem to be formulating plans for chopping down the designs of President - Elect Kennedy's promise of new frontiers legislation.

What are the group's political action leaders doing? Nationally what are the plans. Locally what is being formulated.

Without a program on leadership can gain much for those they seek to lead. Our group needs masters of strategy instead of kings of oratory. The solid South seems to be breaking up into blocs of confusion. Splitocrats in Alabama. Electoral vote withholders muster political strength at the ballot box in Mississippi. Presidential electors are unpledged in Georgia. Florda rolls into the Republican column.

There is evidence of political illiteracy in the South among the masses .Meantime there is economic impotency and political apathy in a large segment of the Deep South population.

Take a look at the picture in Alabama. The Democrats polled approximately 70,000 more votes than the Republicans. A majority of the62,000 Negro voters went into the Democrat column. A total switch of Negro votes would have almost given Alabama to the Republicans. This is an observation which the Negro political action leaders should make use of or work into future planning, it seems to me. A program built upon such realities could alter politics in Alabama.

There is the paradox in Alabama of dwindling margins without a corresponding definitive trend toward developing a genuine two - party system. Such a situation seems to be explainable only in the light of what seems to be a studious and planned effort or desire to build at the state level a two-party political nation — coalition which could throw its weight around in both parties. It was this type of confusion which seemed to provide an entrapment for Negro voters who were not able to understand what was happening.

The Republicans seem to be using a strange, odd, and self -defeating plan for keeping the GOP alive in Alabama as either a token or protest party. It has barred Negro Republicans from party participation. The general election is not a party activity as such. Since voters in Alabama do not declare party affiliation the only way a party member can function in the party is through GOP - sponsored activities.

When Vice - President Richard M. Nixon came to Birmingham for a speech, no Negro Reporter was in the press section. Negro GOP leaders made much of the "White Supremacy" slogan written into the official emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party. Yet they did not seem to come up with anything positive about opening the way for Negro Republicans to function in the Alabama Republican Party which uses the convention instead of the primary to select their nominees.

In Alabama there is work already cut out for political action leaders in both the Democrat and Republican Parties. The lily -white practice of the Alabama GOP should be wiped away and the "White Supremacy" motto of the Alabama Democrat Party ought to be eliminated. Both are indepensible. In the case of the Democrats the party slogan is cruel, hateful and disgraceful, "White Supremacy" shoul dhave no place in any party which operates within the American process.

Removal of these two obstacles should be the first item on the agenda of our political leaders, it seems to me. Both are a part of a national party and enjoy the benefits of such affiliation. Both the National Democrat Party and the National Republican Party should take a firm hand in ridding their units of infamous slogans and obnoxious practices. Let there never be an apology for either the "White Supremacy" motto or the lily - white practice because both are wrong and without moral or decent standings in a nation like ours.

These two issues are going to have to be met by our leaders or new leaders brought to the front who are not afraid to take a stand for that which is sound, right and just. The "White Supremacy" label carries with it the theme of racial bigotry and the message of absurdity. The shut - door practice of the Alabama Republican Party is intolerable and contrary to the bedrock principles of the Grand Old Party.

Alabama politics needs to be cleaned up and the challenge is to Negro leadership to carry the issue to the American conscience and to forum of decency.

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

"You just don't understand," said a sobbing voice at the funeral service of Mrs. Dorothy Cox [illegible] Birmingham city school [illegible] Saturday afternoon, Sept. [illegible] at St. Paul AME Church in Smithfield.

Those words struck something within me. They have been heard from the lips of others under different circumstances. I have heard such sentences around the family table. When I served as adviser for a high school newspaper I heard them. None of the circumstance had anything to do with heart-deep sorrow.

Sorrow is something to be suffered rather than to be understood. What is a more rewarding suffering than for one you love deeply, totally, eternally? If one really understood sorrow would that make it any easier to bear? Sorrow seems to be so fundamentally spiritually as to be beyond understanding. Yet sorrow can be communicated and in that way find satisfying compensation, it seems to me.

The passing of Mrs. Broach touched me deeply. For I admired her as a person, shared her civic enthusiasm, treasured her conversations, and profited by her friendly reprimands. She often accused me of acting like I did not know her, passing her by without speaking, and even being unable to remember her name. These are seemingly small things but they registered with me. I resented the source from which it came. Only a true friend will try to improve one where he is weak. That is one of the reasons why my conversations with Mrs. Broach were so valuable.

In the spring of 1959 Mrs. Broach talked to me plans that were being developed by friends to give several courtesy affairs for her in connection with her marriage. She wanted to merge all of them into one big appreciation event, which she did. I offered to write the story, but she appeared to be hesitant. She seemed to be concerned about the reaction from friends. She did not want anybody to think she was a publicity seeker. My signed story appeared in the April 11, 1959 issue of the Birmingham World. It was in that feature story that it was said: "She is a missionary in the classroom."

The story reported that Mrs. Broach began school teaching at the age of 17 and Sunday School teaching at the age of 9.

I told Mrs. Broach that I would write the feature story about her and that it would be my story about her. I also told her that it was all right for anybody to jump on me about any story which I wrote because I could take the criticism. Good work should not be buried in obscurity. A feature story about a missionary in the classroom is more important than one about a bridge player in the classroom, it seems to me.

Civic service is the watermark of community grandeur. Mrs. Broach had labored in the Smithfield Unit of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council, serving as secretary at one time, I believe. In the special registration campaign she performed so expertly that her name came up for favorable comment. When the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club was organized, she switched over to it. I remember her telling me about her switchover which she desired to know my reaction. I told her she should be able to make up her own mind because that would be my own approach.

I am a firm believer that one serves best when he or she works in the community in which he or she lives. Mrs. Broach was an outstanding worker in one of the Smithfield churches, or her church, St. Paul AME. That she was identified with her community was attested by the neighbors. There is a kind of immortality in which the individua must lose his identity to achieve it. The voters' list in Smithfield is a part of the freedom immortality of Mrs. Broach.

Mrs. Broach loved teaching, not as something popular, or as a ladder to social status, but as a profession, a means of helping. In the classroom you try to stimulate, stretch, and sustain the mind. No matter how professional one becomes, much that he teaches is himself. A good teacher must himself be good, it seems to me. Even the community becomes the classroom of the real teacher.

When Miss Lelia M. Barlow, retired Alabama State College professor, of Americus, Ga., spoke at the second annual workshop of the Birmingham Progressive Education Association, April 9, 1959, I took a seat in the rear of the auditorium where Mrs. Helen George Heath, and later Mrs. Broach, were seated. Some words passed between us, and subsequently I left and went to the platform. At the conclusion of the program, we talked. That was the last conversation I remember having with Mrs. Broach. What neither Mrs. Heath nor Mrs. Broach could have known was that Miss Barlow's speech had a meaning for me which outweighed the workshop.

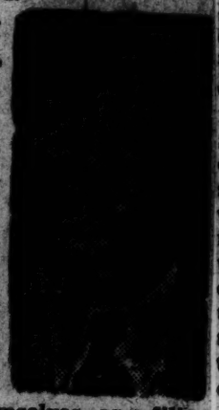
Both Mrs. Broach and Mrs. Heath told me how hard they had worked trying to help make the workshop a success. In that they said something which still disturbs me. Not enough teachers demonstrated the kind of interest in the workshop to make one feel happy over it.

"You just don't understand."

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (North) and president of the aggressive Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights is involved in about fifteen civil rights and related court suits. Perhaps no local civil rights leader in recent times has personally undertaken such a heavy load.



New patterns, or shifts in strategy, seem to be emerging. First, a ploudburst of new litigation is flooding the courts. Secondly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is being associated with the fresh litigation. And third the litigants themselves are filing the suits. As individuals acting as their own lawyers in suits they themselves file the plaintiffs cannot be accused of stirring up litigation.

When the NAACP was put out of business in Alabama that was seen as a death blow to legal efforts to remove extra - legal, or states' rights barriers erected against the Negro group. The unholy coalition of conservative Republicans and Dixiecrats blocked enactment of a section of the proposed Civil Rights Acts which would have given the Attorney General of the United States power to institute legal action in the broad area of civil rights. Cost of handling cases involving civil rights in Birmingham soared to a point that it became of national interest.

Legal action is only part of the heavy artillery used in the civil rights battles. Voter - registration campaigns were promoted but fell far short of the desired production. There was suggested the pocketbook approach which did not strike fire. Other appeals to dignity were made.

Eventually the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights is likely to move into the area of political action. At least the Rev. Shuttlesworth hinted that in his recent speech before a trade union group in Atlantic City. The happy crusader could make it quite uncomfortable for the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club and the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council should he wade into political action. He would perhaps personalize political action, dramatize unpopular issues, and challenge the polite action leaders. For these seems to be more polite action than hard -fisted political action.

Youth is showing a restiveness as demonstrated by the abortive sitins in Birmingham. But these are only symptoms. Youth may be crushed in Birmingham but in the bigger arena youth has aroused the conscience of the nation, it seems to me. Idealism trampled to the ground will take root again, and even in what seems to be barren soil. The crushed youth of today will be the crusading leaders of tomorrow. Such an observation ought to hold a meaning for those today who throw youth in jail, sentence them to prison, and mar their records. The scarred youth of today could become the strong men of tomorrow.

Perhaps no local individual has been criticized more often than the Rev. Shuttlesworth. He is condemned as a publicity seeker, abused because of his methods, feared because of his courage, but admired and supported by his faithful band of followers. Whatever his methods, no matter how much he may seek the limelight, no rational person can say that his targets are not clear. One who is involved in fifteen civil rights cases doesn't need to seek publicity.

Yet it seems that the Rev. Shuttlesworth knows the importance of publicity and public opinion. Civil rights litigation is often educational. Crusaders do not often get a favorable press. Sometimes those who give publicity do not have in mind helping the one who makes the publicity. It takes skill for one to so handle his press relations to advance either himself or his cause forward.

Maybe the Rev. Shuttlesworth is a glut for publicity. Maybe his methods are wrong. Maybe he has too much nerve. If he had sought no publicity, had the right methods, and was timid enough, would his critics accept him anymore than now? Or would they find something else wrong with him? What about the objective of the Rev. Shuttlesworth?

Check the roster of Birmingham leaders and list what they are doing on the freedom front. Read the court documents and see how many are using the legal process in efforts to blot out second- class citizenship. Examine the trade lists of the other leaders to see whether they shop in a manner to widen opportunity for the Negro group.

Where a group is impotent at the ballot box, lax with their pocketbook and indifferent to freedom - service organizations, a man like the Rev. Shuttlesworth looms exceedingly big, it seems to me. Fifteen civil rights cases tend to make one big. He is being sued for a million dollars. Only big men are sued for millions, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

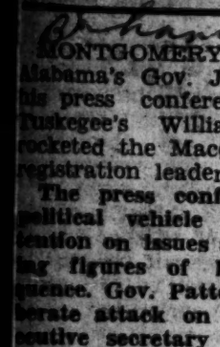
By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham Weekly

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (SNS)—Alabama's Gov. John Patterson in his press conference criticism of Tuskegee's William P. Mitchell rocketed the Macon County voter-registration leader to a new focus.

The press conference is a vital political vehicle for riveting attention on issues and for spotlighting figures of leadership consequence. Gov. Patterson in his deliberate attack on Mr. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association and chairman the TCA franchise committee.

Why would Gov. Patterson, in the midst of an important presidential campaign in which he seems to have big stakes, would see fit to level an attack on Mr. Mitchell?



The Alabama chief executive called the Bessemer-born, Tuskegee Institute-trained, civic engineering Mr. Mitchell an "agitator" and the carpenter of the Tuskegee business for freedom program.

Birmingham, Ala.

If it could be granted that Gov. Patterson's observations were true, though that could not be, what is there un-American or un-Alabamian about agitating. Agitation is one of the weapons of protest and seems to be in the best tradition of America, the Poet Longfellow, on slavery; Tom Paine, on freedom; Calhoun on states' rights and Jeff Davis on succession. And even the name of Gov. Patterson might be added, in connection with civil rights. It is a question of whose agitation and what it is about that seems to give trouble.

It was the "Mitchell Case" some years ago which tended to unthaw compulsory racial disfranchisement in Macon County. Since that time Mr. Mitchell has become a civic symbol of systematic, scientific and enlightened voter-registration. His documentary approach in which he could pinpoint issues, produce supporting evidence and catalogue alleged instances of hostile discrimination in voter - registration have tended to upset every scheme hatched to deny the ballot to the numerical majority in Macon County.

Mr. Mitchell is more the agonist than agitator. Had he been an agitator, as charged by Gov. Patterson, the chief executive probably would never have given to Mr. Mitchell any press conference attention. Tuskegee leaders in their civic education program; in their legal attack on racial disfranchisement, in their legislative approach, part of which is written into the 1960 Civil Rights Act., all tend to illuminate the record of action, not agitation, built by Mr. Mitchell.

Before the United States Supreme Court is a case arising in Macon County, which attacks the Tuskegee Voter Squeeze Out Bill. Another Macon County voter-registration case is pending here in Montgomery before U. S. Judge Frank M. Johnson on alleged racial discrimination in voter-registration. Reports on Tuskegee voter-registration practices have been published in newspapers and other journals. Such is a record of action which Gov. Patterson seems to have ignored.

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TCA leaders continue to work hardf or the constitution provided right to vote. Gov. Patterson points out that it has been difficult to get persons to serve as registrars in Macon County. Has he sought the cooperation of the TVA leadership in an effort to get registrars? There are Negro persons in Macon County who possess the qualifications to serve as voter-registration screening officials. But Gov. Patterson has not sought their services. Nor is there from him a plea to boards of registrars to place on the voter roll any and all applicants who posses the qualifications to vote regardless of race, county, religion, or political party. In neighboring Lowndes County which has more Negro than white residents there is not a single Negro voter. Yet Alabama's chief executive has not lifted a finger nor raised his voice for correction of this situation.

Wed. 10-5-60

Meantime, Mr. Mitchell is credited with having heavy influence with the U. S. Department of Justice and with the Congress-created Civil Rights Commission. If that is true, which is not likely to be, then Mr. Mitchell is a bigger man than even the facts warrant. For Mr. Mitchell, without the power of public office; without even a high salary, and anchored in racial-exploited Macon County, could have only what every citizen has, the duty to point to infraction of the law, faithless public officials, and corrupt practices.

If performing one's civic duty makes a man powerful, perhaps Mr. Mitchell is just that. Unwittingly, Gov. Patterson may have been used by God to help get that observation over to those who were slow to appreciate outstanding civic service rendered by Mr. Mitchell.

To the comment from Gov. Patterson on the alleged trade protest in Macon County. It ought be said that an all-white Grand Jury weighed the complaints which were presented by a competent staff from the Attorney General's office, and threw them out. Under the free enterprise system one has the freedom of spending choice. Compulsory buying is hostile to the capitalistic system of supply and demand.

Racial disfranchisement has been good politics heretofore in Alabama. There are an estimated 64,957 Negro voters in Alabama. If Mr. Mitchell carries the weight attributed to him, and with there being prospect of close presidential balloting in the Nov. 8 election, Gov. Patterson's attack could pose other implications. In Alabama, Gov. Patterson is the chief booster of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

Alabama is fortunate to have a William P. Mitchell for under the leadership provided by him and Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, TCA president, has come a wholesome, inspiring civic fellowship which is good for the freedom spirit and uplifting to the masses who need light, guidance, and hope, it seems to me.

Dr. I. F. Simmons Urges "Teach Your Children How To Think"

Birmingham World Birmingham Ala. Ltd

Wed. Oct 5-60

By EMORY O. JACKSON

"Teach your children to think" urged Dr. I. F. Simmons, superintendent of Jefferson County Public Schools, in his remarks Saturday morning, Oct. 1 at the General Teachers Meeting of the Jeffcho teachers held at Parker High School.

Dr. Simmons, who retires at the end of the curent school term, hooked his remarks to his observation of the "changing world in which we are living and this most exciting age." He called the 1960's the greatest age in all history of the world" despite the fact that world changes are "creating a lot of problems."

Among impression-making events which Dr. Simmons used to focalize his remarks was the United Nations where a formidable roster of heads of states were in attendance. "That's a great thing that's going on", he asserted. The recent Kennedy-Nixon radio and television debate, the shooting of man-made satellites into orbit at Cape Canaveral, were among other events cited by the Supt. Simmons to drive home the theme of "an exciting age."

Likewise he were pointed with pride to "things (changes) taking place in education." He mentioned the refresher courses offered by colleges which (1) suggest, "teachers come back (to college) and learn over again"; (2) changes in architecture of school buildings, (3) group teaching by use of educational television. "For you", Dr. Simmons asserted, "this is a happy age, a challenging age."

Under "the age of challenge" emphasis Dr. Simmons declared, "Even as educated leaders bear a great responsibility." To illustrate his point he mentioned that in Cuba a high percentage of the population is illiterate and that such persons can be easily swayed by emotion or by the appeals to exploration. He hinted that non-literate people ofter all under the type of leadership provided by Dr. Fidel Castro, head of the Cuban state.

Meantime Dr. Simmons recommended that teachers find a project aiming to teach pupils the tools of thinking. "There is an art in questioning", the superintendent asserted. He challenged the teachers to make up "problems that require them (pupils) to think." He also suggested teachers teach pupils) to "learn to put memory to work with facts that make sense."

Also Dr. Simmons made the appeal for United Appeal in the absence of a representative from the 1960 appeal headquarters.

Dr. Kermit A. Johnson, superintendent-elect of Jeffcho Public Schools, stated that the County Board of Education had adopted a balanced budget calling for $11,-600,000 for the education of the 55,000 boys and girls in the county schools. He said the adopted budget provides an average of $211 per child.

Meanwhile Dr. Johnson, surveying the educational picture in Alabama, said that about 30 boards of education were operating in the red four had reduced salaries and others have frozen the operating costs. "Schools of Alabama are in the worst (financial) condition of many years", he added.

The in-the-black budget balancing, said Dr. Johnson, was accomplished by neglecting to paint school buildings and by not holding class-size or teacher's load at the desirable average. He suggested that about 100 Jeffcho teachers have 30 or 50 pupils in their classes. "When you put more than 30 pupils to a teacher she is working at diminishing returns", Dr. Johnson said. He pointed out that the county has 2,000 more pupils for the 1960-61 school year than was enrolled at this time last year.

Instead of hiring about 30 teachers this year, Dr. Johnson indicated that "we should have employed 60 or 70".

Where communities desire painted school buildings, Dr. Johnson suggested that the painting could be done on a half-and-half basis the community raising or paying part with the system matching it. The board, he announced, approved plans for the addition of classrooms at Brighton Elementary School and Wenonah Elementary School. He added that a suitable site had been obtained for the proposed new Adger School and that construction of the Dolomite School should begin in about 10 days. Each school when completed will house from 500 to 600 pupils, he said.

"A classroom for every pupil" is the goal of the County Board of Education, Dr. Johnson said. He also said that the board intends to provide "a high quality education for every child in the county."

Miss Mildred Blankenship, supervisor of the Literacy Movement for Jefferson County announced that Mrs. Mary E. Stith Nation, has been named as a supervisor for the Literacy Movement. Mrs. Ruth Waldrop, library consultant, urged teachers to continue to use the Curriculum Library.

Dr. E. Paul Jones, director of the Division of Negro Education, introduced the new teachers. Mrs. Ludie P. Dowdell, elementary supervisor, made announcements and introduced the consultants, including Dr. V. Murray Chambers of Alabama A. and M. College.

The devotional was conducted by Levie Satisfield, chaplain; Mrs. Bonna P. Samuels, pianist and Mercer A. Givhan, who directed the group singing. William J. Jackson, president of the Jefferson County Education Association, presided.

THE TIP-OFF

3la New

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

9/10/60 P8

"The N-leaders represent a balancing and pivotal moral and spiritual force in the United Nations. In other words President Gamal Nasser of the United Arab Republic, Nehru of India, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana represent a tremendous bloc among the world powers.

About 16 new African nations have come into the 15-year old United Nations during the current session. The total number of African countries in the UN is about 26. This represent a phenominal change and should have favorable influence on human relations.

African leaders are represented in the UN in impressive numbers. They are a part of international diplomacy. They are news makers and the heads of governments. Emergence of the new African states is bound to contribute to a changing attitude toward the Americans of African descent.

African scholars are now in a number of American colleges, including Miles College of Birmingham. They are also found in the great universities and educational centers of the world. African diplomats are distributed in the various capitals of other nations. Afro - Americans should find encouragement and inspiration in all of this.

On Sunday afternoon, October 2 at Thirgood C. M. E. Church four African scholars, or students, are scheduled to appear on a forum discussion of Africa. In light of the spotlight Africa has on the world stage today the forum should be of significance.

World peace to a large extent seems to rest with the African nations. The treatment accorded the Afro-Americans is certainly to play a vital part in the peace fabric. Let the lesser informed try to belittle or minimize this. But the powerful statesmen of the world know the jurisdiction of this observation President Eisenhower recognized it in his most recent UN speech.

In many ways the newer African leaders look to the Americans of African heritage for inspiration guidance and experience. For the Afro-Americans have experienced freedom through many stages, and are familiar with the institutions of freedom. They have come up through Jim Crow which is a form of localized colonialism. When "Africa Speaks" one is likely to find out the high regard and esteem the Afro-American is held.

The idea the "Mutual Opportunity Project" could have wider application. Freedom seekers are likely to have a higher rating in history than the status seekers. Really, is there any higher status than self-respect, or mutual respect, or equal respect?

A group which cannot work where they spend, are denied lunch counter service where they have credit accounts, and who make donations without representation, as is the case of the Birmingham Negro group in respect to the board of directors of the Jefferson County Community Chest, cannot hardly qualify any of its segments as status makers, it seems to me.

In numbers, purchasing power, and in intellectual symbols - college degrees, sorority and fraternity pins, professional titles the Birmingham Negro group looks impressive. Yet there are those who will stage dances and promotions at the National Guard Armory in full knowledge that a Negro youth cannot, or is not allowed to serve in the Alabama National Guard. Status seems to be placed ahead of sense. Such things can only be explained in terms of social falsety, economic frauds and leadership doubletalk, it seems to me.

In his speech to the Birmingham Chapter of the Frontiers of America, Dr. Virgil Leon Harris, president of the National Insurance Association stressed achieving "without yielding in principle any manhood." He needs to make that speech many times in the presence of some of those who are premoting second - class citizenship and hurting us by an emphasis on a false status.

Let Africa speak, and let some of us listen.

THE [illegible]P-OFF

[illegible]MORY O. JACKSON

[illegible] September 24, the last issue [illegible] 78-year-old Savannah Tri[illegible] published by Mrs. Willa [illegible] Johnson appeared. This is [illegible] seventh Negro-produced news[illegible] to suspend publication in [illegible] past five years, or less.

[illegible] Arkansas State (Little [illegible]) Press, the New York Age, [illegible] Los Angeles (California) Tri[illegible], the Southern (Tuskegee, [illegible]) observer, the Alabama (Tus[illegible]) Citizens and the Gadsden [illegible]) Call-Post are among the [illegible] Negro-directed journals to [illegible]

Some other publications produc[illegible]d in the interest of advancing the Negro group and widening the enjoyment of the American dream are tottering. The Negro - owned press has always had a hard struggle because it was in a hard fight. Yet the group for which his press gives all it has and often its ex[illegible]stence, does not always seem to understand.

The Savannah Tribune went down fighting. As Mrs. Johnson, the Talladega College-trained publishers and editor put it in her farewell editorial, "The Savannah Tribune has been a great newspaper for a great people." She added "It has consistently cried out against the inequalities and injustices suffered by the Negro people."

For those of us who have spent almost all of our adult life on the Negro-owned press and have always pointed with admiration to the Savannah Tribune, its demise hurts, stings, and shocks. For those of us who are tired and disappointed it is soul shattering. Yet we try to carry on, simply because we are told we shouldn't give up. Frank Stanley, publisher of The Louisville Defender, in his lead editorial which is reproduced as part of this column effort, wrote: In its final editorial, the Tribune said, "We have been faced with many problems: the rising cost of production; a lack of trained personnel; a small number of advanced paid subscribers, newsstand and street sales and inadequate advertising revenue."

The Tribune recalled that it had "Championed the Freedom of the Press — consistently cried out against inequalities and injustices —deplored mediocrity — presented news about the obscure. It had faced the challenge of the "New Age" and the "New Negro" and championed the cause of the sit-ins, the kneel-ins and the wade-ins as being morally right."

Certainly no readership, and no group of people could ask anymore but 60,000 Savannah Negroes have let the Tribune die by default.

Of course American Journalism has been shrinking for more than a decade. There are fewer Metropolitan Newspapers today. One may therefore easily conclude the Negro Press will become smaller and smaller too.

Most of the demise of white newspapers has also been the result of high cost of production. Yet the death of a Negro newspaper reflects more than this. In Savannah as well as New York City where the New York Age closed shop earlier this year, the principal reason is lack of sufficient support by Negroes.

This desertion of the main vehicle which has so materially aided the progress of Negroes is unfortunately on the increase. Partially — free Negroes now fail to see the need to keep their voice — indeed their only forthright voice, alive. They are deluded by the few briefs of token editorial support they occasionally receive in the white press.

In truth, many now find it fashionable to boast, "I don't read the Negro Press." Yet, but for the very crusades Negro newspapers have waged through the years many of these "emancipated" people would still be back home, down south in the cotton fields.

The death of any Negro newspaper is an irreparable loss to the cause. It is a lessening of our fighting forces — and for a community like Savannah which has not even yet tasted integration, it is suicide. But for the Tribune, Savannah Negroes definitely would not be on the level they are — one which must consistently be raised.

Every review of integration success stories reveals that they came about only after some Negro editor had spent years crying out in the wilderness — years inspiring, challenging, yes, forcing Negroes into group action. As a rule every inch of Negro progress has been paced by a crusading Negro newspaper.

And few people realize that the very crusades which a Negro newspaper relentlessly wages are often a barrier to its economic growth. Prejudiced whites refuse to advertise in or subscribe to it because they fear its power. Scared Negroes blindly refuse to stand up and be counted in support of it.

We congratulate the Savannah Tribune for pursuing its thankless course for more than three-quarters of a century. We pity the 60,000 Savannah Negro citizens who permitted such a worthy journal to die because its loss will weigh more heavily upon their heads in the days ahead, than the Tribune's publishers.

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

7-27-60

...ations seem to eat away at ...erica's economic strength while ...racial differential income tight-...

...a release of June 30 redistribu-t... The Moss H. Kendrix Organiz-... Marion H. Jackson, editor of "Go Magazine" estimated that over 200,00 delegates to 62 national Negro organizations in 1960 would spend "an estimated $20,000,000." Not much of this money could count as being spent with Negro-owned business, or those which tend to create, generate ...ulate fair and equal job ...economic opportunity for the ... group.

...of the convention-minded ...ations depend upon the Ne... group for their support, mon... and customers. Yet they seem ... back very little in free... development, job creation, ...cultural pioneering. Birming... does not not have an active ...-directed business league, ... single Negro-operated busi... is a member of the Birming... Chamber of Commerce. The ... group is believed to have ... some on deposit, in invest... and in the consumer engines ... Birmingham area, but little ... where there are decisions ... Negro leaders.

... the Southern Regional ... Atlanta, Ga., released a ... Buying Power" report June ... observes, in part: "Negroes ... to 80 per cent of their in... for consumer items — food, ... care products, home ..., etc. Social restrictions ... their spending on public ..., travel, vacations, ... activities."

... such vast spending pow... downtown Birmingham ... sell the Negro group ... departments denies him ... services. They won't ... Negro group and the ... won't wake up. Cit... here sells many of ... on sale at ...

the variety and department ... in which ten Negro co-eds ... arrested. The platform of the ... tional Democratic Party has ... organized the principle of custom... service justice. No city offic... can arrest any man's dolla... One is free to spend, and to ma... his dollars talk freedom and fa... play, it seems to me. A customer... who is unwanted at a depart... ment store's lunch counter can... make what is on its other coun... ters unwanted by him. Yet such... as that class for customer self... respect and spending sense the... Negro customer is going to have... to sacrifice prestige stores, status... brands in order to buy a grand... new first-class citizenship, it... seems to me. The Negro group... in Birmingham represents Ameri... ca's number one economic sleep... ing giant.

SRC's "Negro Buying Power" re... port also presents a median income... chart of 24 Southern cities. Stop... and glance at the Birmingham fig... ures. The median income in this for... males shows $1,676 for the Negro... group and $2,883 for the white... group. The Negro male's median in... come is $1,207 less than that for... the male of the white group. For... the female, the median income for... the Negro group is $467 in contrast... to $1,147 for the white group. The... Negro female has median income... of $680 less than in the white group.

The median income yardstick... tends to reveal the disparity in... economic and job opportunity.... This would also seem to suggest... that because of this racial dif... ferential the Negro group should... try to use its buying power as a... total for erasing political and eco... onomic injustice.

For instance, Mobile has Negro... transit bus operators and Negro po... licemen. In Birmingham there are... no Negro persons working on such... levels. I the Negro group can be de... nied lunch-counter service then he... can be denied work- - service. The... ballot and the dollar have power... ful corrective power in a political... democracy. Usually there are no... Negro persons employed at reading... water meters and collecting coins... from parking meters.

John Roosevelt, a member of the... President's Committee on Govern... ment Contracts, in his speech be... fore the National Business League... July 21 in Cincinnati, sounded... several warnings. One warning... had to do with minority groups... contributing to the job advance... ment of the younger group. He... suggested that " . . . the price... you have to pay in training young... Negroes in business methods, only... to see them leave to take jobs... with larger concerns, is part of... the inescapable fact that much... of the responsibility for improving... the Negro's preparation for work... falls in the Negro community it... self."

Negro-owned business has to play... the triple role doing business, pro... viding job opportunity and training... those of its own for new openings... and employment pioneering. Yet in... Birmingham Negro-developed busi... ness seems to have failed to assume... the challenge of responsibility pla... upon it by new ferment as demon... strated by the sit-ins and the cry... for business improvement and ex... pansion which is coming from the... masses.

In another sense the sit-ins could... represent a protest against some of... the traditional services of Negro-... run business which caters to its... own group. Yet it seems to me that... opportunities as equals rather... than sitting-in as spenders.

Mr. Roosevelt pointed out: "In... the coming 10 years, the prob... lem of the American Negro will... not be so much one of economic... discrimination, but one of being... prepared to accept the... new opportunities which will be... offered him. He has a brand new... challenge, totally different from... that of 20 years ago. He has to... get into the swim of the 1960's.... It will be up to him. If he is... ready, no force on earth can keep... him out of the mainstream."

THE TIP-OFF

By Lucius Walker

In the Ebony magazine article... (September 19) on Hazel Scott, are... some ideas which deserve consi... deration about those who wrestle... with personal and professional pro... blems.

She states her case this way: "All I ask is a chance to express... what I am bursting with-soul. I... want a chance to work under the... best possible conditions and to... change, to develop and grow as a... person and as an artist. I must... grow. Nothing can stop that, whe... ther I am permitted to work the... way I want to in America or not."

Negro youth in America today are... saying "all I ask is a chance" to... study, hold my self-respect, buy... with dignity, get a job on merit... vote, and grow in grace and in... freedom. This is not easy.

Miss Scott (Mrs. Adam Clayton... Powell) asserted in the Ebony... piece: "A friend told me upon Billie Holliday's re... turn to the United States she call... ed me the Queen of the Mau Maus.... She meant this as a compliment.... She said it is because of the affec... tion and esteem the African stu... dents of Paris hold for me."

That observation is cited to... illuminate the suggestion made... here in the Back-to-College em... phasis that the study program of... our Negro-identified colleges need... to be revamped to include courses... about Africa. Africa is both free... dom and economics. The weakest... emphasis in Negro education is in... the area of business, economics, and... and political ideas adopted to the... needs, aspirations and future of... the Negro group it seems to me.

Improvement begins with one's... self. The basic beginning is self-... respect. Self-respect is a form of... self-discovery. If one learns nothing... else he learns much when he... knows the power, influence and... value of self-respect. Whether self-... respect can be taught, is something... for the educators to decide. One of... the ideas presented by Hazel Scott... is in the area of self-respect and... what it requires, means.

In "Morehouse College 20 Years... of Steady Progress" report, Dr.... Benjamin E. Mays, president says:... "Many of our students come to us... with good minds and great potent... ials but their cultural and edu... cational background is poor. Many... of them come from inferior high... schools. They come reading below... their capacity. It is not possible for... students to do acceptable work in... college if they cannot read."

Poor readers not only make poor... students; they make poor leaders.... Reading is a form of mind building.

It was George Gallup, writing in... the August, 1960 issue of Ladies... Home Journal who observed: "The... deficiencies of almost any school... can be remedied by a carefully... planned reading program."

Gallup goes further than Dr.... Mays to say: " . . . Self-education... for many continues for many years.... We need always to remember that... learning is a process which begins... at birth and ends only at death."

When one stops reading he stops... growing culturally. That is one of... the reasons central libraries sup... ported by taxes are closed to the... Negro group in some Southern... cities.. Any group whose reading... can be kept down can be otherwise... kept down. There is a kind of quiet... respect which goes out for one who... reads, it seems to me.

There is evidence that some of... our college students are both read... ing and communicating. Otherwise... the so-called sit-in demonstrations... could not be accounted for. Read... ing about freedom tends to spur... those who read and understand to... try to perform for freedom, it... seems to me.

Teaching which has integrity... simply cannot vindicate itself by... revealing the American promise and... justifying the rebuff to that pro... mise. College students have begun... to function for freedom. Integrity is... simply good principles working in... an individual.

THE TIP-OFF

An athletics coach is often a teacher without textbooks. Yet coaching comes near to being total teaching. Coaching is a teaching relationship which is warm, emotional and triumphant.

This observation came to mind in connection with plans for the tenth annual Back-to-School Smoker of the Birmingham Grid Forecasters set for seven o'clock Thursday night, Sept. 8, at the Downbeat Club in Ensley.

Textbooks too often are inadequate even for the classroom. Textbook selection in some parts of the United States is enmeshed with bigoted politics. Negro educators do not always participate on textbook selection committees. Some years ago a book, "The Challenge of Democracy" by Theodore P. Blaich and Joseph C. Baumgartner and published by McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., created political controversy in political circles because of its consideration as a textbook in Alabama publi schools.

No Negro person serves on the State Board of Education, or a city or county board of education. Yet about 34 percent of the population of Alabama is made up of the Negro group. Here is a "challenge of democracy" as old as the cry of "taxation without representation." Here is an area of civic and freedom teaching where no textbook is needed and no classroom is necessary. Teachings of this kind are the jobs of civic leaders and political action advocates.

Perhaps the coach more than any other teacher has done something about the "gifted and talented" pupils. It takes the gifts of courage and the talent to absorb the fundamentals of the game to play competitive on contact sports. No other classroom teacher seems to get to know pupils who come under their instructions better than the athletics coach. Coaching also is teaching by demonstration, it seems to me.

This column makes no declaration in favor of the current advocacy of the re-arrangement of the public school system to provide for [illegible] **gifted and talented" pupils. For there is the fear that such will turn out to be a revamping of the educational system to accommodate the children of the favored, the economic powerful and the politically selfish. Who is to say or what science can tell who are the talentless and giftless children? Good teaching carries with it the understanding and the technique to care for the needs of those varying talents and backgrounds.**

"Labor and Education" published some years ago by the "Department of Research and Education" of the Congress of Industrial Organizations observed: "In some states, civic textbooks are edited especially for Negro students; the material dealing with the right to vote and the mechanics of voting is carefully omitted. A recent study of history and other texts showed that even the most 'liberal' books have failed to give any minimum understanding of the development of Negro life in the United States since the Civil War."

It is not recalled at this writing whether the Alabama State Teachers Association has a committee on textbooks whose duty it is to keep tab of textbook selection, the content of such books, and the treatment of the Negro group, the text coverage of freedom image, and such other related matter which ought to have the constant and vigilant attention of teacher professional organizations. Under a mature teacher professional organizations like the ASTA and the American Teachers Association this ought to be a must if they are to justify their being, it seems to me.

What is said with reference to teacher professional groups applies equally to P-TA. organizations.

Athletics is now given a place, if not status, in the 16 Negro high schools in Jefferson County. Two of the three local Negro colleges provide for athletics. Miles College is a member of the SIAC.

Sports is also serving as a nursery of freedom leadership. Especially on the college level have sports heroes figured to some degree in the new awareness of creative leadership for true equality of opportunity. Sports tend to imbue in the student the competitive spirit which is the heartbeat of our capitalistic system. Sports enable those who come under good and sound coaching to understand change and to cope with it.

Unless it has escaped notice, the coach-teacher has yet to win any consideration in the ASTA's project, "Teacher of the Year." This is not intended to advocate any selection based merely on coaching ability, but only to point out while athletics is given status in the ASTA's organization setup, recognition in the school activities, and popular support by the community, it has not been reflected elsewhere such as the "Teacher of the Year."

Coaching is a form of total teaching. Must it be said that the total teacher is without honor in his own profession? Of course it is true that Birmingham Grid Forecasters usually cite the "Coach of the Year." All of this is said to help provide the spotlight of emphasis on the coach as a teacher.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Step up professor and tell 'em about it. So Professor Charles Allen Brown, principal of Brighton High School says this in his book, "The Origin And Development of Secondary Education For Negroes In The Metropolitan Area of Birmingham, Alabama," Commercial Printing Company, 1959, Birmingham, Ala. (page 67):

"The Grid Forecasters, an organizations with the prime interest in athletics, serves as an effective bond among the secondary schools through its sponsorship of an annual banquet and the presentation of various awards to players, coaches, principals and other personnel. Throughout the season they render predictive services with respect to scores. Their predictions are general based upon athletic statistics of the teams and players, and a few intuitive factors. In the most part their prediction of scores has maintained a high average."

Now, step down, professor, you've said it.

What about the coaches who build the teams upon which the pitch doctors of predictology pick the scores from the clouds. Coaching is live teaching. When a football team plays a game the teachings of the coach are in a way placed on exhibit. The teacher who can make his instruction exciting and life-meaning fruitify learning. No other teacher does it any better than the coach. Goal of teaching is learning. An athlete has to learn many things in order to make the team and play the game.

Put New York Daily News Columnist Ed Sullivan on the witness stand. Mr. Sullivan can you shed any light on the subject. Witness Sullivan referred to a report of his secretary of March 11, 1960.

The secretary's report said: "Ozzie Nelson and Harriet can be very proud of their youngsters, Ricky and David. Far from being spoiled, their sons are typical American kids, unusual only in their athletic ability. That figures because Ossie, when you were a sportswriter, was a football star at Rutger. Most recently, the Nelson sons have developed into amazingly fine circus trapeze artists, In Big Top lingo, the huskier David is the 'catcher' while Ricky is the 'flier'. Ozzie, talking to me about another Rutgers grad, Paul Robeson, feels if the famed Rutgers coach George Foster Sanford hadn't died in 1938. 'Mr. Sanford had a great influence on Paul' Ozzie recalled. 'Had been alive, I'm certain he could have straightened Paul's thinking when Robeson was frst exposed to racial indignities. That always has been my hunch."

"It's just a crime,, continued Ossie, 'that Paul Robeson was turned against us, because when I knew him, he was an exceptionally fine human being, I remember, in my first game at Rutger, I misjudged a punt, Naturally, I was heartbroken. After the game, I was walking alone, downcast. Suddenly, I felt a big arm around me and Robeson said: 'wasn't your fault, young fellow. A sudden gust of wind swerved that ball away from you. The important thing is that you didn't let it get you down. You played a great game the rest of the way.' Ossie shook his head. 'Robeson was an All-America competitor. Instinctively, when he was hurt deeply by racial discrimination, he fought back and got off on the wrong track. If Coach Sanford had lived, he would have gotten Paul back on the right track."

That citation seems to help along an observation made in another column, "the coach is the total teacher."

Sports in Negro-related colleges and in high schools which enroll exclusively Negro students come more nearly to measuring up to the true amateur definition than any where else, it seems to me. This is due more to circumstance perhaps than conscience.

Sports Columnist Jimmy Powers of The New York Daily News on July 11, 1960 observed in part: "There are athletic scholarships for all. Strictly speaking, we simply won't face the fact that true amateurism is virtually extinct in America."

It is at the high school elevel where competitive athletics seem to be cleanlest. This clean status is jealously guarded by the Jefferson County Negro Athletic Association.

February 2, Columnist Powers wrote: "We need heroes from grade school on up to spur impressible youngsters into developing their bodies." He then adds: Many a boy grows up and never subjects himself to any kind of self discipline. One learns poise, self-confidence and tolerance as an athlete, a competitive athlete, at that."

One could search the experiences of Prof. B. T. Harvey, SIAC commissioner, for gems of wisdom about the vital and unsung role of the coach-teacher in the educational system. The Tenth Annual Back-to-School Smoker of the Birmingham Grid Fosecasters Thursday night, Sept. 8 at Downbeat Club should serve to focus attention on the role of the coach in helping to build a good America and a better human being, it sems to me.

31a 1960

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Alabama's Democratic mixture which is attending the National Democratic Convention which opens July 11 in Los Angeles, Calif., reflects the cloudy political picture in this state. This mixture includes delegates, state party officials, observers and the excess baggage figures. Yet none is expected to come from the Negro group which has an estimated 73,000 voters on

The issue of civil rights projects itself emphatically at this convention. It is bound to protrude into the platform writing, the record of the candidates for nomination and into the determined Dixie states' rights position.

Meantime, James Free correspondent for The Birmingham News in his July 3 output observed: "Our point is that the Democrats somehow have got to find an answer, at least political, to the puzzle of civil rights, or find a way to make the problem go away on its own accord."

The problem is not likely to go away until all of the barriers of enforced and condoned racial discrimination is coaxed away. A study of current events and of history reveals that for the total elimination of enforced discrimination will depend chiefly upon Negro leadership. The various brands of liberals are not always motivated in their opposition to infringed rights by a desire to see the Negro group win first - class citizenship. Many of the reformers are not entirely in a revolt against the mistreatment of the black man. There is often a lack of "common principles" between "white" liberals and Negro advocates of one-standard citizenship.

In what some call the "curious combination" finds Birmingham Public Safety Commissioner Eugene Connor and New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell both thinking respectively of Senator Lyndon Johnson's candidacy for the Democratic Nomination. Alabama Governor John Patterson and Civil Rights Lawyer Frank Reeves of Washington, D. C. are plumping for Senator John Kennedy. The civil righters and the states' righters find themselves in a strange political mixture, but for obvious different reasons.

A new factor in American politics is the emergence of a new crop of Negro scholars who can command a forum, audience, and a hearing. Prof. Patrick W. Riddleberger of the University of Maryland, in an article entitled, "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro During Reconstruction," puts it this way: "In the twentieth century the application of the social sciences to the race question, especially the advent of Negro scholarship, is the primary significance of Negro advancement."

This is perhaps what is behind some of the hesitancy of a large body of Negro leadership with reference to Senator Johnson's projection as a candidate for the Democratic Party standard bearer. They have gone over the total Johnson record, basic identity and compromises on civil rights. Senator Johnson has the heartbeat of a South which is growing but not rapidly changing in that growth. Historically the compromisers have tangled up race relations in America.

Prof. Riddleberger in discussing the desertion of the Negro by the Republican radicals, and or liberals during Reconstruction pointed out: "Yet with in six years all except (Charles) Sumner came aruond to a position advocating universal manhood without the accompanying assurance of Negro suffrage."

First the compromise on basic rights, then comes the cancellation of the remaining rights. The Fifteenth Amendment was compromised in the 1960 Civil Rights Bill and to rescue it wi'l seem to require enactment of universal suffrage laws. Universal education seems to have laid the groundwork for no less. There is a warning from history on the compromise of fundamental rights.

In another article in the same journal, Prof. Daniel Walden of City College, New York, entitled, "The Contemporary Opposition to the Political and Educational Ideas of Booker T. Washington, is written: "By one means or another, the vote of the Negro in the last decade of the nineteenth century had been rendered almost impotent and his constitutional rights, already severely diminished virtually vanished with the repeal of the remaining Reconstruction laws in 1894. At the same time it seems that there was a movement afoot to characterize the Southerner as a new type of man, a new generation who could be counted on to treat the Negro fairly."

In other words there were the Reconstruction "moderates" and "gradualists" and "goodwillers." Yet the Negro group lost ground on the civic, political, economic and educational front. In his Atlanta Exposition Speech, Mr. Washington laid down the doctrine of "severe and constant struggle". Yet the Southern friendship appeal made by the distinguished educator fell on deaf ears in the South.

Walden observed: "But the response was not with cooperation, but with Jim Crow legislation more vicious than before. Washington's refusal to campaign in an all-out fight against these disabilities, and his concentration upon urging the Negro to acquire property, let (W. E. B.) DuBois, in 1903 to write a vigorous criticism of the older leader's policy and program."

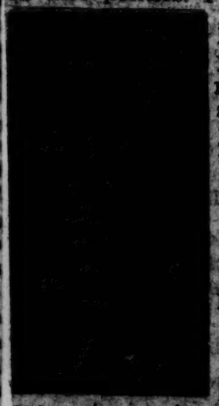
THE TIP OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

DETROIT, Mich. (SNS)—Something a "Meet the Critics" luncheon greeted met at the Lucy Thurman YWCA here July 26.

Arthur Johnson, the Birmingham born executive secretary of the Detroit Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had suggested the cafeteria conference where a number of leaders dine daily at the noon hour. Mr. Johnson who battled through Morehouse College and also took a master's degree at Atlanta University, was on vacation.

Naturally the discussion plunged into politics. Present were some



hard - core supporters of both major parties. As an independent in politics I am able to talk without partisan heat. As a resident of Alabama, I am a voter in a one-party state. Yet there is a Republican Party which does not seem to grow, to work, to identify itself with the heritage of the current Republican Party.

It was hard for some of the Republicans present to understand that Negro Republicans in Alabama don't function in Republican state convention in Alabama. There were no Negro delegates from Alabama to the Republican National Convention. The same was true of the National Democrat Convention but not for the same reason.

The Democrats in Alabama use the primary system and the Republicans the convention system. Negro voters function in the primary and help to elect the delegates Negro Democrats can run in the Democrat primary if they chose, for delegates and alternates to the Democrat National Convention. But in the Republican Convention Negro Republicans do not get in to either vote or run. The luncheon Republicans seem not to want to believe this report. Let them check this report with the Alabama Republican Party leaders.

The name of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his leadership came under discussion. There was the veiled hint that Dr. King in 1956 was responsible for the Negro vote sliding toward President Eisenhower. Of course such a size up has not been in circulation in Alabama. While in Alabama Dr. King did not participate in partisan politics. Certainly, there were those on the national scene who would have welcomed his support and endorsement.

Today the Alabama Negro group seems to lack a leader of statewide image in political action. This is true in non-partisian political action, Republican and Democrat, it seems to me. May the political currents seep to the front such a person. Unless is an add-up of the fragmented leadership the Negro group could lose ground in Alabama. Even Dr. King never reached the heigth of a statewide non-violence leader in Alabama. He seems to have been projected to the national level like a rocket shot from a localized base.

One of the luncheon associates wanted to know what the South will do. Who actually knows? Restricting the question to Alabama there are certain observations. Should mechanics be worked so that independent and loyalist slates are presidential electors would be placed on the ballot, and the Republican conducted an honest and industrious campaign, the outcome would be up in the air. Which means that in such a circumstance a clustered Negro vote would be decisive.

Within the next few weeks the signs will be clearer. Mississippi is preparing the way for switching electors Georgia is talking the same way. Should this develop and grow it would likely alter the seniority rule in Congress. That would contribute to the liberalization of the legislative traffic.

A third major question had to do with the news report regarding the appearance of Dr. H. Council Trenholm before the Alabama State Board of Education at which Gov. John Patterson presided. The ugly image built by Gov. Patterson in the area of racial relations and tainted politicis seem to disturb those outside Alabama, or say here at the dinner-table discussion.

So far as I know the document presented by Dr. Trenholm to the Patterson-chaired Board of Education has not been made public. At lease I have not had an opportunity to read it. All I know is what I have read in both the daily and the Negro-produced press. Eventually the full story is bound to leak out. Yet there are those who have their own ideas, have deduced opinions, and are critical.

Gov. Patterson as a booster of Senator Kennedy for the presidency is likely to find his name protruding in sharp discussion. This is one of the things it seems to come out in the question about President Trenholm. The Negro Republicans

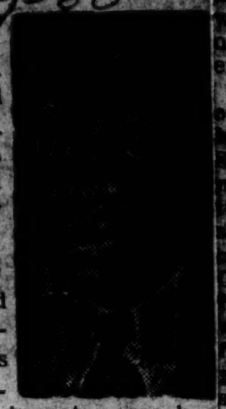
THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The Jefferson County Negro Athletics Association actually is about 23 years old.

When the Birmingham Progressive Education Association shedded its old name it did not skin off its history. Nor did the JCNAA yield its age in changing its name. Yet it seems that the JCNAA is now accepted as the successor organization to the old GBIAC.

Two events inspired this observation. One was the announcement by the Birmingham Progressive Education Association that a Birmingham Teachers Headquarters Building project campaign will be launched. When the Negro teachers changed their name they dropped a description which the coaches added when they changed the title of this association. Actually, the JCNAA is not a coaches association, but an organization of schools.



In the YMCA Industrial Baseball League, there is an auxiliary, the umpires association. When the shop league was re-organized, it dropped the same description in its title as did the city teachers. Check the league standings in the predecessor to the present plant league.

Prof. Burwell Towns Harvey, the ex-Morehouse College coach and currently science teacher at Alabama State College, Montgomery, in his remarks to the coaches at the Tenth Annual Smoker of the Birmingham Grid Forecasters emphasized the significance of records, history, and sports heroes. The records of the JCNNA will likely show that one of the key figures in the name-changing of the JCNNA was the Rev. George Freeman, coach at Fairfield Industrial High School and pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church at the same. At the time F. I. H. S. kept excellent records and also initiated a Hall of Fame of its graduates.

Usually leading up to Negro History Week observance Sports Editor Marcel Hopson does a series of articles relating local sports to Ne-

groes produced history. Scrapbooks, exhibits and special projects could be produced. Jefferson County is rich in sports history, both amateur and professional. All-America football players, $80,000 a-year baseball players, pro basketball players and pro-football players have come from the campuses of our JCNNA. Both John Davis, drafted by professional football from the Miles College Golden Bears and Willie Mays of the San Francisco Giants prepped at F. I. H. S. These names are used because they were mentioned at the Back-to-School smoker.

For instance, beginning with about 1937-38, Immaculata High School has been coached by seven different persons including Nathan Pitts, Sott Anderson, Tilford Cole, Oscar J. Catlin, Acie Griggs, Woodrow Gwin and Haywood Gibson. Remember Tommy Leonard, in track; "Sweet" Richardson of the Health Bowl Championship team, and Willie C. Sanders, the latter who spearheaded the organization of the Birmingham Grid Forecasters?

Jefferson County has the largest concentration of sports-sponsoring high schools of its size in the South. Strength should string with numbers where there is organization, intelligence and vision. It seems to me. Properly used sports can be made the proving ground. Otis (Nick) Davis, the former Druid High School, Tuscaloosa, student, won a gold medal in one of the flat races at the 17th Olympic games. That was in the widest possible competition. What a spur that ought to be for our sepia tracksters in the dual South.

The JCNAA is one of the nine districts of the Alabama Interscholastic Athletic Association which has a roster of 185 member high schools. The A. I. A. A. s one of the nine affiliates of the Alabama States Teachers Associations. This tends to show that the local sports organization has both status and prestige. It ought to have a written history to sustain this, to recommend its progress, and to shout its achievements. There are those who disagree with this tooling your own horn. American history is but national tooting of this nation's horn, it seems to me.

Tombstones are built for those who died and monuments are built to those who died. it seems to m

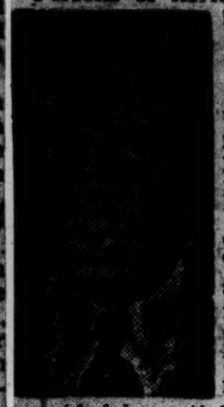
THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

There is the saying that research generates growth.

What does political research re-

veal on the religious issue in American politics? Since Alfred E. Smith ran for president on the Democrat ticket in 1928, no candidate of the Catholic faith, until this year, has run for the nation's number one public office on the presidential ticket of either major party. Neither major party has ever nominated a Negro candidate for president.



Persons of African descent have been listed as candidates for president of the United States and vice-president by minority parties. Negro candidates head the ticket of the Afro-American Unity Party. There is no bar against one qualifying to run for president on regional, racial, or religious grounds, provided he satisfies the other requirements.

Citizens of African descent have served in only one of the three major branches of government, that being the Congress. No person of strictly African descent has served as Chief Executve of the U. S. A. and on the United States Supreme Court. There is no racial restriction to one of African ancestry serving n these areas.

Those who raise the religious issues in the presidential campaign most likely would raise the race issue. And there are others who oppose the religious issue but who would inject and insist on the race issue. In the latter case, would be found most of the public figures in Alabama. However, it is not purely a matter of religious tolerance, but party loyalty.

Politics and prejudice make bigoted bedmates. Some Negro persons are handling literature of religious bigotry. Some church leaders who would not work with Negro ministers on problems of voter-registration would accept cooperation of Negro ministers on religious prejudice. If a Catholic were the presidential nominee of the Republican Party, it is likely that some Democrats who currently deplore the religious issue would use it.

Walking to work a few mornings back a white person accosted me. This person asked whether I could read; if I were a voter, and for whom I planned to vote? Told that I was open-minded and independent, this person handed to me a magazine which purported to document why a Catholic should not be elected president of the United States. This came from a person who apparently lives in an area where Negro homes have been bombed, where Negro youth have been strangely killed, and where Negro residents have been intimidated.

This observation does not intend to convey the impression that white Catholics have less racial prejudice than white protestants. All that is intended to be conveyed is that some persons of religious prejudices try to get others to become similarly prejudiced. Nor does this overlook the historical and honestly-held fears growing out of the bedrock doctrine of separation of church and state.

The religious issue is being broadly and widely debated. Scholars are examining the issue. This debate should be helpful and educational. Two things ought further be audited. First, is there any way to determine whether the attitude toward the religious issue is being altered? Secondly, has the attitude of the Catholic Church undergone in basic change? Keep in mind there have been many changes in world opinion. Among these is the attitude toward colonialism.

Racial and religious bigotry can never flourish under the spotlight of rationality and enlightened debate. Neither issue should be swept under the rug, it seems to me. The religious and race issue in a campaign are most damaging and hurtful when done by whisper rumor, gossip and gutter. Yet this position is taken when so many feel that the religious issue should be kept out of the current presidential campaign. It is already in the campaign and can hardly be pushed out by declarations, resolutions and idealistic appeals.

Surely religious and racial issues should have no place in political campaigns. Southern politics seems to feed on bigotry. A two-party system, an unfettered electorate and a first-rate daily press are forces which could help to eradicate emotional bigotry from Dixie politics, it seems to me.

Religious bigotry, as a political issue and otherwise, shames me as a confessed Christian; hurts me as a minority and saddens me as an American. In a broader sense, Christian bigotry, as practiced by some Christian churches, is the scandal of the 20th century, it seems to me. Some Christian churches will bar an adherrent of its faith simply and solely because of his race and skin color. Do you call that Christianity?

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

With the forthcoming conventions of the nation's two leading political parties a topic of everyday concern, an article by Prof. Vincent P. De Santis of the University of Notre Dame, entitled "The Republican Party and the Southern Negro, 1877-1897", published in The Journal of Negro History, of April, 1960, seems to be worthy of both review and reading.

He concludes his essay with this observation: "This picture of the Republican Party and the freedom of the last quarter of the nineteenth century remains pretty much the same for the twentieth century. Politically, the Southern Negro is the forgotten man. The Fifteenth Amendment has long been a dead letter as far as the political rights of the Southern Negro have been concerned. Since 1908, the Republican platforms have dropped their insistence on the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and instead have timidly and vaguely favored equal opportunity and equal rights for the Negro. In fact the Republican Party in the twentieth century has recognized the disfranchisement of the Southern Negro by sanctioning a 'lily-white' policy in the South on occasions in the hope that this would remove the taint of 'niggerism' for Republicanism in the South."

Keep in mind that this is the work of a scholar quoted above. To refresh the information, here in Alabama the Republican Party's state organization is still all-white. The Republican convention is the equivalent to the Democrat primary. Negro voters participate in the Democrat primary but they do not participate in the Republican convention in Alabama. Beginning with 1948, dissident Democrats began moving into the Republican ranks where some of them were rewarded with important party posts.

De Santis observed in his essay that "The Republican Party emerged from the Civil War as the champion and protector of the Southern Negro." However, he added that "complications arose from the beginning to bedevil and to weaken the Republican-Negro alliance in the South. The freedman soon discovered that he was providing the bulk of the Republican vote in the South without receiving the benefits commensurate with such support."

The Southern Negro group wanted the vote benefits which an electorate was entitled. Hence the Negro group "became jealous of the rewards of the Carpetbaggers and Scalawags." De Santis says that the early protest of Negro leaders against the treatment accorded the darker minority during the post-Reconstruction "should put to rest the erronious notion that it was not until the New Deal came along that the colored man became dissatisfied with the Republican Party."

Writes De Santis: ". . . The Republican Party turned out to be among the poorest of friends that the Southern Negro had in the post-Reconstruction years. For while Republicans talked much about safeguarding the vote of the colored man and loudly lamented the state of political affairs in the South, they took few steps to remedy the situation or to meet their obligations to the freedman. Instead of protecting the Negro and looking after him as a ward of the nation, they deserted him and left him as the ward of the dominant race in the South."

De Santis further observed: "On three major occasions over these two decades, the Republicans abandoned their Negro ally. Once when (President Rutherford B.) Hayes recalled the troops, again when (Chester A.) Arthur joined hands with Southern Independents, and finally when (Benjamin) Harrison and a Republican controlled Congress backed away from the Force Bill."

Here is a capsule of the Republican Negro desertion, according to De Santis: "Thus Hayes abandoned the Southern Negro when he withdrew the troops, because he hoped this would reconcile North and South, conciliate Southern whites and ingratiate the Republican party with them. Arthur deserted the colored man when he chose to work with the Independents in the South, because he felt that in order to exploit the Democratic cleavage, which he had concluded was the only path to Republican success in the South, it was necessary to subordinate the freedman. In 1890 the Republicans forsook the Negro when they failed to pass the Force Bill, because they had a greater interest in the tariff and silver measures, although there was considerable opposition to the election scheme in party ranks."

There are two other viewpoints which De Santis explored, the Northerners and Negro leaders. These two will have to be discussed in a subsequent column.

In the light of the De Santis research a better understanding seems to come of the prospective operational role of the so-called independent Alabama electors. For they seem to hold out bait to the GOP in exchange for lining up with the resisters in trying to stem the fresh, slow, and often turbulent flow of freedom. It seems to spotlight the operations of the Dixiecrats who seem to be a double-function group. Like the roving center on a football team, the Dixiecrats seem to try to manneuver so that they can shift their strength from Republicans to Democrats in seeking to plug the new opening the Negro group has made in the direction of first-class citizenship.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Twelve years ago, or say 1948, the fever of political action was so high that local civicservice leaders were organizing a large informal delegation to send to the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Pa. There were fewer Negro voters then than now, and less money circulating among the group.

Yet with an increase of Alabama Negro voters, more leaders of publicized prominence, there is not from Birmingham, the South's capital of Negro buying power, no lookout delegation from Negro political service groups locally have announced for either the Donkey or Elephant show. But our leaders are going to other conventions, on world tours, and faraway vacations.

What is the meaning of all of this? One thing one might read into it is the voter-registration apathy. Had a number of the civic-service leaders been dedicatedly interested in a campaign for new voters some of this spirit likely would have carried over into interest in a watchdog delegation to both the Republican and Democratic conventions.

It could be that some with letters of introduction will show up as individuals at both political Nominating conventions. With media coverage improved one can watch the political convention get reports from them adequately. Still delegations are not sent to convention merely to watch the show but to make contacts, sell ideas, lobby, and help to get things done.

The professionals are already at work. For they are beating the drums for certain hopefuls. But have they heard from our local leaders or have our leaders heard from them? The pattern seems to be the same.

The official Alabama delegation seems to be warring over Senator John Kennedy and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson. Gov. Patterson is supporting Senator Kennedy and Public Safety Commissioner is supporting Senator Johnson. In 1948, Mr. Connor was a walkout delegate. Now he is the National Democratic Committee man-elect. Gov. Patterson was an unknown figure in politics at the time.

Alabama will not have a Negro leader as delegate or alternate to either the Democratic Convention or the Republican Convention. There are an estimated 73,000 Negro voters in Alabama. (This figure is believed to be too high but it was contained in the official report of the Civil Rights Commission). The professionals are going to place bells on their own bandwagons.

A warning ought now be sounded that those who have worked to help bring about the change need not place themselves up front as spokesmen for "my people." But unless there are local leaders willing to do the full job of leaders the professional voices will drown them out locally. The states' righters, of the narrow pattern, seldom champion civil and personal rights no matter what their party affiliation. Lined up in Alabama behind both Senator Kennedy and Senator Johnson are certan voices which have cried out loud and often against the aspirations of minorities.

This is no hour for local leaders to default or to expect others to carry for them the responsibility which belongs to them. Today in Alabama there is not heard a rallying voice around which a political followship may be buitl. All one hears is the oratorical gales which sound off accasionally but fail to rally.

The group's political action leadership does not seem to even hold a talk-over. On the other hand there has been skillful planning by those who seem to be determined to whittle away the potential openings dreamed of by the Negro group. Without plans, ideas, goals and leadership no group can rise above second-class citizenship.

After the Conventions what?

This is a critical hour for our political action group. Unless strong, dedicated, competent leaders are developed, brought forward, and functionalized all of the voter-registration are likely to go for naught. An estimated 73,000 voters is nothing to be sniffed at if they are properly organized.

Alabama's Negro group needs some look-ins for the two big-political conventions. Some look-ins need to be schooled in the aspirations, hopes and longings of the

THE TIP-OFF

"Southern advantage" is part of the new phraseology which sprouts in the editorial pages of some of the Dixie press. There is also the cottage of "Southern principles" which say "the man, more than party". How does this fit into the Republican policy pattern as researched by Prof. Vincent P. De Santist, of the University of Notre Dame in "The Journal of Negro History, "April, 1960. The essay is entitled, "The Republican Party and the Southern Negro, 1877 - 1897."

De Santis presented the thesis that the Republican Party deserted the Negro group, even though the party came into being as the champion and protector of the freed American. He also claimed that Negro Republicans were critical of the Republican desertion even before the advent of the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Meantime the Notre Dame professor observed: "After 1877 Northerners were, for the most part, in substantial agreement that the Negro was not prepared for equality and that the South should be allowed to deal with him in its own way. The North had come to believe that the elimination of the Negro from politics must be recognized to give more meaning to the reunion of North and South. Northerners were coming to regard the Negro as a thorn in their flesh and as standing in the way of a return of national solidarity and a development of trade relations between the two sections. They were coming to look upon the Negro as the American peasantry, and as inferior in race stamina and race achievement and they were coming to believe that the only hope for good government in the South rested upon the assured political supremacy of the white race."

Until this day there has been a hostile propaganda campaign by some Dixie politicans against the Negro group. Advertisement has been placed in Northern publications in justification of the "Southern way of life" and vindication of the treatment accorded the Negro group which pegs them to second-class citizenship. For a time a few unthinking Negro persons echoed the "Negro is not ready" theme without apparently realizing its implications. In other words, the Southern propagandists seek to "engineer the illusion" that the Negro group is better off with sub-standard citizenship than they would be with full, functional, first-class citizenship. The so-called "Putnam letter" was widely distributed and publicized.

According to De Santis, Negro leadership was divided on strategy, in contradictory positions, and often motivated by narrow considerations. He observed: "Most of the Negroes were farm hands, and they had little in common with their leaders, so that it is possible that their spokesmen or their newspapers did not reflect their viewpoints. Then there were those Negros who could be persuaded with some patronage to refrain from attacking Republican policies in the South. Finaly there were various Negro reactions to the changes in Republican policies and to the abandonment of the race that accompanied these changes."

As an illustration, De Santis observed: "From a group of Negroes in Alabama (President Rutherford B.) Hayes received a petition asking for government funds to transport them to Liberia, for they wanted to go home to live like men." On the other hand there were some Negro laders, including John Thomas Rapier of Alabama" who "joined in the support of the new policy", according to De Santis.

Some Negroes Republican leaders seemed to have been quited with "rewards ... (of) personal appointments," De Santis wrote. It should be noted that personal payoff instead of legislative benefits for a long time all that came to the Negro group from politics. De Santis pointed out: "This notorious device maintained the faction of Republican recognition of the Negro voters and also served to muzzle the protest of their leaders. Patronage or a lack of it sometimes determined the attitude of Negroes toward Hayes and his policy."

The Hayes "policy" was sold to the Negro group as an "experiment" in Southern relations. That is, he withdrew federal troops from the South in the hope that in return appreciation conservative white leaders would switch over to the Republican column. It didn't work out that way. Various racial disfranchisement schemes were invited in the South. Some of them exist until this day in Alabama's Wilcox and Lowndes counties where all Negro voters were wiped off the voter's list in 1901. Since that time these two counties with more Negro than white residents have been totally without Negro voters.

De Santis said: "While we might think that Negroes would have blasted the Republicans for their failure to pass the Force Bill when they controlled the presidency and the Congress together, it should be noted that only (T. Thomas) Fortune's (New York Age) paper, among the Negro press. castigated the party of emancipation for this shortcoming."

The role of the Negro-produced press in the two-party campaign for president is going to be in the spotlight. The sit-in demonstrations, the Harlem political revolt, the proposed March-on-the-Conventions, the rising new leadership voices all sound a warning.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Talk rough and carry a big bluff seems to work politically for the resister South.

A digest of "The Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights: A Contribution To The Development of Public Law" together with reports from the recent National Democratic Convention seems to suggest such an observation. The conference at Notre Dame brought together lay teachers and law makers for a frank discussion of the American Freedom problem.

Yet the definition of freedom given by law teachers and law makers is likely to be drastly different from the freedom definition used by Prof. Samuel W. Williams of Morehouse College in his Men's Day speech at Jackson Street Baptist Church on Sunday, July 17, for he related freedom to the spirit of doing for others, in contrast of having it do something for you. To him freedom is based in something spiritual, God - made, creative, and watered by love.

Held Feb. 14, the Notre Dame Conference pointed to the conclusion that the Congress and the Executive, two of the three engines of American government, have failed to keep pace. Only the U. S. Supreme Court has come forward with bold, functional, needed leadership in meeting the demands of vitalized democracy.

Through an unusual transforming process Alabama, one of the resister Southern states, seems headed toward both its Democrat Party's "solid" front and also a self-reduction of this state's electoral college potential. Mississippi served notice through its two representatives on the National Democratic Executive Committee refused to sign a good faith oath.

At the recently closed Democratic National Convention, the Alabama delegation distributed its support widely. It went from Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas to Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, the latter nominated by the Democrats to be president of the United States of America. While approximately 34 per cent of the Alabama population is of the Negro group, no member of this racial segment was included in the official Alabama delegation. However the Alabama delegation seems to be willing to stand before the spotlight of world eyes and public opinion and fasely suggest that members of the Negro group get their just freedom and democratic due in this state.

Oneof the six Alabama "independent" presidential electors of the Democratic Party suggests that they may balk at supporting the Donkey emblem if the Democrat presidential nominee supports the civil rights plank in the platform. This tends to point up and dramatize the split-minded of some Alabama political figures.

The electors are products of the ballot. There are voters who will have something to say about who will represent them. For there will also be electors on the ballot from the Republican Party. Alabama doesn't just have to go Democratic in the November general eelction. If the Republicans scored an upset victory in Alabama, then the "independent" slate of electors would be cast into the ash can of oblivion. The November election in Alabama could be a two-lane presidential race.

Assuming that the racial and religious issues will be dragged into the campaign, and that the Republican Party conducts a vigorous, all out, skillful campaign in this state, the 75,000 Negro voters could be the decisive factor, it seems to me. The Alabama Negro vote should not be in the bag for any candidate or party in this critical hour.

Alabama is in need of big-minded, bold spirited, rallying force Negro leadership with a statewide appeal. Never again should a presidential election in Alabama be "just another general election". An effort should be tried to bring about at least a quadrennial two-party system. Yet, to do this will require large-scale voter-registration, dedicated and enlightended leadership together with a unity of effort, it seems to me.

In a few days the Grand Old Party will hold its nominating convention in Chicago, Ill. The Alabama GOP delegation also will be all-white. Senator Thurston Morton, national Republican chairman, came to Birmingham and some members of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club courageously raised the Negro exclusion question. He did not come up with a solution. The detached Negro Republicans have indication that an observer delegation is going to the Chicago convention.

But what has the excluded Alabama Republicans done to focalize attention on the all-white features of the Alabama Republican Party? This racial exclusion is not going to fade away, but must be hammered away, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala.— (SNS) Efforts were made to overcome the inclination ASTA members have to stay home rather than attend the 77th annual session of the Alabama State Teachers Association because of recent harsh police moves here to crush peaceful assembly an dto suppress legitimate protest.

In its lead editorial March 13, the Montgomery Advertiser, after noting that the Alabama Education Association meets annually in Birmingham commented in part about the "Negro teachers" meeting in Montgomery. "Although their traditional meeting place, Alabama State College, has lately been the generator of civil disturbance, the Negro teachers from over the state will not be misled in the public mind with that."

At one time the ASTA met in other cities. It certainly has not been impressed upon the delegates, at least upon this pillar that Alabama State College was the "traditional" meeting place. Always the unofficial argument was advanced that the state college had handy facilities and was so generous that it was best to convene here.

It seems that there are those who would read into this circumstance that the ASTA leadership is saying that racial nonsense should be stretched to the point that the third city in population in Alabama has to be a fixture. That is Montgomery for the black teachers and Birmingham for the white teachers.

It was being knocked around in Birmingham that messages had come from ASTA powers saying that Montgomery authorities had agreed that teachers would not be allowed to be disturbed or something to that effect. However no official statement was released to the press by any ASTA official, so far as can be ascertained, announcing anything like that.

Perhaps nothing will be protested by ASTA delegates and for that they can be assured in advance, that mounted policemen will not be called out. But there is no guarantee that a protest will not break out, for they seem to be sprouting in many cities now.

I am told that some ASTA members did suggest that the teachers convention be shifted because teachers usually depart with gobs of money during this week-end vacation. The suggesters seem to have felt that such a gesture would have shown a pocketbook sympathy for the cause for which some 'Bama State students, an even a teacher, went to jail.

..Birmingham or Mobile is as entitled to the ASTA convention as Montgomery. Certainly there are more ASTA members in Jefferson County than in Montgomery County. ASTA belongs no more to Montgomery than to Mobile. No college owns ASTA, either.

What happened to Negro college students in Montgomery is likely to settle deeply in the minds of teachers, who are even here as usual.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

As we move toward the general election campaign in November there are new signs on the Southern political landscape of the grinding process of change.

News media is now under attack in some parts of the South. Some Alabama politicians have leveled broadsides at TV coverage of sit-in demonstrations. In Alabama libel suits are threatened against The New York Times.

Usually when public officers and politicians begin to attack the public press for its news reporting it is something serious. The first question which might be raised or asked is whether there has been news suppression, or an unreporting of some news, or a failure of the press to do its duty in a democracy? Secondly, would correction in any news reporting by the media accused of inaccurate reporting best serve the ends of freedom and civic democracy? Third, are attacks on news media merely efforts to intimidate the Press?

The local daily press reproduced the two-part story of The Times which dealt with civic relations in the Magic City. Does reproduction of such articles make them non-libelous in a local newspaper? Would a newspaper reproduce libelous material as a matter of public service? Yet the discussion rages about The Times' story on Birmingham.

The New Times has recently been rated as the best newspaper in America .Birmingham has been rated as one of the cities of racial tensions. Some candidates in the May 3 primary who are based in Birmingham campaigned on the racial situation, in part.

In his comment on the Birmingham request for retraction, Turner Catledge, managing editor of The Times, said in part on the Harrison E. Salisbury: "In addition, we have invited William T. Engel, chairman of the Birmingham Committee of One Hundred to prepare a statement of its point of view, which The Times will publish when it is received The Committee of One Hundred is composed of leading Birmingham business men and has been in existence for a number of years to attract industry to to settle in the Birmingham area."

When the "Committee for 100" was organized, Dr. A. G. Gaston was a member of it. He is understood to have dropped off the committee about two years ago. In reading advertisement placed by this committee in Eastern publications it is not recalled that the presentation included proper, if any, representation of the vast Negro labor supply. At present, this is an all-white "Committee of 100". Dr. Gaston was a 1960 NNPA Russwurm Award citee. He is president of Smith and Gaston Interest.

There is no Negro member of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce. No Negro person serves on the board of directors of the Community Chest. None of the municipal boards carry the name of a Negro member. What is the test of good race relations?

Segregation is the Birmingham way. There are admitted variables in its pattern.

If there were not some "fears" in Birmingham, how can one account for the city's recent enactment of an amendment to the trespas law? The arrest of Negro ministers, the spectacular arrest of the 10 students who sought lunch-counter service at five downtown stores, all tend to forcast the racial climate in Birmingham.

A second observation is in the area of political suffrage. While the Right-to-Vote law was being debated in Congress, some voices in the South pointed to the "progress" the Negro group was making in voter-registration. Hugh W. Sparrow, staff writer for The Birmingham News, said in part, Sunday, May 1: "Another suprising feature in connection with the 1960 (Alabama voters') lists is that while the registered voter total increased the number of registered Negro voters shows little change."

For instance, it was reported by an Alabama daily that the number of Negro voters in Montgomery County was 3,017 in 1958. Yet a chack of the official voters' list for that same year published by The Montgomery Advertiser, April 199, 1958 revealed only 2,313 Negro voters.

A third observation is the tendency to try to build up Negro persons with the Southern touch for the Dixie pattern of race relations. An article in the April 4 issue of "South" magazine is a good example.

Dr. Stephen J. Wright, president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., in his New York luncheon speech April 20, said that the "American spirit" of freedom and equality are at work in the South. The sit-in demonstrations, he added, are a part of this "spirit" of what has made America great.

Even in Mississippi, the landscape of change is evident. The sit-ins are but freedom signs. The grinding process of change is taking shape, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The controversy over The New York Times' report on the Birmingham atmosphere and freedom temper continues, despite the carefully-worded action from local sources designed to set the record straight.

In a way, the May 3 Alabama primary tended to confirm the analysis made in the news report written by Harrison Salisbury. Presidential electors who ran on a platform advocating Southern conformity came out ahead for most part.

A losing candidate trying to become United State Senator polled more votes in the 1960 primary than he did on a previous run for public office. In a state race where a candidate ran as Alabama's "strongest segregationist' that candidate led the ticket. Various electioneering devices were used which accentuated / intolerance and primitive emotions.

The Rev. Uriah J. Fields, who ran last for a post on the Montgomery, Ala. County Board of Education, is quoted in a news story as saying: "The fact that my name was on the ballot showed those outside the South that a Negro's right to seek public office in Montgomery is protected since I was not lynched or killed."

Mr. Fields received only 31 [illegible]. A total of 17,700 votes was [illegible] in the election. There are [illegible] Negro voters in Montgomery [illegible]nty. So Mr. Fields was "not [illegible]hed or killed" but he was not [illegible]ed for by many, including the [illegible]ite voters. He had left the [illegible]ntgomery Improvement Associa[illegible]on which was headed at the time by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., His pull out of the MIA did not seem to pull in votes for him.

A few years back, E. D. Nixon had run for an office and made an impressive showing. Does the poor showing made by the Rev. Fields reflect improving race relations?

Birmingham's answer to The New York Times as prepared by two of this city's finest citizens overlooked the fact that the Magic City does not have a single Negro policeman. Unlike Mobile, no Negro transit bus operators have been hired. City Hall has even been quoted as saying that Negro garbage collectors who stayed off their jobs in a wage dispute would be replaced by white men. Such would seem to me to be guidelines to existing race relations.

In pointing to Negro home ownership the Birmingham answer failed to report the story of Dynamite Hill, the Negro protests levelled at the Medical Center Relocation, the home burnings and bombings on Fountain Heights and the fact that there are no Negro members serving on the Birmingham Housing Authority, or the zoning board, or the planning board, and that the Negro group is held practically voiceless in the federal assistance housing program. Home ownership is not a prime test of proper race relations. A Negro citizen does not have an open choice to buy, build or rent .Home ownership is a credit to the Negro group in Birmingham, not a sign of favorable race relations. A long the buying way the Negro home-owner often faces heart-breaking obstacles.

Teacher salaries are not a valid yardstick for measuring race relations. Check the Birmingham City School Directory and see the number of job classifications in which there is not to be found a single Negro person listed. Check the warehouse staff and the list of skilled Employees like carpenters and electricians and report the number of Negro persons to be found. Such are the better yardsticks for measuring freedom relations between populations groups.

The image of Birmingham is the face of Jim Crow, it seems to me. Enforced racial segregation is a moral powder keg. Racial segregation is the essence of bad race relations. Jim Crow is a denial of individualism.

Finally it seems that solutions are more important than salvos. The Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, because of its prestige position, would seem to be in the best position to come forward with a program of constructive solution. Meantime, Negro leadership should have a program ready to offer, one based upon enlightened change.

No program aime dat developing sound and healthy race relations can be built upon those "false divisions of man against man, whether by gentlemen's agreement or by laws enforcing racial segregation", it seems to me.

Birmingham World

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham [illegible]

Four key groups have held either a state or regional convention in Birmingham, Ala., during June. Club women, Baptist women, medical doctors and lawyers, the latter regionwide, have come, discussed, and gone. What kind of sustained impression did they leave?

Two of the groups are members of professional service providers. The other two engage in cultural activities. Basically all four organizations are in the services fields. This is a broad classification from the angle of economic thinking.

The four convention groups involve those in the leadership structure who would be classified as middle-class. In the so-called Negro middle-class there has come the new articulation for expanded freedom. The sit-in demonstrations in cities other than Birmingham have drawn support heavily from the so-called center cut of the Negro segment. In nearly all of the effort in other Southern cities for initiative for a change-over of the public school system to conform to the new standard has come from the core of the Negro population.

In the case of the Southwest Bar Association, which now reaches into the Southeast, there did not seem to be many of the faces who had been identified with the early struggle in which there was dedication, sacrificing and pioneering for that brighter day which is on the way. Instead many came from law schools which jumped up as buffers against the admission of Negro lawyers to the already-established law schools. From at least one of them came the emphasis on "modern" office, minimum fee and the salary-hour calculation of pay.

There were those lawyers who were products of Jim Crow Scholarships which were offered obviously to keep Negro students out of certain state-provided law schools which were already established in those states which offered the give-up-your-rights scholarships. Much is heard about the value of service, the price of professional effort, and uniform fees.

Any worker ought be paid a fair wage, whether he is a ditch digger, domestic servant, grocerman, auto mechanic, or delivery boy. The public often get suspicious of those professionals who seem to have an obsession about fees. Provide the service and the production, and often the pay comes easy. This overemphasis on high fees, or standardized fees, regardless of the quality of service, the life realities, and those other considerations beyond human calculations are bound to spell trouble in the long run, it seems to me.

Whether some of our professionals know it or not there is considerable discussion going on about this in circles which usually have fed them, made them what they are, and put them up there. Tension is not going to be with us always to the degree that it is now and that should be given consideration to those friends, and true supporters that they still have. Move about on the corners, stand in the churchyards on Sunday, walk through the streets and rub shoulders with the people and you hear things which disturb and trouble.

Many of those professionals who have gotten rich have had the least to say about "race' because they did their work in such a way that it attracted clients and built them up in the hearts of their fellow man. Service rendered can bring both satisfaction and undreamed of good pay.

In the days when it was unpopular and the pay of leadership service was only sacrifice and condemnation I was one of those in the campaign for teacher salary parity. In the closed-door sessions I have stood up, often alone, advocating pay on the basis of production and professional dignity.

The same persons involved in civil rights cases are usually the ones who are already supporting Negro-owned businesses. Others often carry their business elsewhere. How much do the professionals support each other? Negro-owned business, the Negro clients, the Negro customers may eventually have something to say about much of this.

The point is that the emphasis, it seems to me, ought also to be on how to get a bigger chunk of Negro-provided business rather than on how to make a big charge. The unhitched potential clients ought to be brainstormed with the idea that our professionals can provide as good or better service, help them more than anybody else and more concerned about their status than can be any competitor outside of their group. We also should try to make our services so good that a domestic in Silk Stockings Row would tell her employer, "you ought to try him, for he's the best."

And too, the professional, the client, all of us, benefit from the advances made in the area of civil rights and freedom expansion. Since the fate of us all is tied up in this, we ought to try to work this out in self-defense, it seems to me.

All service is not professional. Some emphasize news to be called to giving service, not merely rendering professional service. Service often pays off in new clients, fresh customers and goodwill.

THE ...P-OFF

...D. JACKSON

...nection with the recur-... of a minister-leader in ... civil rights struggle, to-... the jailing of 10 stu-... two of the colleges who ...ch counter service from ... which enjoy heavy pa-... the Negro group, com-...vations are now visible. ... the assumption appar-... City Hall that civil rights ... in ...ity has been re-...one-man leadership. Also ... apparent that there ... who desired to build the ...one-man civil rights lead-... Birmingham. Inaction by ... of civic service leaders ... of fresh struggle for ... citizenship tend to give ...ance to the assumption ...-voice civil rights leader-...

...a city of the size and com-... of Birmingham one-man ... and one-man rule would ...

...tion comes off in Ala-... May 3. So one could ex-... who believe they could ...

...gain a political advantage to ex-...ploit and ride the recent events. This probably is done upon the double assumption that the silence by local civil rights leadership and the impotence of the Negro group at the ballot box may ...

...to negate any poten-...ship power which resides ... deprived segment.

...the students jailed in ... with the local effect to ...mstomer opportunities ...ter stores has raised ...of where does the au-... leadership stand. Who ... Birmingham Negro ...accepts the tag of civil ... Who is it locally by ...eeds can be given the ...-in-heart action-...

tested, record-to-show civil rights leader? Let the civil rights leaders identify themselves.

The lessons symbolized in the arrest, jailing, and trials of the 10 Birmingham collegians do not depend upon the absence or silence by numerous civic-service leaders for their significance to shine out. Involved is a private matter of customer opportunity and community conscience. One's pocketbook is as private as the stores which sell to Negro customers in one department and then refuse to serve them in another. That is the first lesson of the doctrine of private property.

The second lesson is that the Negro group in Birmingham has yet to win full customer service despite the fact that this ethnic segment spends approximately four million dollars a week in the Birmingham area. It would seem to be this angle which troubles our college jailgoers who have put themselves on the altar of bigoted scorn seeking to free their group from humiliation heaped upon them by those who ring up their trade dollars.

A third lesson to be drawn it seems, is that the local civic-service leadership has failed to come up with a fresh, up-to-date, new ideas program, or to even keep alive an old good one which seeks to promote first-class citizenship. It would be a good thing, it seems, for local organizations to re-examine both their programs and approaches to the current situations, the various changes already come, and the new demands of the new times.

Finally, the eyes of the world, to say nothing of the nation, are upon Birmingham which has been given a bad name in race relations. Hence the fourth lesson is that none of the civic-service leadership, either Negro or white, can escape a share of responsibility for the ugly Birmingham record in community and civic relations. Not many of us have done our full duty, it seems to me.

The question is usually asked "Who and what are behind these sit-in struggles for full lunch counter service in the South?" Frankly, this spot does not know. But this suggestion is in order. City Hall should appoint an interracial community relations committee that would be authorized to work for rational civic relations based upon citizenship dignity, it seems to me. Secondly, the Negro group should promote a citywide summit conference of the total leadership to formulate a united program based upon multiple strategy and creative approaches to the goals of equal freedom equally enjoyed.

An organization known as CORE (Congress On Racial Equality) claims it has been in operation since 1942. It uses the non-violent direct, mass action technique. Seeking to suppress such techniques, the raw power of police, the hate action of disruptive forces, and the inflammatory voices of outdated politicians have come into play. Some police and a few politicians have tried to pin the violence tag on orderly, unarmed, and harmless strugglers who peacefully protest for first-class citizenship. Sometimes part of the daily press, an agency of freedom, has allowed this violence tag to be circulated without fair analysis, it seems to me.

In a letter to the president of four variety chains which operate in Southern cities and follow community customs based upon race not purchases, the American Jewish Congress said March 26, in part: "The denial of equality at lunch counters is therefore a calculated and humiliating discrimination."

It added: "The law does not and cannot compel your company to discriminate against Negro customers. Indeed their patronage in all other departments is solicited."

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

In carrying the Meharry Medical College campaign for funds and growth to its alumni, Dr. Harold West, president, is performing a service wider than the interest of the college he represents.

It takes a bold-minded man to talk in terms of raising $10 million. He has to be one who has visions of a bright future and faith in a good present. Dr. West in his Birmingham presentation, as has been the case in about 23 other cities, unfolded some big-minded fund-raising campaigns.

Dr. West talked of a $10 million campaign to the "Meharry family" and its friends. He revealed how one makes the contacts for setting up machinery for a big-figure money raising project. The fund raising experts of standing and ability require that a prospective client come up to certain requirements.

A college must be in the best standing with its alumni to get favorable consideration from the established and reliable money-raising agencies. It also must be able to prove that its graduates are making a worthwhile contribution, and that they have a helping interest in the school that labeled them. Which means, to some extent, that a college's future is in the hands of its graduates. There shouldn't be any better hands than alumni hands, it seems to me.

As explained by Dr. West, this does not mean that any alumni, Meharry or otherwise, would be expected in this case or others, to raise out of the alumni the total goal of a funds campaign. It simply means that the alumni have an influencing value by the impression they make, the contributions they afford, and the constructive services with which they are identified.

Dr. W. A. Bell, president, Miles College, who was present, called the event an "inspiring sight." Then he made the significant observation, that the lesson to pull from what Dr. West reported is that "we (the Negro group) must support our own institution and pay for our own education."

However, Dr. West did not seem to go that far is his report and appeal. He suggested that the new basis for interest others in giving money to an educational institution is the role played by the graduates. He showed optimism because he cited figures to show that in the dining hall fund project the Meharry Alumni set a new record of percentage giving.

Miles College is trying to raise a million dollars. An alumni dinner was sheduled for Friday night, May 20, at which W. W. Whetstone was slated to speak. But Mr. Whetstone did not hear Dr. West's speech and hear the emphasis he placed upon the alumni.

It seems to me that Dr. West also reflected a new sense of public relations. In pointing out the value of a news-making name at the feature spot where the campaign is to be launched, he dramatized the importance of good public relations.

Meharry is the only medical college in the Deep South which provides a full opportunity for Negro youth. In Alabama the state-supported medical college totally excludes members of the Negro group. Even with its expanded and improved facilities, Meharry will not be able to train the number of Negro doctors, dentists, nurses and so on needed by the Negro group.

Eventually the Medical College of the University of Alabama will have to be coaxed into doing its full job, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World
Wed 6/1/60

Weight and prestige of the National Business League has been thrown in support of those who try to sit down at the lunch counter to make purchases in those stores which serve them elsewhere in the store as customers. It's something awful for a department or variety store to provide for you to buy stamps, pay utility bills at the same place with other customers and then to reject you as a lunch counter customer.

The executive committee of the NBL of Which Dr. F. D. Patterson is the president has given its "full endorsement" to the struggle to win lunch counter service for Negro citizens who are accepted in all other places in such stores as customers. The NBL is a conservative organization which is scheduled to hold its 60th annual convention July 19-22 in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute and an enlightened conservative put the case for lunch counter democracy this way: "It is increasingly evident that the recognition of morality and justice is good business. More and more the purchasing power of Negroes and others interested in equal justice and opportunity will be chanelled to the business which treat all citizens equally."

Such an idea however lacks the mass public relations at the moment to give its direction and impact in a city like Birmingham, the South's capital of Negro purchasing power. The Inter-Citizens committee under the leadership of the Rev. J. L. Ware has recognized the validity ,potential, and effectiveness of a purchasing power approach to equality of customer opportunity.

Birmingham does not have a functioning affiliate of the National Business League. However there are localized organizations of vertical business groups. But none has a tie-in with the NBL. A city with such vast Negro purchasing power and varied Negro-owned business as is the case of Birmingham lacks a dollar-made tool and spending techniques designed to open new doors of opportunity. The Inter Citizens Committee is trying to fill the void but its efforts need to sink deeper into the masses.

The NBL board of directors put it this way: "a mass expression of protest against discrimatory practices in the South - consistent with the freedom of expression which exists as a continuing commitment of American democracy" deserves backing.

Is there a method better than sit-ins which can win quicker lunch counter acceptance? If so, somebody who knows about it and how it works ought to expouse it. Admittedly the sit-in technique is new, unpopular, and risky. Especially such seems to be the case in Birmingham where it was tried and quickly crushed. Yet the sit-in strategy has gained results in some other cities.

Birmingham as a part of America and a changing civilization has an obligation both to the future and to freedom. The limited-service lunch counter has no place in a store which otherwise sells to all customers on the same basis. Those who buy are in a position to change conditions with their pocketbooks without resort to sit-ins, it seems to me. Inter-Citizens Committee seems to have formulated some ideas on this subject.

The morality of the sit-in is given impetus by the numerous resolutions which have come in support of its dramatized goals from church, labor, and civic groups. The idealism of college group shows up in it. The calm, innocent, mannered discipline of trained and intelligent youth glows through all of it. The urge for freedom realization is not going to be crushed forever. It is time for our political leadership trying to find something better than the club, the jail and the prison camps to try to cope with this.

The need for communication in Birmingham is long over due. Things must not be allowed to drift toward combatment. The walls between should tumble down and there ought to be machinery for working toward mutual understanding based upon mutual respect and full regard for the dignity of man regardless of his race, wealth ,or occupation.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

Tag the tip off ... ...

The freedom awakening is spreading. Tie a few events together and they tell it.

In its current edition The Afro-American newspaper report on the voice of change which wou an opening hearing at the 36th Quadrennial of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in session in Buffalo, N. Y. Reports the Afro, in part: "The revolt against Bishop (William J.) Walls was led by three lawyers, who are lay delegates to the conference. They are George W. Lawrence of Chicago, Oscar Adams, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., and S. A. Burnley of Louisville, Ky."

The issue was that of a mandate from the previous General Conference to set up a Judicial Council. Bishop Walls did not want to consider the matter. His ruling was reversed by a vote of delegates, 225 to 47.

It also reports that at the 36th Quadrennial of the AME Church in session at Los Angeles, Calif., that "Bishop D. Ward Nichols was denied a seat with the 16 other bishops after a vote of 814 delegates accepted a minority report from the AME Judicial Council."

Bishop Nichols, one of the most powerful bishops in recent AME history, was under suspension. This was perhaps the make-or-break issue of the AME Church, despite anything one hears to the contrary.

And still there comes other news. A Philip Randolph, the dedicated president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has called the founding meeting of the Negro American Labor Council for May 27-29 in Detroit, Mich.

The Negro union man has become restless under the double-talk, double-standard, and contradictory practices of some labor union. So Mr. Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a member of its executive committee, is furnishing the leadership for mobilizing the Negro union men with in the House of Labor for a self-help program.

Explaining the program in a series of articles currently appearing in The Pittsburgh Courier, Mr. Randolph says: "It (Negro American Labor Council) will also set out upon a systematic and nationwide porgram to make every trade unionist a committtee of one, not only to see to it that every Negro trade unionist registers and votes, but that every Negro trade unionist secure 100 per cent registration of the members of his family."

He adds: "If the Negro trade unionists expect to achieve the objective of eliminating racial discrimination and segregation in the labor movement they, alone, must be willing to pay the price to bulid an maintain an organization which they control to realize this end."

Mr. Randolph observes: **"Its role and primary concern is the wiping out of, root and branch, of every vestige of racialism in labor, industry and government in the United States. The very survival of the Negro depends upon the realization of this goal."**

Three Alabama veterans in the area of freedom improvement plan to attend. They are Cornelius Maiden, of the president's staff of the International Chemical Workers Union (AFL-CIO); Asbury Howard, Sr., Bessemer, vice-president of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and E. W. Nixon, Montgomery, a leader in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Other labor leaders in Alabama are expected to atenr this historic meeting.

Inspect the labor movement in Alabama and one is saddened over the seeming diminishing influence of Negro labor. Who can name the Negro vice-presidents of the Alabama Labor Council (AFL-CIO)? No longer do you find Negro rank and file leaders building a labor identity. Organized labor's voice in Alabama has become silent on the basic issues.

Read the resolutions from the various religious bodies and they tend to support the student sit-in movement. Litigation without leadship is mere stagnation. The sit-in movement has tended to dramatize the power of bold, goal-aimed, sacrificial leadership. It is good counsel from elders who have no more to offer than to say the sit-ins "should try to change things with leadership?"

Events can enlighten if one is wise enough to read the sign language of social change, it seems to me.

Second Emancipation Of Negro Is Still In Process Of Being Attained, Dr. Franklin Holds

The Birmingham World
Birmingham, Ala.

Historian Tells Pressures Facing Abraham Lincoln

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The second emancipation of the Negro group in America which began in 1865 "is still in process of being attained," declared Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman of the department of history, Brooklyn College, N. Y., in a speech Friday night at the 27th annual forum sponsored by Periclean Club of Sardis Street Baptist Church.

Dr. Franklin, eminent historian, author and lecturer, discussed the "pressures faced by Abraham Lincoln in 1862, one side trying to get him to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and the other not to issue it. He pointed out that Lincoln resisted both sides and that Lincoln had to consider the economic interests of the border states, the military and diplomatic implications, how would four million Negro slaves react to freedom. He added that Lincoln did not want any action on this question to upset plans for holding the Union together and maintaining the moral force which was in the ascendancy. This was issued and signed Sept. 22, 1862 as a "stroke of genius" by Lincoln who had his action properly timed.

Considerations before Lincoln, Franklin said were the state of the war. Lincoln wanted to be sure that no foreign power recognized the rebel states. He did not want his action to be construed as a step toward despotism. He wanted to be sure that he was acting for the preservation of the Union.

Lincoln entertained the idea of a compensated emancipation, deportation of Negroes and doubted that Negroes and whites could live together. The Emancipation Proclamation did not free a majority of the slaves, only those in states still in rebellion against the Union at the time the freedom document was issued. Dr. Franklin pointed out that in Alabama in 1863 Union generals had to read the Proclamation to planters and thus free the slaves.

Contending that while "the first emancipation was significant beyond description," it failed to give freedom to Negroes. It provided, Dr. Franklin observed, the moral support to consolidate the union and to drive to victory."

It was the 13th Amendment which provided the freedom for Negro slaves. Dr. Franklin called attention to the "superstition about 13" and suggested that Negroes should be conscious of "13." He added this freedom amendment "extended the fellowship of equality" and gave the nation an opportunity "to catch up with the Declaration of Independence."

Three vital groups labored for enactment of the 13th Amendment, Dr. Franklin said, namely those who believed in natural rights, the abolitionists, and Negroes, both slaves and free. He listed the Negro saboteurs, the underground, Negro soldiers and asserted: "Let no one tell you Negroes had their freedom handed to them on a silver platter."

He drew up a list of freedom workers which included Frederick Douglass, Harriett Tubman, "the slave stealer" and Sojourner Truth who have "justification and direction" to the liberation cause.

"The first emancipation was just a step, a feeble one at best," Dr Franklin declared. He asserted that while this was a important step, the second emancipation is still incomplete.

In the second emancipation the Negro group is in a struggle against racial disfranchisement, economic handicaps, segregated schools, second-class citizenship, Jim Crow justice, inferior jobs. He suggested that the real un-American activities were not being investigated. However, inspite of the shortcomings, he saw a second emancipation in the making.

He urged "full first-class citizenship and every kind of equality including social equality." He added that "everywhere there is a ferment for freedom and a fight for equality." Dr. Franklin lists a number of spots — the lunch counter struggle in North Carolina, the airport of Atlanta, the bus protest in Montgomery, among them.

Dr. Franklin read from the statement drafted in 1865 by a convention of Negro leaders which met at Alexandria, Va. and which it said in part, "give us the ballot and we will protect ourselves."

Dr. Franklin asserted that there were forces which seek "to roll the status of the Negro back" and that the Negro group has to struggle against a complexity of bigotry. Yet he said there must be a persistent and unrelenting pursuit of freedom, mixed with pressure and flavored with humility.

He was introduced by Mrs. H. D. Gregg.

Earlier in the program achievement awards were presented by Mrs. E. J. Oliver on behalf of Periclean Club to Dr. A. G. Gaston, president of Smith and Gaston Interest and Dr. C. W. Hayes, for whom the city's newest high school is named.

Organ prelude by Mrs. Marie Parrish, invocation by the Rev. M. C. Merriweather, music by the Parker High School choir under the diection of Prof. W. S. Henry, appreciations by Mrs. E. H. Murphy, president of the club and the benediction by the Rev. A. L. Bratcher, pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church, rounded out the program.

A near capacity gathering heard the address despite the adverse weather. Snow began to fall about the time the program was getting under way. Illness kept host pastor, the Rev. Luke Beard, from attending the event. Three Periclean members were unable to attend the forum eitar due to their illness or illness in their family. Mrs. E. Paul Jones, treasurer; Mrs. C. S. Giscombe, librarian and Mrs. C. S. Giscombed were announced as the absent members.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

New winds of freedom continue to blow over Alabama. Change is in the wind. The status quo is fighting up in the South-wind. Jail cells are becoming the seed beds of freedom. The heartbeat of youth is ringing the liberty bells of humanity. Youth is on a sit-for-freedom some parts of the wind-blown South.

Not only is the weather acting up in the South. Youth is acting up No one seems to be able to explain what is happening to weather than one is of what is happening to youth. Are youth and weather teamed up in the South?

One looks for answers from varied sources For instance, Father Divine in his publication, "The New Day" March 12, reprinted an answer he gave Aug. 3, 1939, in answer to an inquiry from the Editors of Better Schools. A portion of that article reads: "If I were a College Prof. I would lay the foundation for a real education according to the Plan and Purpose of the Almighty. Real education consists of more than merely teaching men the subjects taught in a school curriculum. It comes after the learning of these subjects and consists of putting into practice in daily life the actual virtues of right thinking, speaking and right living."

He adds: "If I were a College Professor I would eliminate all reference to races, creeds and colors from my classes, and consideration of the same: thus nipping in the bud, wars and race riots, vices and crimes, segregation and discrimination, incipient in our educational system of today, which if allowed to develop would be later manifested in business and industry in church and in politics and in all society. I would eliminate the very segregated terms referring to races, creeds and colors found in books of learning, and I would teach men that 'of one Blood God formed all nations.'"

The quoted matter first appeared according to THE NEW DAY, about 21 years ago, even before Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had an opportunity to enroll in college and approximately 15 years before the Supreme Court's 1954 decision striking down the segregated public school system. Father Divine, like Dr. King is a native of Georgia and the son of a Baptist minister. Father Divine is delineated as a cult leader who has an interracial church. Young Dr. King is labeled as a leader of non-violent protest and co-paston of at least a predominantly Negro church.

Why at this time would Father Divine republish his approximately 21-year-old article, entitled, "If I Were A College Professor"?

Then you pick up the "10th Anniversary Issue" of "The Workshopper" for March 5, 1960 and turn to the editorial page to read "Sit-Down Decorum" by Howard Reynolds, of Middletown High School, Tampa, Fla., who was one of those who attended the Interscholastic Press Workshop at Florida A. and M. University, Tallahassee, Fla. This issue of The Workshopper was put together by the high school journalists attending this workshop.

Read just three paragraphs from Reynolds' editorial. He says: "Too often in the past, the Negro has failed to make a prompt and determined protest. Today Negroes have begun to demand their rights in schools, public gatherings, municipally-owned buses and public lunch counters."

"The sit-down protest is an effective weapon with which our rights can be obtained for it presents an ultimatum which proclaims, 'either we get equal service or you will be forced to discontinue the use of this counter."

"If the Negro is to produce a worthwhile "protest program" he must remember to observe certain significant rules of decorum; among them which are the rules of good conduct, self-restraint, and obedience."

And the students of Tuskegee Institute in a statement published as advertisement in The Southern Observer supported the nine governor-inspired expelled students of Alabama State College. Some identified as students of Howard College and of Birmingham Southern College in Birmingham sent a telegram to Gov. John Patterson in which they protested against the expulsion of "the Freedom Nine."

Now some other 'Bama State students have been heavily fined for a placard demonstration on or near the campus. Freedom of protest is "disorderly conduct". Resisting arrest and failure to head on a "move engulfs co-eds as well as collegians.

There is a new "move on" command which doesn't come from police. Civic leaders are saying move on to the ballot box and start a "move on" of your dollars where they help the freedom way.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

ANNISTON, Ala. (SNS)—"What Can You Do in Alabama to Help Develop and Strengthen Effective Efforts for Greater Political Actions Through' club women, church groups, profession groups, businesses, P. T. A. groups, laymen groups, fraternal organizations, civic groups, newspapers and labor groups was the topic discussed at the eighth annual meeting of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting here April 24.

Atty. Arthur D. Shores, president of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Council in Birmingham delivered the keynote address. W. P. Mitchell, of Tuskegee Institute, Ala., secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association and vocalist for fair voter-registration in Macon County presided over the meeting. Expressions came on the panel subject from Mrs. A. P. Boynton of Selma, the Rev. Cleveland Jones, Dr. J. W. Stewart of Gadsden; Mrs. A. W. West of Montgomery, C. H. Montgomery, Democratic committee man from Mobile, F. B. Varner of Gadsden, Publisher Frank Thomas of Mobile and others.

There are approximately 34,000 Prince Hall Masons in Alabama. Lodges of this order are in operation in just about all of the counties in which there is a concentration of Negro citizens. Prince Hall men represent the finest manhood in the Alabama population. The lodge masters are themselves leaders and by the nature of their positions have to know how to direct and inspire men. Prince Hall Masons would seem to be in a position to set up a beachhead for the ballot in Wilcox and Lowndes counties where at present there are no Negro voters.

There are an estimated 36,000 in the State PTA which recently held its annual two-day meeting in Mobile. There are disturbing reports which have filtered back from that meeting. First, it is said that there were reports that in some counties teachers were not allowed by school officials to attend the meeting. Secondly, that some teachers who attended were told not to bring back with them any controversial literature. Third, that some PTA spokesmen suggested that those delegates who attended the recent White House Conference purge their reports of any "controversial" material.

Of course, these reports, if true are shocking. If true, why couldn't the PTA express itself about them in resolutions? There are less than 9,000 Negro public school teachers in Alabama. That being the case, why couldn't there come representation from some of the 27,000 non-teachers members of the state PTA? It appears that there is something wrong somewhere.

Yet the PTA, doesn't seem to have any program on voter-registration. When the organization held its session in Birmingham it failed to go on record for voter-registration. In the Tuscaloosa meeting the same was true. The PTA in many instances seems to be tied closely with Black Belt Jeanes teachers. To shake loose from inaction in the voter-registration field, the state PTA, will likely have to cut loose its ties with the Black Belt Jeanes teachers and also elect a non-teacher president. If an organization like the State PTA can't stand up to be counted on voter-registration, how can it justify its existence?

It seems that there is not an organization, including the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, which has either a program or project designed to restore the black man's vote to him in the Black Belt. The Alabama State Teachers Association, for instance, not only has dropped its vote commission, but elected a non-voter to a key office at its recent convention. The ASTA seems to have no program which would assist teachers in those difficult counties to obtain the ballot.

It is a sad day in Alabama and a bad day for leadership, it seems to me. The recently enacted Right-To-Vote, law although weak, will not have a chance to work in Alabama unless the organizational leadership is willing to come forward with a program aimed at jarring loose Negro suffrage in the Black Belt counties.

Alabama seems to be suffering for voter-registration leadership which has the vision, the dedication, and the daring to blueprint a program to liberate the black man's vote in the Black Belt. Organized labor is not going to do the job. The veterans organization are not going to it. To a large extend those who live in the Black Belt are going to have to help themselves. Leaders are needed who can inspire the oppressed group in the Black Belt to help themselves. They must be willing to pay whatever price required to restore their right to vote, it seems to me.

31a 1960

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

PHENIX CITY, Ala. — (SNS)— A question - throwing session during a program in observance of Negro History Week at Mother Mary Missions High School helped this reporter understand some of the things flowing through the minds of these young people.

Some of them were delicate questions, most of them tough, but all of them appropriate, exposing, and demanding answers of which this corner felt a need for help. One perhaps can never feel his inadequacy as much as when facing inquisitive, eager, sharp - minded students, such as these appeared to be.

Especially when one is trying to be honest, helpful and challenging, does the task of answering the questions of young people become soul searching, mind - probing, and conscience touching. Most of the questions dealt with current issues often in the [illegible] controversial, and disturbing areas. No honest person trying to be at least inspirational, if not in good information, can [illegible] before alert-minded, hopeful, and ambitious young people on such a program without sensing the need for a source of strength beyond himself.

There are approximately 500 students enrolled in this parochial [illegible]

The Reverend Gregory Putzer, S. [illegible] is principal of this school [illegible] located 1301 Seale Road. It is an impressive - looking institut-

[illegible]ming here I had jotted down [illegible]tation from Miss Lelia Bar- [illegible]Across The Years, Memor- [illegible]which said: "The Man or [illegible] who has no history is in [illegible]est sense of the word, a [illegible]. The society whose an- [illegible]s blank is not a happy so- [illegible]at a defunct one. The ser- [illegible]of history is a precious thing." [illegible]s in that quotation to [illegible]put her pen to work on one [illegible]reasons for the celebra- [illegible]History Week. For

Negro History is not yet an approved subject in Alabama schools. Under book censorship at the instigation of some of our politicians some books by Negro authors which deal in new facts are ordered from the book shelves. Negro scholars do not seem to have access to "The Alabama Review, A Quarter Journal of Alabama History." It does not appear that the names of any Negro historians, amateur or professional, appear on the roster of the Alabama Historical Association.

To me history is a medium of explaining and relating man to man. To be something one must know something. To appreciate America you must know some American history. To appreciate your racial group you must know something of its history. Whole history is the best history. Nothing of the kind perhaps has been written. Too often prejudiced textbook historians have tried to cheat the dark man but of his deserved place in history.

History in a way is blended biography. And biography may be about a person, a community a corporation or a country, and so on. Often it deals with achievement and achievement is a good yardstick of a group's thinking. A nothingless history means a worthless standing. That is one of the main reasons that prejudiced writers and evil politicans have tried to conceal, hide, blotched and destroy the true story of the black man.

It is up to Negro parents, Negro students and the fair - minded outside of our group to see to it that no man's history, contributions, and achievements are hidden or deliberately and studiously covered up. History is civilization's chief line of communication, it seems to me.

Those were hot questions pitched at me by a group of students who had dead aim. The whole program was under the school's Student council and I came away better off for the questions they asked and for the answers I gave. This was an exciting and thrilling Negro History Week [illegible]

THE TIP OFF

Birmingham World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

"Avoid those traps."

A few of us were gathered around the table at the Penthouse Gaston Lounge where Periclean Club was feasting Dr. John Hope Franklin, brilliant historical scholar and professor at Brooklyn (New York) College. Dr. Franklin, the guest, who seated at the head of the table was flanked by the Rev. M. C. Merriweather, host of the depth thinker and pastor of Thirgood CME Church; Prof. E. J. Oliver, principal of Fairfield Industrial High School; Dr. C. W. Hayes, director of Negro Schools, Birmingham Public Schools and Dr. A. G. Gaston, president of Citizens Federal Savings and Loan Association. Others at the string of tables lined together listened.

It was at this dinner-style bull session that one could appreciate Dr. Franklin as a man, inspirational leader and as a dedicated freedom scholar. Yet at this bull session he became the freedom teacher who sheds light on the subtle tricky, and sneaky traps used to try to keep the status of the American dark man lower than

[redacted]

that of the other man. There are numerous and devious traps which appear in varying forms but all of them have the same objective... to peg the Negro group into second class citizenship. As Dr. Franklin suggested, too often Negro leaders have been brain washed into falling into the white man's trap plays for controlling, conditioning, or clamping the Negro group into a scheme.

Trap play one is having Negro spread the false and irrevelant idea that "you are not ready" for your rights, for an equal opportunity and for equal protection before the law. Trap two is "the doctrine of gradualism" which implies that the Negro person is a lesser American and a sub-being instead of a human being.

Trap play three has to do with the "foot of the hills instead of the top of the mountain" idea. Usually the Negro group is stuck at the foot by those who say he should concentrate there. The opponents try to see that he gets no further and place barriers in his path aimed at seeing that he does not climb away from the bottom.

Some of our teachers who are obviously weak in history and also out of tune with the American message and the freedom cries of the Negro group give mouthing to the "ain't ready" doctrine which really is an inferiority complex given voice form. As Dr. Franklin reminded, it is only the Negro group to which the "not ready" yardstick is applied. For instance, for one to become a policeman in Birmingham, a member of the County Board of Education, the board of directors of the Oscar Wells Memorial Museum, or the library board he must first be white. No matter what qualifications a Negro could bring, he must be barred because he is a Negro person, not that he is not ready.

I would go further than Dr. Franklin. Those Negro persons who use the "not ready" doctrine have probably never seriously examined it. They contribute strength and morale to the evil forces which seek to block the freedom march of even those who use "not readyism' in speaking of other members of Negro group. For "not readyism" is a divide and deny devise. Dr. Mercer Cook of Howard University in an essay on Booker T. Washington exploded that doctrine. Rolph J. Bunche was denied accommodations in a downtown hotel when he came to speak on the 1959 Periclean Club forum not because he was "not ready" but because he was not white. .....

In the current sales tax campaign the advocates of the measure gave no public recognition to any Negro leader. The campaign literature failed to give recognition to the Negro group's civic-service and professional leadership. That's not readyism.

Since some of our school teachers seem to be the exponents of the brain-dimming doctrine of "not readyism" what are they doing to change it? In the February, 1960 issue of "The Negro History Bulletin" there is a reprint of Carter G. Woodson's, perspective which reads, in part: "Appeal to the board of education of your local school system and the head of your school, college or university for the adoption of textbooks treating Negro history as it really is rather than in the present biased fashion."

"Persuade your pastor to deliver an address on the Sunday beginning the celebration (of Negro History Week). No one is more influential than the pastor in arousing th people to the performance of civic duty."

Instead of "not readyism" let us urge our group to "get on board" of the freedom train and to ride it into firstclass citizenship.

After the bull session I went home and read a few pages from Miss Lelia Mae Barlow's "Across The Years" in which this passage stuck with me: "That first summer's experience left me with memories. Out of these memories came lessons of life, especially of the neglect and misfortunes of my people in their struggle for homes, happiness, and a larger life. Many of the teachers in Summer School did not know the rudiments of the elementary subjects. They were creatures of darkness trying to lead others into light."

She is a retired teacher and was writing her memories of Alabama State College. Still there is a freedom darkness in some of our class rooms where the slogan of "not ready" perhaps in some instances is used by a few of our teachers to mean they are not interested in helping tear down the Jim Crow walls which bottle us into second-class status, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

The conversations of some African diplomats came back to me after reading a communication of President William V. S. Tubman, of Liberia, to Dr. A. G. Gaston.

At the NNPA Mid-Winter Workshop Luncheon held at the National Press Club in Washington, D. C., a representative of Ghana and one from Nigeria, both in Africa, kept inquiring of and about Birmingham. They were interested in what kind of progress the Negro group was making. At Tuskegee Institute, a Nigerian legislator kept me up far into the night talking about how he had been inspired by his trip to Tuskegee Institute to New Orleans.

President Tubman wrote to Dr. Gaston, in part, relative to the dedication of the A. G. Gaston Building, to which he is sending a representative: "I am confident that the great strides that are being made by your company and similar Negro institutions will serve as an incentive and inspiration to our people, not only in the United States but the world over."

Mr. Tubman pointed to the "marked progress" suggested in the new shelter for the Gaston operations and suggested that the dramatic progress being made by your company in providing financial and economic facilities for the people of your country, especially our Negro brothers and sisters" was a gripping inspiration.

The Nigerian lawmaker told me that in Africa they look to the American Negro for inspiration and felt a deep attachment in sentiment and in history. All of this came back to me when I went through President Tubman's heart-warming communication.

I went back through some communications which had come back to me with reference to the dedicatory program. There was the one from Dr. John E. Bryan, general manager of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, which said, in part:

"We are certainly proud of the fine citizenship and leadership of Dr. A. G. Gaston and not only is he to be congratulated in making this outstanding investment in the new Gaston Building, but his devoted interest in everything that is good for the Birmingham area. His financial investment in the area where his busines is located, perhaps, one of the finest examples of local citizens investing their financial successes in their own community."

Dr. Bryant added: 'There is no limit to what the economic growth of Birmingham could be if we could get more citizens like Dr. Gaston who not only believes in Birmingham but is doing something about it."

What is a column like this all about? First, the observation is brought up that our historical brothers in Africa look to us for inspirational leadership which is backed up by achievement and success. The other is that the influence center of Birmingham has been probed to find seeking and audit of the community and civic standing of Dr. Gaston.

In trying to touch and contact part of the power structure in this city I have found the adventure to be revealing. But if the findings are turned into planning, pioneering, and shared along the way it could prove helpful. The dedicating activities leading up to this event provided me with an opportunity to search, to learn, and to size up things.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Six of the nineteen proposed constitutional amendments were rejected in the Feb. 16 balloting. The proposed one-cent sales tax for Jefferson County was also swept under a wave of unfriendly votes.

Two of the thirteen proposed constitutional amendments which passed effected the whole state. Eleven of the proposed constitutional amendments were actually local bills.

In voting only local bills one in those counties where voting opportunities are more favorable should take into consideration that often the local bills originate in those counties where it is difficult for the Negro applicant or would be applicant to become a voter. Should the voters approval of the proposal mean that it would be submitted locally to the voters, would not give much weight to a group handicapped in voting in that particular county.

The proposed local constitutional amendment is akin to the local courtesy rule in the Alabama Legislature. Law-makers in those counties in which the elected officials are beyond the reach of those unjustly denied the ballot, can resort to unfair legislation throughout the so-called courtesy rule.

The courtesy rule legislation is a favorite device of Black Belt politicians.

In the sales tax campaigning, it appears that the power structure cut across racial lines in seeking to put it over. The sales tax base is so low as to make it fall too heavily upon the low-income However, the opponents of the sales tax have not used the best arguments against it, it seems to me.

For the Negro group the full burden of the sales tax falls upon members of the Negro group, but not the full benefits of it. Few, if any of the new jobs created by the sales tax presently collected in Alabama are filled by members of the Negro group. No Negro person has staff, clerical or related positions in the various state revenue offices.

Had the penny-more Jeffcho sales tax passed there is no evidence that the Negro group would have been directly represented on the five-man Hospital Care Authority which would have been set up. Negro doctors continue, as they are now, being denied staff and visiting privileges at the University Hospital. Our Negro sick-poor are likely to continue to be the less cared for.

Amendment One was linked with the 10 per cent increase in the whiskey tax. The ABC stores are segregated stores. There are no Negro clerks in those segregated divisions of these stores and none of those ABC stores appealing to almost exclusive Negro buyers are staffed by Negro personnel. That probably is an unimportant angle to the Negro whiskey buyers and to our tear-minded political action leaders.

The ballot can be put to many-fold purposes. Where there are economic issues on the ballot the Negro group should consider the issues on the basis of sense, rather than fickle sentimentalism, it seems to me.

During the recent campaign many of our civic-service and political action leaders were strangely silent. In little more than two months from now, Alabama voters will troop to the polls again.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

It's a long ballot which the voters must handle in the Tuesday, May 3 primary.

In the important presidential elector slot the candidates who say they will work through the party system are: C. G. Allen, Dave Archer, C. L. (Leonard) Beard, J. E. Brantley, W. L. (Bill) Chenault, Milton K. Cummings, Karl Harrison, Bill Jones, William D. (Billy) Partlow, Ben F. Ray and D. Hardy Riddle.

On the race question, civil rights and related subjects there is no substantial difference between the 11 electors above who describe themselves as "loyalists" and the "Independents". The difference lies in attitude toward the party system. The so-called "loyalists slate" seem to support the party system which is basic to our form of government.

Twenty candidates for delegates at-large are to be elected for the National Democratic Convention. Four delegates to the convention are to be selected from the Ninth Congressional District. The party offices are also important.

This bracket deserves study because there appears to be the same kind of lineup in the convention delegates. The candidates cannot be measured on their attitude toward civil rights but on the party system. Party-system politics is the American way. The South should not be swept backward from a one-party system to a no-party system. It should be carried forward from a one-party-system to a two-party system.

Because of the length of the ballot and the importance of spotlighting the party issue, voters should write down the names of those they are for and carry that list with them to the polls. The delegate and presidential elector lists are so important that voters should be sure.

There are an estimated 11,900 Negro voters in Jefferson County. This is the largest concentration of Negro voters in Alabama. Yet political action has been far off this year. Civic leaders usually conduct campaigns to alert, familiarize and generate enthusiasm among the voters.

With a bond issue before the Birmingham voters, the party issue before the Jefferson County voters, and pride of ballot a fact, the political action leaders should have been able to make freedom hay. What last-minute efforts will be made on the neighborhood level is not known.

Box 9-1 at Legion Field has become an almost solid Negro box. Box officials in this district will be Negro persons. In some other instances there has been consolidation. What does all of this mean? It is a form of gerrymandering? How does it differ from some practices now under investigation by the Department of Justice in Georgia?

THE TIP OFF

The Birmingham Herald

By EMORY O. JACKSON

There were at least three substantial evidences of a start upward in the local group during 1959.

Three books were produced in the area of heavy reading. They came from Dr. Howard Dodd Gregg, president of Daniel Payne College; C. Herbert Oliver and Charles A. Brown, the latter principal of Lipscomb High School.

Dr. Gregg's book is a biography of Richard Allen, one of the founders of and first bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Mr. Oliver's deals with racial segregation in relations to Christianity, theology and God. Prof. Brown's book is a biography of secondary education among the Negro group in Birmingham.

Mr. Oliver's books place him among the "germinal thinkers" because his book delves into the deep water of a controversial, delicate and almost untouchable area.

These three books represent a haphazard trilogy. Taken together - the church, the school, and the ethics -these books tend to illuminate a search for answers, and to present an argument for the raw aspirations of the rejected minority.

On the business front, William Sherman, public relations director for Smith and Gaston, Interracial attached a project intended to collect information for a directory of Negro - owned and licensed business in Jefferson County. The Rev. Eddie Blankenship undertook to organize among the Negro business group an organization patterned on the Chamber of Commerce. The Jefferson County Insurance Management Coundil made a few thrusts forward. A class of graduates came from the Life Underwriters Training Council.

Talk came at the Second Annual Business Education Workshop sponsored by Miles College for organizing a Small Business Investment Company. The talk died for the lack of action.

There was no effective leadership in the area of mobilizing the vast purchasing power of the Birmingham Negro group into a mechanism, or tool, or force or instrument to jam loose new job opportunities; that could be converted into first-class citizenship, or to win more social respect. Leadership in the area of purchasing power is the most neglected sphere of civic action, it seems to me. The Jefferson County Betterment Association is understood to have made a survey of one aspect, but perhaps lacked adequate research.

The third development was in church activity. One of the brightest trends was in the area of fellowship activities among the churches. They were too varied, diversified, and too numerous to try to detail them. This fellowship trend was especially noticeable among the different denominations. For instance, the AME Leadership Training Institute, drew upon available local talent outside of its ranks. The fellowship breakfast and communion service of First Congregational Christian Church attracted communicants from several different church connections.

Take the Sunday School Convention of the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God which drew upon the community for its welcoming program. The churches moved forward on the fellowship front.

Unfortunately there was little interracial fellowship communication in Birmingham during 1959. Columnist John Temple Graves of The Birmingham Post-Herald noted in his piece Sept. 21 that before the Supreme Court's 1954 school decision that the Interracial Committee of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council functioned. Perhaps the bonds of fellowship were never strong in the interracial committee if a decision so much in line with the ideals of correct fellowshipping would stop "all voluntary interracial effort here."

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

The New York Daily News published a four-part feature on the University of Syracuse with reference to its sports, scholastic and recruiting program.

Syracuse was one of the two major universities that sponsored a football team which completed the 1959 season unbeaten and untied. The other was Florida University A. and M. University of Tallahassee, Fla.

Head Coach A. S. (Jake) Gaither of FAMU is slated to deliver the featured speech at the Ninth Annual All-Sports Banquet of the Birmingham Grid Forecasters. The newest SIAC coach, Dr. T. J. Knox is also expected to attend this banquet.

Prof. Preston E. James in discussing the all-winning interracial Syracuse team told the N. Y. Daily News: "There is no question about it, the success of the football team this year has helped the university in numerous ways. The promotional value is tremendous and I firmly believe that this additional publicity helps to bring in a higher type student."

Two points should be nailed down here. FAMU which seems to rely chiefly upon Florida for its athletes has begun to attract some from the Jefferson County, Alabama area. Willie Westbrook, the Parker High School track sensation, selected the Rattler university, as was the case of some of the other outstanding local high school athletes. It was the dramatic record of Miles College under the coaching of Dr. Knox, which includes five undefeated football seasons which rallied public support for his bid for re-entry into the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association.

Gene Ward, author of the N. Y. Daily News series, also reported: "His (Chancellor W. P. Tolley's) theory is that Syracuse should strive for excellency in football as it strives for excellency in every field of endeavor."

The critics of sports often fire their shots at the scholastic standing of athletes. Yet in varsity sports in the SIAC a player-student is required to maintain satisfactory grades or be cut loose from competitive sports. B. T. Harvey, SIAC commissioner has himself adduced facts and figures to support essentially the same idea as espoused by Chancellar Tolley. Sports have it seems to me, been a stimulant of scholarship which properly used by coaches.

This does not overlook abuses by a few coaches who are anxious to win at any price. But essentially sports tend to demand better scholarship, mould sounder manhood, and instill respect for authority. Perhaps there is no place where a boy can be reached, and helped than in interscholastic sports.

In the Ward articles Syracuse Dean Eric H. Faigle says "a good football team is a fine focal point for fund-raising and that's important too."

There are not yet open to Negro colleges the fund-raising opportunities of white colleges of their size and status. There are no post-season bowl games in which they can participate and reap the rewards of gridiron success. This points up the tragedy and cheat of the separate-but-equal doctrine. The Vulcan Bowl Classis in Birmingham died before it reached full development. It lacked the backing of the necessary business support and lost the cooperation of the SIAC.

With Miles College in the .....

With Miles College back in the SIAC, Negro-owned business challenged, and other business becoming growth-minded, the revival of the Vulcan Bowl is worth surveying. Yet no bowl classic for Negro-enrolled colleges can become a success unless it wins the sympathetic support of the larger economic interest. The Vulcan Bowl Classic should have interracial sponsorship and look forward to the growth of freedom for its right to be, endure and call itself American, it seems to me.

He is something for when our civic action leaders to explore Jake Gaither comes here. The Birmingham Grid Forecasters are providing the situation but they cannot do the job for the business and civic leaders. The SIAC has taken Miles College back into its fold and the Birmingham leadership ought to bring the Vulcan Bowl Classic back.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

...INGTON, D. C. (SNS)—...ers of the annual meet-... Workshop ... National Newspaper Pub... Association, in session here ... 21-23 at Dunbar Hotel, tend ... the growing significance ... darker people.

A three-man delegation from the Latin-American press was ... of the workshop Jan. 23. ... of their message was un... and mutual interpre... group of newspaper re... natives was anxious to work ... program whereby there can be ... distribution of news reports ... the Negro group in the United States and the people of ... America.

This delegation which included ... Washington representative of this Latin-American news services also had in it two from Havana, Cuba. One of the members of the delegation was a reporter of heavy dark complexion. The delegation said their news service was not subsidized by any government.

group of reporters of which ... of them were NNPA mem... recently visited Cuba. The ...ket was not, however, a NNPA ...ject. It was perhaps this visit ...ich planted the seed for inter... of the Latin-American press ...vice in a program of news ex...nge or inter-press service be... it and the Negro press.

...communication between the ...Americans and the Negro ...cans, or more broadly, the ... of the U. S. A. and the La...-Americans The language bar...stands partly in the way. Lit... higher education about the La... taught in the public schools ... and peoples of our sister con... Americans who are our neigh...

...o members of the African ...matic corps were speakers at ...NPA workshop luncheon held ... National Press Club, of ... our Washington corres... Louis Lautier is a mem... was because of the Lautier ...ship that the NNAP group ... have this lunch-time ses... sion in this club. Lautier is the only Negro member of this press club and his membership is symbolic of the measurable status and influence the Negro-directed press, it seems to me.

Richard M. Akwei, first secretary of the Embassy of Ghana and Isa S. Wali, Senior Assistant Secretary of the Nigeria Office, were guest speakers at the luncheon. They too express interest in a further development of understanding and communication between the established and emerging African nations and the Negro group in America. Both were seemingly disturbed about what they considered was the lack of adequate information and fair presentation of the facts about free Africa, the emerging new African states and the African situation.

There is no formalized new services between the Negro press in the U. S. A. and the African press, if the latter exists. One of the challenges of NNPA is how to get a better flow of African news to the Negro and other groups in the U. S. A. The new African story is not fully told, it seems to me. African leaders say they look to the American Negro group for inspiration and feel a bond in history, sentiment and brotherhood.

One gets the impression from the talks of the two African luncheon speaker that the American Negro group has nor labored vigorously and studiously to get and distribute the correct African story. They would excuse this on "innocent ignorance" rather than "malicious" misunderstanding.

Mr. Wali told this correspondent that he is scheduled to appear in Atlanta, Ga., February 21.

NNPA President, William O. Walker, the Selma-Alabama-born publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post and a drafted candidate for Congress on the Republican ticket in Cleveland, was a member of a recent official delegation to Liberia, Africa. In the delegation to the Office of Joseph C. Satterwaite, assistant secretary for the African leaders to the Negro press, suggested that communication with African nations is poor and should be improved, and urged the including of more Negro persons in delegations, the diplomatic corps and specialized personnel sent to Africa.

In the delegation making the trip to see Mr. Satterwaite were: W. D. Campbell, Winston-Salem Journal; Charles Loeb and A. L. Sweeney of the Cleveland Call and Post; C. O. Dejoie, Louisiana Weekly, Russell Jackson, Columbus, Ohio; Walter C. Robinson, Chattanooga, Tenn. Observer; Charles Waitma, Michigan (Detriot) Chronicle and Mrs. Mary Shadd, publisher of the Milwaukee Defender.

It is significant to mention that John Russwurm, one of the fathers of the American Negro press went to Liberia, Africa in 1830. Negro History Week this year will assent the African emphasis. There are approximately 11 new African nations with four others expected to emerge this year. By 1963 there is expected to be an influential African bloc in the United Nations.

The African story is the newest freedom story. News about the American Negro group and African liberation increasingly will have international importance. For Jim Crowism and colonialism sprout from the seeds of prejudice and exploitation, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

ATLANTA, Ga. (SNS)—His ward-accepting ...ed to have beaten against tears ...a heart full of appreciative ...d-reflective joy.

For one who had heard his half-time pep talk to his football players when his Morehouse College Maroon Tigers played their last football game against Atlanta University; who had heard his speak before the Birmingham Grid Forecasters a few years ago; and who had heard him at SCOA meetings it seems that B. T. Harvey was preforming for history. Many speeches were made at the 100 Per Cent Wrong banquet Friday night which celebrated a quarter-century of service.

Harvey, SIAC commissioner and a type of quick-opening leader in ... broadening the sphere of the Negro enrollment colleges, reminded the gathering that he was the last of the sports triumvirate which came South to to help the Negro group. Gone were Major Cleve L. Abbott of Tuskegee Institute and Frank A. (Fay) Young of the Chicago Defender.

He told how he left his native Griffin, Ga., when he was eight years old, grew up on the prairies of Indiana and came to Morehouse at the age of 24 to teach science and coach. He had been a multiple sports star at Cologate and was made offers more lucrative than the meager salary which Morehouse could pay him. He accepted the challenge, came to the Red Hill, and would do the same thing again.

Harvey, "the Great Stone Face" as they used to call him on the Red Hill, went to Morehouse the first Monday in October, 1916, he said. That same year Coach Abbott went to Tuskegee. He noted the number of his former students and others he had known over the years and said he felt like saluting them as he did his students at Morehouse. "I called them my sons," the SIAC commissioner said. Stillness had begun to grip the audience and as Harvey created an atmophere of blended solemnity and triumph.

This was the third honor for Commissioner Harvey which had come to him from the 100 Per Cent Wrong Club for his sports-building, man-building, spirit-building activities in the SIAC and the broader sports landscape.

SIAC Commissioner Harvey revealed that he and Abbott had come South under the same urging and inspiration. He quoted his advisors as suggesting to him to "go South where you can help your peopole." South he came. He settled down at Morehouse where he was able to grind himself into the Morehouse men. "I have enjoyed my 41 years in the South," Harvey said.

He said reflectively: "There is something more than money you get out of life." He listed among them the friends you make and the people you touch." Teaching is not a money-making profession and coaching in the Negro-serving college is often no more than a love of labor and after-work hoeby. At Morehouse Harvey was hired to teach but coached because he loved sports, still does, and always will.

Meantime Harvey used the occasion as a forum to vocalize his philosophy of life. He said believes in a (1) a sound body and a good mind are necessary to do anything that is good. He also believes (2) in being physicially fit and morally straight. He (3) is an advocate of clean living.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

In a full-page ad in the Atlanta Daily World March 9 students of the Atlanta University Center - Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman Colleges, Atlanta University, and the Interdenominational Theological Center made "An Appeal for Human Rights."

But in Montgomery, Ala., students, and a woman teacher were thrown in jail for allegedly violating that city's anti-placard ordinances or charges growing out of such. It is sad reading the account and looking at the pictures of raw force being used to break up a campus demonstration which appeared to be peaceful.

Blenders have being made in Montgomery which are bound to [illegible] cradle of the Old Confederacy, ruin the names of some leaders and leave a mark of shame on the biography of some public officials.

Gov. John Patterson took unusual steps in forcing the ousting of nine students of Alabama State College for allegedly demonstrating against a refusal of service in the Montgomery Courthouse a public facility. He reportedly asked President H. Council Trenholm if the latter was able to handle the situation after the ouster action had been taken by the State Board of Education of which the Governor is the chairman.

Yet without the cooperation of Gov. Patterson, President Trenholm's hands were tied. For the recommendations of this educator has been rejected by Mr. Patterson who actually set the stage for Mr. Trenholm to lose face. It seems to me that the Alabama Governor dealt a staggering blow to Mr. Trenholm.

Blunder number two was the handling of the abortive demonstration March 6. Law enforcement, reserve and civil defense police, were consoolidated. This was an all-white law enforcement group which drew the praise of public officials and some newspaper editorials. The Negro group is denied participation in law enforcement. According to press accounts, the firemen, working with police, aimed a hose at Negroes in a churchyard, but not at the jeering white group assembled at the Supreme Court Building.

It is not clear whether the persons reportedly designed as "campus guards" at Alabama State College had any qualifications for dealing with the jobs they were assigned. They might be liable for their actions under the established law. A better course might have been to shut down the college.

One can concede that what was done by President Trenholm followed a desire to try to cope with an unpleasant situation. However, high public officials with intemperated, unwarranted, and provocative utterance set the stage for explosions, and also created a mob atmosphere to try to make certain suggestions and predictions come true, it seems to me.

No reports have come out of Montgomery where friendly men of responsible goodwill have sat down to try to work out a solution. Wrong piled upon wrong is not likely to settle anything. Crushing Negro youth by raw power is not substitute for competent counsel. The issue is now bigger than a sit-for freedom demonstration and embraces the question of manhood dignity and the role of mature leadership in a city where the Negro segment obviously does not have equal protection of the law and is also denied an official opportunity to help protect itself, it seems to me.

In its March 8 editorial, The Montgomery Advertiser observed, in part: "The Negro incendiaries had the single purpose of marching until they provoked trouble from the passionate whites."

Students of Alabama State College are "Negro incendiaries" and the others are "passionate white."

Yet white men walked the Montgomery main streets a few before with sacked baseball bats, some whites, estimated at 30 cars loads with big anti-Negro placards drive through the city. White photographers trying to practice their profession are attacked and have their cameras upset. A Negro woman was beaten by white men in open day light on the main street of Montgomery. No arrest was made.

Adds the advertiser: "The authorities had not sought to prevent the Negro assemblage. They had indeed suggested three place where they were welcome to meet all day."

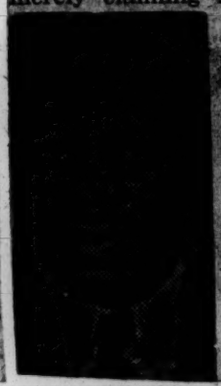
Were any of these public places? Some years ago the auditorium of Alabama State College reportedly could not be used for a meeting at which a Negro U. S. Congressman was liste das speaker. A rally for freedom finds no public facility open to the Negro group in Montgomery, it seems.

By trying to crush the spirit of freedom in Negro youth, Montgomery public officials seems to have made it contagious. This ferment is likely to spread. Jail calls often have become the hotbeds of freedom.

THE Birmingham TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Lester B. Granger, executive director of the National Urban League, in his address before the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, observed, in part: "The lunch-counter sit-ins carried on by Negro youngsters constitute a bitterly ironic, and a tragically absurd commentary on current-day American life. One would say that it is absurd that so much quiet heroism . . . should be invested in merely claiming their right to sit on a lunch counter stool and be served in a five-and-ten - cent store. Others were struck by the tragedy being enacted by Negro young people who find this as their duty only means, unaided, of voiding their organized, nonviolent protest against strangulation of their future by an indifferent, or ignorant, or brutally hostile surrounding society."



Law enforcement officials in Birmingham seem to intepret the law to mean that a store customer has restricted rights if he is a Negro dollar-bearer. Our civic leadership perhaps have overlooked trying to hold a conference with the store officials in those five places where the Negro collegians were arrested and hauled off to jail. Perhaps they have not yet taken up this matter with the powerful Birmingham Chamber of Commerce.

There is no satisfactory machinery locally that has status and strength to promote goodwill communication. City Hall has yet to assume leadership in setting up such machinery with its official blessings. Repressive police measures cannot solve civic problems. A committee of informed citizens working together is more to be desired than a network of informers who are often misinformed. The stablizing power of influential, open-minded, warm heart ed interracial leadership is needed locally, it seems to me.

Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago chapter of the National Urban League has stated the case for interracial leadership in social adjustment this way: "For Negroes to seek full solutions in isolation will bring frustration and for whites to seek solutions alone will bring condescension."

There is no chapter of the National Urban League in Birmingham. The interracial committee of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces was scrapped. The NAACP was put out of operation in Alabama by state officials. There are no Negro members on the board of directors of the Jefferson Community Chest. Goodwill communication is barred, not by custom or by law, but by a lack of enlightened, bold, and meanful civic leadership from the stronger side of the community.

The Negro group is weak at the ballot box but strong in the pocket book. As yet there is not discernible any effort to whip this purchasing power into a civic tool for first-class citizenship. Failure of the Birmingham Negro group to use what it has for its own freedom is one of the scandals of second-class ctizenship, it seems to me.

It seems to me that law-changing is one of the essential considerations. There are times when unintentional breaking of an unjust law will lead to its challenge; and eventual change. Changes in the law often reflect or influence changes in customs. Custom often takes the force of law. The lunch counter in department and variety stores is itself change. It is an economic departure from good old Southern custom which boasted of its fried chicken and candied yams.

In his radio speech of March 20, Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida gave what he called "a talk to you about race relation." It is a vital speech which deserves reading.

He said, in part, with reference to the sit-in demonstrations for lunch-counter service: "Now under our free enterprise system and under our laws a merchant has the legal right to select the patrons he serves. And certainly he is going to be protected in that legal right."

"The customer, of course, has the legal right to trade or not to trade with any man he wants to — and, of course, there is the right to demonstrate and the people should be protected in that right, too."

"But I want to call to your attention that the right to demonstrate in all cases is limited by the fact that if there is any clear and present danger that that demonstration will incite public disorder, it is unlawful. And, of course, a situation of this kind could bring about that kind of condition in one community and not in another."

The last quoted paragraph of Gov. Collins' speech provides the clue, perhaps, for the arrests in the sit-ins in some of the cities of the Deep South. An effort can be expected from law enforcement to try to establish "clear and present danger" theory. There are resister forces which can always be counted to be present with the danger, it seems to me.

Gov. CoCllins pointed out: '. . . I think that if a man has a department store and he invites the public generally to come into his department store and trade, I think then it is unfair and morally wrong for him to single out one department though and say he does not want or will not allow Negroes to patronize that one department."

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

COTTAGE GROVE, Ala. —(SNS)— Over half of the list of 39 past presidents of the Alabama State Teachers Association [illegible] their membership roll, No. 54, J. D. Thomspon who served as thirty-sixth president of the ASTA has been plucked from the ranks of the living.

Reviewing through the biographical sketch on Mr. Thompson, one must conclude that he was an effective and productive leader.

He had served for about 26 years as principal of Coosa County Training School. It is said that this is one of the so - called low-tax counties which is just about bare of industries.

It is against such a background that one must try to view the work of Mr. Thompson. He was highly respected in his hometown, was a model of courage, moulded his character to his convictim. No man perhaps lived his convictions more nearly than Mr. Thomspon, the calm crusader.

Against odds he had tried to give the ASTA a program of service during his presidency in 1952-54. His ideas were grossly misrepresented at times, purposely distorted, and openly opposed by some who understood it, but did not care for it. Yet he kept plugging for it.

When Supt. Herbert L. Street of the Coosa County Schools in his tribute of respect to Mr. Thompson on the funeral program March 20 related how Mr. Thompson ignored rumor, something came back to this columnist. On one occasion during an ASTA convention some malicious rumors were circulated against Mr. Thompson. Questioned about it, Mr. Thompson said he did not fear rumor.

It was March 18, the final day of the two-day 77th-annual ASTA convention that this pillar learned of the illness of Mr. Thompson. Even though the ASTA "Bulletin" and the "ASTA News" are read closely, it is not recalled that either carried a personal item on this matter.

Personal items like sickness are vital to an organ which purports to serve. This subject of ASTA service deserves more consideration than can be afforded in this space at the moment.

As a member of Peace and Goodwill Baptist Church, he served as chairman of the building committee. He largely planned and completely supervised the building of this beautiful brick edifice. He provided the leadership in buying and paying for the church pews and furniture.

He had served as president of the Alabama Association of Secondary School Principals. He was an associate member of the Coosa County Selective Service Board for several years. Both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Gov. James E. Folsom awarded him a certificate of appreciation.

Mr. Thompson obviously knew he couldn't make it. For the Rev. J. L. Ware, pastor of Trinity Baptist Church in Birmingham and a former pastor of Peace and Goodwill Baptist Church, has a letter from Mr. Thomspon, with the signature by the latter, asking the Rev. Mr. Ware to deliver the eulogy when he heard what had happened, or in language like that.

When Mr. Thompson was ASTA president and his far-reaching program appeared to be running into trouble ,this columnist visited him at the Coosa County Training School for a briefing. His was a new acquaintance but one which later was to be treasured. Today the ASTA seems to have no worthwhile program.

When the superintendent of Coosa County Schools, both white and Negro residents of the county, and persons from afar come to pay respect to a person, and do it with fullness of heart and cleanness of purpose, it tends to reflect the esteem in which that person was held. The lesson which can be drawn is that a man can be a man if he has character backed up by conviction, and bold sense.

As the first Negro voter in Coosa County, doesn't that offer a message to some school principals in counties where no Negro votes, even at this date. There is at least one high member of the present ASTA administration who is not a voter. Despite the Civil Rights Commission and the (Division) of Civil Rights, Negro citizens in Lowndes and Wilcox counties are not voting.

J. D. Thomspon left a legacy of courage. Such is needed today. Convictions and courage go hand in hand. One who is without convictions doesn't necessarily need any courage, it seems to me. He had the courage to triumph over personal handicaps. He went away as he had lived, a man of courage. He wouldn't let a mean disease strip him of his courage.

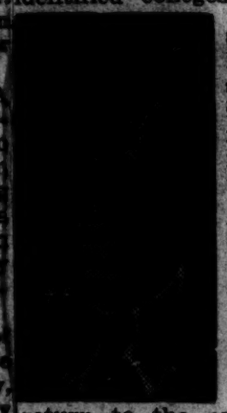
THE TIP OFF

By [illegible]

CHICAGO, Ill. (SNS) — "The kids mean business," said a speaker at a panel discussion on the sit-in protest movement at the 20th annual convention of the National Newspaper Publishers Association held in the Chicago Daily Defender Building here June 23-25.

There were representatives of three Negro colleges in the South, a spokesman for the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) and Thurgood Marshall.. The CORE representative said the sit-in movement is "part of a stream of ideas" dating back to the birth of Christ. The movement, the COREman said involves new risks, new vigor, creative understanding, non-attachment and a new spirit.

Since there are about 103 Negro identified colleges in the U. S. A.



and much of the leadership, risk-ship, and challenge has come from campus, what is the expectation? The college representatives seem to believe that college-going youth will step up and renew the campaign when they return to the campus this spring. There are summer workshops being conducted, new contacts searched out, and a widening of support. An estimated 39 students have been expelled from colleges in connection with the lunch counter demonstrations.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund under the direction of Thurgood Marshall is handling approximately 1600 cases in which sit-in demonstrars have been arrested. About 450 of these cases are in Orangeburg, S. C. It is believed that over $20,000 has already been spent in connection with defense of those charged with violating the racial segregation laws. The cost is heavy and will likely run higher as hostile elements in the community try to stem the tide of freedom.

A voice of counsel sounded the warning that nobody should expect the sit-ins to solve everything in the area of racial segregation. The view is that a number of the existing programs still have merit. The use of legal weapons to knockdown racial barriers must not be discarded. The risk of jail-marks which will likely be used to try to impair professional and job opportunities of those who suffer convictions should not be overlooked.

Nobody should seek to discourage youth away from taking risks designed to advance forward first-class citizenships and to strip off the barriers of racial segregation. The sit-ins seem to be admired because they represent the first time in the hostory of the United States that Negro youth in a wide and serious scale have thrown themselves into the campaign to shed America of the shame of enforced segregation. In this connection "they are way out front."

There is also the unhappy position of presidents of state-supported Negro colleges. They will have to make their positions clear and their identity unmistakable. A number of new presidents of Negro state-provided colleges may be forced on the scene because under the present thinking the freedom-spirit leadership is not likely to work to save their positions at the risk of losing the campaign against vicious, offensive and humiliating racial proscroptions.

Roy Wilkins, executive sercetary of the NAACP, in 51st annual convention of the association at St. Paul, Minn., told the NAACP youth section: "You have put life into this convention. You have given life to the discussions. Continue your sit-ins. America was built on revolts. It is part of the American character to protest against inequality. That is what you are doing in these sit-ins."

He added: "When they tell you that you are crazy, disregard them. You are acting in the American tradition. Be not ashamed. We are with you because you have told the white world, North and South, that you are not satisfied with conditions as they are."

Southern adults and the heads of colleges will have to decide whether they will join with those who desire to cruth the spirit of youth and continue the walls of segregation or consolidate the message of youth into old programs. Broadly the sit-ins represent a revolt against apathy, indifference, and a lack of sufficient concrete action on the integration front.

"Don't stop. Don't delay. The time to advance is now," cried 80-year Arthur Spingarn, president of the NAACP after he witnessed the response of NAACP youth to Wilkin's coments.

Here at the NNPA meeting John H. Sengstacke, publisher of the host Chicago Daily Defender, at the opening session keynoted the convention with a fighting speech in which he laid it on the line hard for support of the sit-in demonstrations. The panel on the sit-ins seemed to have made a deep, telling, and soul-teaching effect on the publishers.

Yet the purchasing power of the Southern Negro group has not been thrown dramatically and totally into the struggle for one-standard citizenship, it seems to me. There ought to be a comprehensive complemenary strategy developed by Negro-owned business seeking to stitch into the economy the pillars of economic first-class citizenship, it seems to me.

Then at the 10 annual NNPA Awards Banquet held Friday night, June 24 at Sherman Hotel, Miss Patricia Stevens, 20-year-old coed of Quincy, Fla., a music major at Florida A. && M. University, Tallahassee, Fla., told a moving story of serving 49 days in jail as one of 10 arrested sit-ins. Her status at F. A. M. U. is uncertain but her campaign for first-class citizenship is. She summed it up this way: "This is a fight not for Negro rights. This is a fight for human dignity."

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Special Trial Judge James J Carter, in hearing the tax perjury case brought by the State of Alabama against Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., advocate of the non-violent techniques for mass segregation, emphasized fairness in his ruling on pre-trial motions. He lectured to the jury along this same line.

Yet in the jury selection the prosecution which had seven strikes, knocked off the three Negro jury panelists first. They were Rufus A. Lewis, Booker Evans and John W. Davis. The defense had this noted. Hence in this fair trial the jury is all-white in a county almost racially fifty-fifty.

Atty. Robert Ming, of Chicago, Ill., fresh from a big-case victory involving an international figure, headed a team of six defense lawyers. In his objections, by use of motions, skillful cross-examinations, he was obviously trying to build a predicate to construct a record, and manuever for appeal grounds in the event of conviction. He challenged the concept of income inference which the state seemed to be trying to erect its case.

Judge Herbert T. Delany, 59-year old North Carolina-born lawyer, handled the pre-trial defense motion. One asking for courtroom desegregation. In a written opinion, Judge Carter overruled the motion. Yet Judge Delany objected to some of the phrases used by the court, such a "comingling of the races". A motion to continue the case was also denied by the court.

Assisting the defense in addition to Attys. Ming and Judge Delany are Attys. Fred D. Grey and Solomon S. Seay of Montgomery, Atty. Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham and Atty. Chauncey Etheridge, law partner of Atty. Ming.

Atty. Etheridge is a tax accountant as well as a lawyer. He is also a former U. S. tax agent.

Jesse B. Blayton, C. P. A., of Atlanta, Ga. ,sat with the defense as an expert witness. The defense has a number of possible witnesses. If the case takes a turn which the strategists who are fighting for the vindication of Dr. King think that they are needed. Members of Dr King's family are at the trial, wife, father, brothers and sister. His wife is a possible witness but the court said it was all right for her to be in the courtroom.

There are many documents already entered by the prosecution on the first day of trial. Two Montgomery bankers, a Georgia internal revenue agent had taken the witness stand before Lloyd D. Hale, tax agent for the Revenue Department of Alabama took the stand. Interrupting his testimony, Defense Lawyer Ming hammered away at the theme that bank deposits were not income. Atty. Ming also sought to impeach Mr. Hale's testimony on grounds that he was not qualified to testify in the field in which he drew conclusions and gave opinions. Atty. Ming vigorously the state's doctrine of "networth income."

Asst. Solicitor Robert B. Stewart is handling the prosecution with Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford at his side.

On the third floor of this new and air-conditioned courthouse a sign hang from the ceiling of the floor which said "no loitering". One third floor which said "no loitering." One of the spectators at the trial said that the seats which had been in the corridors had been moved away. Courthouse officials kept the corridors clear and the traffic moving.

Since in one of the court's opinions the question of press table facilities came up, this observation should be in order. Steve Duncan of the Afro-American and I came to the Courthouse together from Ben Moore Hotel. At the courtroom we presented our press cards and were asked to take seats on the left side of the courtroom behind the white spectators. Then a court official instructed us to go inside the rail and we were seated on the long bench usually used by the waiting attorneys. White reporters were placed at a table which was set up for the press.

Trezzant Anderson of the Pittsburgh Courier was in the courtroom when Duncan and I arrived. He was seated on the right hand side of the courtroom on the front row with the Negro spectators. Later James Mitchell of the Montgomery Mirror joined us inside the rail. Anderson came inside the rail during one of the recesses. Just before recess for lunch Duncan took a seat at the press table. Nothing was said about this. When Anderson lost his seat next to me, he went to the jury box which was emptied when the jury was selected. There is a 12-man jury box on both sides of the courtroom where this trial is being conducted.

Among the white reporters at the press table were Rex Thomas of the Associated Press and Reporter Margaret Shannon of The Atlanta Journal. She chatted with Dr. King.

To their credit, newspaper reporters are usually understandable. For they know coverage is more important than the color line in trying to get a story. A good reporter's first concern is trying to get the story. Getting a story is even more important than getting a seat, it seems to me.

THE TIP-OFF

BY EMORY O. JACKSON

Now and then a letter comes to you which you desire to share. Such a letter comes from John L. Leftwich, who has been "hospitalized". "Big John" is one of the sports immortals of Alabama State College and one of the pioneer athletic heroes of Jefferson County Negro high schools.

Mr. Leftwich grew up in East Mulga, a community which Charles Allen Brown credits with furnishing the leadership for setting up the first Negro-identified high school in Jefferson County Public School System. In Mr. Brown's

[redacted]

"The Origin and Development of Secondary Education for Negroes in the Metropolitan Area of Birmingham, Ala. appears this account: "While no record of the establishment of such a school could be found, there was on file at the Edgewater Junior Hi School an Alabama School Registrar for the school term 1932-1933, in which the names of 17 tenth grade, 7 eleventh grade, and 6 tenth grade students appeared. This registrar which was kept by Mrs. Mamie B. Dowdell as teacher carried the name of the school as East Mulga High School. According to Mrs. Dowdell, presently a teacher in the Bessemer City School System, she served as principal of this school which was conducted in the First Baptist Church in East Mulga, and A. Langston Butcher was the assistant teacher. John Traylor, principal of Lincoln Elementary School was an eleventh grade student in the East Mulga High School.

Another paragraph from Brown's books said: "From this data the writer concluded that the first Jefferson County High School to be established for Negroes was the East Mulga High School in 1932. The first principal of a secondary high school for Negroes was Mrs. Mamie B. Dowdell. The enrollment at the close of the school year consisted of 38 boys, 20 girls or a total of 58. The school operated 119 days. The seniors ranged in age from 18 1-2 to 20. In September 1933 the East Mulga High School was merged with Edgewater High School which was begun at that time.

The historical background is significant only in connection with this piece as a foundation for passing along the wonderful letter from "Big John" the former Edgewater High School sports luminary. Before him, if I remember correctly were talented basketball players like Willie Byrd, Jonathan Gramham, and Beverly. But they did not go off to college. "Big John's" brother Warren, who graduated from Westfield High School, entered Tuskegee Institute, and from there was drafted into the Army.

John Leftwich was one of those who was attracted to the campus of 'Bama State and became a terror on the Hornet line. He was a pitcher on the baseball team and seemed for a time headed for a future in organized baseball.

When I was doing sports and in a way trying to help those from the Birmingham area win athletic consideration from the various colleges John Leftwich became a selling name. When I used to cover the state basketball games at Hornet Gym, "Big John" was often the official scorer. Few scores kept as neat, accurate and complete records as he did. In a way he reminds me in those respects of the late Fred Jenkins who was endowment secretary for the Alabama Prince Hall Grand Lodge.

Mr. Brown in his book lists Mrs Estella Brown Bivins as one of "the first Negro students to graduate from a high school in the Jefferson County School System". Today there are seven high schools in the [illegible] public school system which enrolls Negro students. In other days when I worked more closely with the civic league movement it was persons like Mrs. Bivins I saw devoting her energy to community improvement and voter-registration. Until I read Mr. Brown's book I was unware of this background. There is also the name of William J. Jackson, who served as teacher in Edgewater High School, and seemed to have been absorbed with the future of those athletes. So he used to talk about the Leftwich brothers.

Mayor James W. Morgan has proclaimed June 5 to be "Shut In's Day." There may be those who have not kept up with the whereabout of "Big John" Leftwich, especially some of his former classmates and teammates. Hence I hope that I commit no violation in passing this letter on to the readers of this column. Here it is:

Hello Mr. Jackson:

"It is my pleasure to write you while recovering from an operation on my legs to thank you for such good writing in your articles. The Tip-Off while I have been reading the last five months that I've been confined."

"It has been both helpful and beneficial and I must add restful and entertaining. I was able to follow most all of the progress of my school (Bama State) through the World while I was hospitalized at the best in (Lloyd Noland) Jefferson County and state."

"You know how I had been suffering over a period of years with my legs. Finally I got down and couldn't walk at all. I am sure my weight (545 pounds) had a big bearing on my ailment.

At this writing I am doing fine and hope to be out again in the next few weeks. In the meantime write me a line or two at your leisure. I have been hearing from all former teachers at Westfield and Alabama State College."

"In deepest appreciation I will look forward to hearing from you. My regard and best wishes for your continued good future."

Yours for Understanding

JOHN L. (Big John) LEFTWICH

THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm. World

A "wanted man" label seems to have been placed on the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, pastor of Bethel Baptist Church (North) and president of the Alabama Christian Movement.

Birmingham, Ala.

A total of four million dollars worth of damage suits have been initiated in court against him. Public officials ranging as high as the Governor of Alabama, who is supporting youthful Senator Kennedy of Massachuttes for the Democratic presidential nomination, have placed cases against him.

Yet he is not the only Negro minister sued in connection with a fund - raising ad which ran in The New York Times in connection with a tax case lodged against Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was cleared by an all-white jury in Montgomery. The New York Times has also been sued.

There are not many Negro ministers who have either large holdings, big bank accounts, or fat investments. The Rev. Shuttlesworth has not pastored any rich churches because he has only pastored Negro flocks, and those in Alabama. Of course the amount of damage sought in the case may not be significant. But it appears to give the Rev. Shuttlesworth the build up of "a wanted man."

The Montgomery-born Baptist minister, who has been dubbed "Birmingham's toughest civil rights leader in the South's toughest city" certainly is placed in a ballooned million dollar class when he is the defendant in such a case, it seems to me. He is the "myth millionaire" created by the same type of mythology or mystique which invented the "separate but equal" doctrine. Admittedly the filing of a court case could have the goal of the establishment of a legal principle.

There are other cases pending against him. He was arrested in connection with the "sit-in" in Birmingham. None of the 10 students arrested have been identified as members of his church. A meeting was held at his church in connection with a reported freedom rally that seems to have featured some of the "sit-ins". So the Rev. Shuttlesworth was arrested which also seems to put the "wanted man" tag on him.

All of this seems to have given the Rev. Shuttlesworth the built up, the leadership identification, the struggle story, the freedom prisoner marks necessary to give him the status of "wanted man" which he can now use as a national symbol of the new man. Nobody sent the old-type Negro leader to jail, levelled damage suits against them, or stationed detectives in meetings to take down the proceedings.

The Rev. Shuttlesworth is now widely in demand as a revivalists freedom's storyteller, and as a speaker. His enemies have helped to make him what he is. They certainly have done for him what his friends could not do. They have catapulted him into the national limelight and helped to rivet around him a dedicated following. These same enemies may yet help to place him in glorious Alabama history more firmly than any other comtemporary leader.

Today the Rev. Shuttlesworth is a more seasoned leader. His presidential speech at the forth anniversary of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights reflected no less. He seems to better understand teamwork leadership and is beginning to adjust his approach to some of the realities of struggle.

Alabama now has a "wanted man" on the Rev. Shuttlesworth, it seems to me.

Birmingham has civil rights leadership depth. It has teamwork leadership. It has the Inter-Citizens Committee. It has a budding sit-in leadership. Birmingham lacks purchasing power leadership. Yet the "wanted man" sign figuratively speaking, seems to hang over the head of the Rev. Shuttlesworth.

THE TIP OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

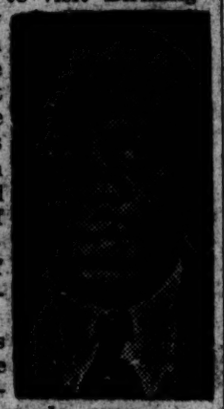
Birm. World

Two consecutive years, 1959 and 1960, the 20-year-old Southwestern Bar Association is meeting in Alabama.

It met last year in Mobile and is currently convening in Birmingham, the state's capital of Negro buying power. Host officials explain that the regional bar group really wanted to come to the Magic City.

Birmingham, Ala.

No reason is given for the Southwestern Bar Association members being so anxious to visit Birmingham, a city which has been recurringly in the news limelight for its resistance to change, for its identity with an ugly image and also because of the volatile oratory of some of its public officials.



Yet there is another side. The civil rights lawyers of Birmingham have won acclaim nationally for their work in the field of constitutional law. They have had to travel from the lowest court to the highest trying to protect the constitutional and citizenship rights of an easily identifiable racial minority who obviously was penalized because of being members of the Negro group.

Because of the vast, unguided, and raw Negro purchasing power in the Birmingham area, visitors come asking about it as though it were one of the economic wonders of the South. Under thoughtful direction, and targeted to freedom, this Negro buying power doubtless ld bring about desirable social nges. There are signs of its posility in the form of Citizens Fed- l Savings and Loan Association, A. G. Gaston Building and new nes.

alike some other Southern cities B'ham's population class, and gro population percentage, Birmham has no Negro trade asciation to assist with the prootion and entertainment of conntion. There is no tourist infortion available which is geared to wing off things, institutions, lotions, and historical spots relato Negro achievements, cul- l landmarks, and heritage shrines, as well as civic gems. There is no booklet, sightseeing literature, and other gimmicks by which guests, delegates and visitors can be shown Negro and other contributions.

This is the unexplored Birmingham which so many of us believe we know. But who has a guidebook to places which one could refer which depicts contributions, achievements, and historical shrines in Jefferson County which reflect the efforts of individual Negro pacemakers or the Negro group? No club, no business, no promoter has organized any such material. In other words we seem to befalling down in giving a correct, favorable impressive presentation of ourselves as reflected in visual and crystalized history.

What is to be done with this convention challenge? It is both a challenge to the Negro group and to municipal officials. The municipal image of Birmingham should lose its ugly impact, no matter how unfairly we may think it is. The Negro group needs to understand the new demands which rests upon a convention city. Negro-owned business should be in a better position to benefit by the conventions which select Birmingham. If a Negro-owned business is not alerted ,aroused, awakened a golden opportunity is likely to slip through their hands. The Negro needs an awakening leadership.

"The Butcher Workman", published by the Butcher Workmen Educational and Benevolent Association, Inc., and affiliate of the Amalgamaped Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO) discusses conventions in its June, 1960 issue. It says, in part:

"Some (conventions)are democratically run; others are boss-run; and still others are run by a small clique. Some are held to make basic organizational policy; others are held simply to promote products or particular individuals, and still others are held simply to be ceremonial or informational."

"Some conventions are highly serious affairs ,others are a combination of serious business and high-jinks and still others are mostly high-jinks. Some business and veterans conventions get into the last category. Conventions of these groups made famous the electric cane to shock people and

31a 1960

WHITE (JUDGE WALTER B. JONES)

OFF THE BENCH

Montgomery Advertiser

By Judge Walter B. Jones 31a White

Montgomery Ala.

Care In Choosing Trial Jurors

Sunday Mar. 6/60

The mistrial in the notorious Dr. Finch murder trial in California recently, and the hung jury in the case of the State of New York against Hulan Jack, the Negro president of Manhattan Borough in New York City, is disheartening to the believers in jury trials.

You recall that Jack, a Tammany politician, was indicted and tried, among other things, for accepting a gift, about $4,500 for remodeling his apartment, and that Jack knew when he accepted the gift that it came from a person who was directly interested in a transaction with the City of New York where Jack would have a vote and influence in favor of the man, Ungar, who made the gift of nearly $5,000 worth of repairs to Jack's apartment.

JONES

The money was not a loan. It was a gift from Ungar to Jack in order to influence the official's vote in matters coming before him in his public capacity. The indictment and trial were had under a law of the City of New York's charter which made it a crime for a person to give a city official any gift when the giver's interest might be affected by the official action of the Borough president.

Ungar would never have remodeled Jack's apartment and paid $4,400 to do so unless Jack held an official place in which he was in a position to help Ungar get profitable contracts with the city. The gift was made to influence Jack. He knew when he received it that Ungar had a lot of business with the city which he could not get without Jack's vote and influence.

The jury, when it had the mistrial, stood 8 to 4 to convict Jack. He never even took the stand to deny the charge, never testified in his own behalf, and told conflicting stories when he was before the grand jury. His whole course of conduct indicated guilt.

The conduct of some of the jurors after the mistrial had been declared is shocking. One of the jurors who voted to acquit Jack rushed up to the defendant's wife and, according to the *New York Times*, "wrung her hand, and said: 'I fought like a tiger for him.'" Another juror, a woman, said that the four who voted to acquit Jack "seemed to be guided by their emotions. They felt that if they convicted him it would ruin his career." What a pitiable idea of justice!

BUT the most sensible remark made by one of the jurors came from the lips of a young real estate man, a graduate of Harvard, who voted to convict. And this is the important thing he said:

"It was chaos in the jury room. There was not enough care in choosing jurors." And he hit the nail on the head with that last sentence: "There was not enough care in choosing jurors."

And so it was in the Finch-Tregoff California trial where a married man killed his wife so he could marry his mistress—shot the poor wife in the back, as I recall. The jurors trying the case, a Negro, a Mexican and 10 whites were not suitable for jury duty. They knew nothing, and cared less, about the proper way for a juror to act. The law and the evidence didn't count with them. They were guided entirely by their emotions.

31a White

In the United States, and here in Alabama, we spend thousands and thousands of dollars, take all sorts of precautions, have carefully drawn laws and constitutional provisions to see that only good men and women are registered to vote. We spend little to get the names of good and honest citizens in the jury box. A voter is, of course, important in the life of the state and the nation, but I sometimes think it takes more intelligence and more courage, to be a juror than it does to be a voter.

Then too, we don't do anything to make service on our juries attractive to the citizen. We take a citizen away from his business and his pleasures for a week every year and keep him as a sort of "prisoner of the court" in the courthouse. We pay him hardly anything in comparison with the services he performs. We exercise very little care in the manner in which we select them.

THROUGH the years appointments to jury commissions have been more or less political. We don't give the jury commisisoners much help. We pay them very little. There's no encouragement for a man to want to be a jury commissioner. Under our system he doesn't have much time to get about the county, interview people face to face. Sometimes the commissioners just consult the city directories, the telephone books, and the lists of voters.

There's no personal contact with the man being considered for jury duty. The commissioners never see him. All their information, if they get any, is second-hand. The jury commissioners try to do the best they can. They are generally good men in their communities. The law expects them to perform a high public duty, and yet expects them to do the duty without much help and without any assistance to amount to anything.

Through the years we have neglected to do anything to better and strengthen our system of trials by jury. Good schools, good roads, good voters, all fine things—these are the subjects we have worked hard for; these are the things the politicians have orated about. A good jury system? It's never mentioned. What's the tragic price we pay for this neglect? An ever rising tide of crime, dissatisfaction with the courts and tiring delays, business firms resorting more and more to commercial arbitration as a better method of settling business disputes than jury trials before juries whose members have not been carefully and wisely selected, before jurors who are just not fitted for helping to administer justice among their people in their people's courts.

We need to put in the jury boxes of the states and the nation the very highest type of men and women. We must remember that the great duty of the state, the government, the agents of the people, is to put 12 good citizens in the jury box. Over a hundred and thirty years ago a great English statesman, Lord Brougham, wrote:

"In my mind he was guilty of no error, he was chargeable with no exaggeration, he was betrayed by his fancy into no metaphor, who once said that all we see about us, kings, lords and commons, the whole machinery of the state, all the apparatus of the system and its varied workings, end in simply bringing 12 good men into a box."

Capital Spotlight

31a Negro

By Louis Lautier

WAS KING ELIGIBLE TO CAST BALLOT?

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Leadership Conference, could vote for neither Senator John F. Kennedy nor Vice President Richard M. Nixon in Tuesday's election.

He had failed for several years to pay his Alabama poll tax and had not lived in Georgia long enough to qualify to register.

The Alabama poll tax is $1.50 a year and is cumulative for two years preceding the election.

The Rev. Mr. King sponsored with A. Philip Randolph, vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, the non - partisan crusade to mobilize colored voters.

* * *

THE JUSTICE Department is looking for the person or persons who anonymously distributed through the mails and otherwise photostats of the 1951 racial restrictive covenant on the former home of Vice President Nixon.

It is a violation of Federal law willfully to publish or distribute or knowingly deposit for mailing or delivery, or cause such acts to be done, or knowingly transport in interstate commerce any political writings, advertisements, dodgers, posters, etc., concerning any political candidate, which does not carry the name of the persons responsible for the matter.

The maximum penalty is a $1,000 fine and one year in prison.

* * *

THE FEDERAL Government will nol pros the indictment against Truman Gibson K. Jr., for conspiracy to violate the anti - racketeering act and extortion by the use of interstate communications.

Gibson was secretary of the International Boxing Club until it was dissolved by order of a New York Federal judge.

He then became president of an Illinois corporation, which recently quit promoting prize fights. He has since returned to the private practice of the law.

The official Louisiana ballot had behind the name of each Democratic candidate the word "Caucasian" for racial identification.

This marking was resorted to after a colored candidate came very near winning nomination for office in a Democratic primary because voters did not know whether they were voting for a white or colored person.

Of course, there has been so much bedroom integration in Louisiana that there is doubt about the racial classification of a large number of persons in and out of office.

The Afro Unity Party also entered a list of electors in Louisiana.

* * *

ATHALIA THOMAS ARNOLD, who returned to Washington shortly before the Republican national convention to serve Val Washington again as assistant after the death of Virgil Heathcock, left for California Wednesday to rejoin her husband, Eddie Arnold.

George E. C. Hayes, chairman of the District of Columbia Public Utilities Commission, is recuperating at his home from surgery.

The property of the National Association of Colored Women, assessed at $43,000, is tax-exempt by the District of Columbia. Other tax exempt property in the District of Columbia includes that of the National Council of Negro Women, assessed at $15,300, and the Frederick Douglass Memorial, assessed at $69,604.

* * *

IN FISCAL year 1960, the District of Columbia spent $48,048 for burial of indigent persons, which represents a 50 per cent increase. The cost runs around $250 for a funeral.

In the District of Columbia, about 92.4 per cent of the aid to dependent children goes to colored children. Considering all categories of assistance, it is about 78 per cent, including old-age assistance, aid to needy blind, general public assistance, and aid to permanently and totally disabled.

Capt. Lorenzo D. Mahan, Corps of Engineers, assigned to the Engineer Center at Fort Belvoir, Va., has been promoted to the grade of major. He is a native of Pittsburgh, with more than 17 years of Army service.

* * *

PEARL BAILEY, the star, and Earl (Father) Hines, the pianist, appeared at the Senator Kennedy rally at Chicago Stadium Friday night, but both said they were non-partisan—that their appearances were not endorsements.

"I'm hammy enough to work in front of any big crowd," said Pearl, "but I don't think performers are wise to back politicians."

Major Oliver W. Dillard, Infantry, of Birmingham, Ala., now assigned to G-3 (Operations) Division of headquarters of the First United States Army at Governor's Island, N.Y., has been assigned to the United States Military Mission in Monrovia, Liberia.

Major Albert J. Parker, Infantry, Portsmouth. Ohio, has been promoted to the grade of lieutenant colonel and will become professor of military science at Florida A. and M. University in January.

Promoted from captain to major: Lloyd D. Jones, Adjutant General's Corps, Special Services officer at Fort Jay, N.Y., and a native of Chillicothe, Ohio; Harold N. Lanier (Infantry), assistant professor of military science at North Carolina A. and T. College, and William S. Phelps, Military Police Corps, a native of Philadelphia, who is assigned to military intelligence in the United States.

Capital Spotlight

31a Negro

By Louis Lautier

Sit-Downers Shown U.S. Backing Of

The Federal Government clearly indicated in the case of Bruce Boynton, a recent graduate of the Howard University Law School, that it supports the legality of the sit - down demonstrations at lunch counters in 5 - and - 10 cent stores in the South.

The Boynton case did not arise out of one of these sit-ins. Boynton was an interstate passenger traveling on a Trailways bus from Washington to his home in Selma, Ala.

During a 45 - minute stopover at the Trailways Bus Terminal in Richmond, Va., Boynton was refused service in a restaurant in the terminal reserved for whites. On his insistence that he had a right to be served, a policeman was called.

Boynton was arrested and charged with violation of Virginia's trespass law.

* * *

THE TRESPASS statute is not a segregation law. It has been on the statute books since 1934. Boynton was found guilty in Police Court of trespassing and fined $10. On appeal, his conviction was affirmed.

The case was argued before the Supreme Court on Oct. 12. Thurgood Marshall, director - counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., who represented Boynton, based his argument chiefly on the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution.

This clause gives the Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce. In the Irene Morgan case, decided in 1946, the Supreme Court struck down a Virginia statute which required racial segregation in both interstate and intrastate buses on the ground that the statute unduly burdened commerce.

* * *

WHILE THE case could be decided without getting to the 14th Amendment, Mr. Marshall and his assistants briefed and prepared an argument on the constitutional question.

If the points he pressed in his oral argument are not sufficient, he would then have the court to consider whether the conviction of Boynton was a violation of the 14th Amendment.

The Solicitor General of the United States did not participate in the oral argument, but the brief filed by the Justice Department as a friend of the court unequivocally supports the legality of the sit - down demonstrations.

The Government maintains that the conviction of Boynton represents an affirmative exercise of state authority to sanction and consummate racial discrimination, and makes the State of Virginia itself a party to the discrimination.

* * *

THAT THE Boynton case was of private origin is irrelevant in the sight of the Government. What matters is the application of a general, non-discriminatory, and otherwise valid law to carry out a racially discriminatory policy of a private agency.

The Justice Department declares that the enforcement of such a discriminatory policy by state governmental organs has been repeatedly held to be a denial by state action of rights secured by the 14th Amendment.

In this connection, the brief cities the decision in the racial restrictive covenant cases, in which the Supreme Court ruled that such covenants cannot be judicially enforced.

* * *

THE CASE of Marshal v. Alabama, 326 U.S. 501, is also cited. In that case the Supreme Court ruled that the criminal courts cannot be used to convict a person of trespass when he's exercising his rights of free speech in a privately-owned company town.

The Justice Department also cited a number of cases holding that the right not be excluded on account of color from facilities open to the public extends to such accommodations as public beaches and bathouses, golf courses, park and recreational facilities.

Describing a restaurant as a place of public accommodation, the brief points out that constitutional rights are violated when a private lessee of a state-owned restaurant engages in racially discriminatory practices.

These holdings illustrate, the justice Department asserts, that where the state enforces or supports racial discrimination in a place open for the use of the general public, it infringes 14th Amendment rights notwithstanding the private origin of the discriminatory conduct.

* * *

THE BRIEF notes that in April, the Superior Court of Raleigh, N.C., relying on the Marsh decision, dismissed trespass charges against 43 colored persons who had been arrested for demonstrating on the private - owned sidewalks of a shopping center against segregated lunch counters in the stores of the shopping center.

The Justice Department concedes that local trespass laws are directed toward the avoidance of breaches of the peace.

With respect to Boynton, however, the brief said his conduct was peaceable and orderly. "If any threat to the peace was involved," the brief said, "it arose solely from the racial discrimination against him."

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Dr. Nabrit at hearing Tex. Democrat Lauds

During the bobtailed session of Congress, the Budget Bureau sent to the House a request for additional funds of $400,000 for salary increases for employees of Howard University.

The chairman of the House Appropriations special subcommittee on deficiencies is Rep. Albert Thomas, Texas Democrat.

When the Subcommittee was ready to begin hearings on the request, Dr. James M. Nabrit, newly elected president of Howard, was not present.

THE FIRST question Mr. Thomas asked was: "Where is Dr. Nabrit? Is he here?"

James F. Kelly, budget officer of the Department of Health, Education and welfare, replied:

"We thought that it would be satisfactory with the chairman if I presented this request, sir."

"I do not know where you got that thought," Mr. Thomas remarked. "I wanted to see Dr. Nabrit. Is he not interested in this $400,000 request?"

"Yes, sir, he is," said Mr. Kelly.

"Not interested enough to come up and talk about it?" Harris asked.

"I AM SURE he would be, but we indicated to him that we did not think it would be necessary," Mr. Kelly said.

"That is a violent assumption," commented Mr. Harris.

Later in the hearing Mr. Harris explained.

"The reason I asked about Dr. Nabrit is the fact that I have known him for 15 or 20 years. He is certainly an outstanding man and a great teacher. I hope he makes a great president, and I believe he will.

"He has a brother that I am very fond of also. He is the president of Texas Southern University in my hometown (Houston). So apparently there is plenty of ability in the family."

IN THE DISCUSSION of the pay scale of instructors and professors at Howard, Mr. Thomas said he could see no reason for faculty members at Howard not being paid on a comparable basis with faculty members at similar institutions.

"This is a Federal institution and the Federal Government certainly ought to keep it on a parity with the pay scale at similar institutions."

The median pay for professors at land - grant college was $9,400. The median pay for associate professors at Howard was $7,035.

The Congress gave the university $400,000 for a 7½ per cent raise across the board.

WHAT IS THE presidency of the National Baptist Convention worth in dollars and cents?

One minister gave an estimate of $30,000 a year. While there is no slaary attached to the office, Baptists are reported to be generous to their president.

For instance, it was reported that Baptist ministers here had given the Rev. Joseph H. Jackson of Chicago, who is now one of the two claimants to the office, a purse of $600, and New York ministers gave him a purse of $1,000.

It's a nice job if you can get it. Maybe that is why Dr. Jackson is fighting so fiercely to remain in the office and the Rev. Gardner C. Taylor of Brooklyn is fighting so fiercely to oust him.

* * *

THE GRAPEVINE has it that Dr. Jackson will announce his support of Senator John F. Kennedy for President.

Dr. Jackson saw Senator Kennedy here sometime ago and refused to commit himself after leaving Kennedy's office. Again in Philadelphia two weeks ago he refused to say whom he will support. But the odds are he will come out for Kennedy.

Jackie Robinson, the former Brooklyn Dodger baseball star, began campaigning Wednesday for Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

Another name supporter of Nixon is Johnny Johnson, the magazine publisher, who is a Chicago Democrat.

* * *

BEFORE THE hassle over whether the State Department or the Kennedy Foundation would pay for the airlift of African students to the United States, which ended with the Kennedy Foundation, agreeing to give $400,000 over a four-year period, the Rockefeller Foundation, in one quarter, made grants to institutions in Africa, as follows:

Lovanium University, Leopoldville, the Congo, $2,460 for equipment for the Department of Anatomy and Histology, Faculty of Medicine.

Arts Council of Ghana, at Accra, about $9,280 for support of the Ghana Experimental Theatre, under the direction of Mrs. Efua Sutherland.

DR. R. G. POULTNEY, Grassland Research Station, Kitale, Kenya, $735 to visit the Rockefeller Foundation Columbia Agricultural Program and to study experimental techniques used in plant nutrient and soil fertility studies while in the United States.

Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources, Nairobi, Kenya, $10,000 for books and periodicals research stations of the Department of Agriculture.

Department of Antiquities, Lagos, Nigeria, about $8,265 to establish an exhibition gallery in the Lagos Museum.

University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, $8,700 for studies in the Department of Zoology of the biology of ticks.

* * *

A. K. AUCKLAND, plant breeder, Department of Agriculture, Ministry of Natural Resources, Dares Salaam, Tanganyika, $3,180 to visit centers of research on sesame and soya breeding in the United States.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Lyndon B. should make good Veep

By LOUIS LAUTIER

LOS ANGELES — Expediency finally triumphed at the last session of the Democratic national convention here.

The nomination of Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts was a foregone conclusion from the moment the convention opened. The only question was whether he would win on the first ballot.

But the nomination of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, as his running mate, was totally unexpected and was dictated by expediency.

The South was on the ropes. Over the objections of its spokesmen, an ultra liberal platform was written. It contained the strongest civil rights plank ever adopted by any political party in the 20th Century.

* * *

TWO DIXIECRATS, Rep. John Bell Williams, a spokesman for the White Citizens Councils, and William Colmer, both of Mississippi, had announced their intention of supporting a third-party ticket.

But most of the southern spokesmen conceded that the Confederate states had nowhere to go, if they left the Democratic party. There was talk, of course, of taking a walk.

Herbert G. Klein, press secretary for Vice President Nixon, has repeatedly indicated to reporters that Mr. Nixon believed he would carry Texas and other southern states against any Democratic Presidential nominee, except Johnson.

Klein has said the kind of campaign Nixon will wage in the South, depended upon whom the Democrats nominated.

* * *

IN 1956—two years after the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools — Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia flopped over to the Republicans.

It may well be that Senator Johnson can keep these southern states from going Republican in 1960. He has shown an uncanny ability in keeping the South in line, while giving an inch at a time on the civil rights issue.

With Kennedy nominated and an ultra-liberal platform adopted, the South should have been left to its own devices.

If it leaves the Democratic Party, it has nowhere to go. A Dixiecrat ticket cannot win a national election. Nor can South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi throw an election into the House of Representatives.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

America Expanding African Activities

The African Affairs Bureau, under the direction and guidance of Assistant Secretary of State Joseph C. Satterthwaite, is responsible for the general conduct of United States foreign relations for Africa, excluding the United Arab Republic and Algeria.

It formulates and carries out political, security, economic, public affairs, consular and administrative policies and practices.

In carrying out its responsibilities, the Bureau directs and administers more than 35 Foreign Service establishments in Africa, including nine embassies and 26 consulates, and maintains and supervises relationships with African diplomatic missions in the United States.

* * *

ORGANIZATIONALLY, THE African Affairs Bureau was divided into two geographic offices and the Office of the Executive Director.

Because of the growing significance of Africa to the United States, there is increasing heavy workload in spport of expanding a third geographic office this year. These offices are:

1. Office of Northern African Affairs, with jurisdiction for Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan and the Spanish Sahara.

The State Department transferred responsiblity for the Sudan from the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs to the African Affairs Bureau. One position, the Sudanese desk officer, was transferred at the same time.

2. Office of Eastern and Southern African Affairs, with jurisdiction for Ethiopia, Somalia, the Somalilands, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Mozambique, Angola, Union of South Africa, Southwest Africa, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Bechuanaland, and Ruanda-Urundi.

3. Office of West African Affairs, a new office, has jurisdiction for Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the 12 African States of the French Community, Guinea, Togo, the Congo, British Camerouns, Gambia, Portuguese Guinea, and Rio Muni.

* * *

THE ESTABLISHMENT of the third geographic office for West Africa permits the Bureau to follow more closely and in greater depth the political, economic, and related developments in each country, and to give more effective backstopping for closer relationships with the individual governments and responsibility for to United States interests in the area.

One office for the entire area of Africa south of the Sahara could not keep fully abreast of the swiftly changing conditions for such a large, complex and dynamic region.

Besides, there is a striking diversity of problems between western Africa, which has no white - settler problems, and southern or multiracial Africa.

Africa is moving in an evolutionary period from primitive tribal societies to a more modern social structure. The changes have a marked impact on prices, wage scales, and the general cost of doing business

all Foreign Service establishments.

* * *

THE UPWARD trend reflects a long-delayed, but expected, broad adjustment in the economic structure of many areas of Africa. As modernization takes place, the standard of living rises and a general price spiral results.

Nigeria attained independence on Oct. 1. With its population of 35 million, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa. Because of this and its comparatively large size, it will be one of the most influential countries in West Africa.

It tends to be oriented toward the West at present, and the State Department regards it as important that it remain so.

The United States is recognizing the independent status of Nigeria by assigning an Ambassador. The Ambassador requires a full - time secretary. With the buildup in staff the post will need a personnel assistant to discharge the variety of personnel duties as there are no qualified local employees available.

* * *

AN OFFICE BUILDING was recently completed, also an eight-unit apartment project. Building plans also call for an Ambassador's residence. In addition, the United States Government owns eight residential units.

These projects need a full-time employee technically equipped to cope with building maintenance problems.

An additional position in the budget and fiscal operations at Lagos, the capital of Nigeria, is made necessary by the continuing increase in the volume of business and of United States Government activity in Nigeria.

The limited number of local employees qualified to perform budget and fiscal work requires that an American be employed.

Other personnel required include a political assistant, accounts clerk, a chauffeur for the Ambassador, a second chauffeur, clerk - typist, and messenger.

* * *

IF ANYONE wants to be appointed Ambassador to Nigeria, he should get in touch with his Senators. The appointment is made by the President. Such appointments usually go to campaign contributors or to career foreign service officers.

For the other jobs, qualified persons should apply to the Assistant Secretary of State for Administration.

The Ambassador to Nigeria will have an allowance of $6,60[illegible] a year for entertainment.

Minority Vote May Cost Nixon Election

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Failure of the Republicans to woo the colored voter could cost Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge the election on Nov. 8.

Indications following the Democratic and Republican national conventions were that Nixon and Lodge would pick up a larger percentage of the colored vote than President Eisenhower received in 1956 — an estimated 39 per cent.

But Republicans at the national level have done little or nothing to win the colored vote beyond the efforts of the candidates themselves.

Neither the Republican National Committee nor Volunteers for Nixon - Lodge is doing an effective job with colored voters.

* * *

JACKIE ROBINSON is campaigning for Vice President Nixon. Jackie is aggressive and militant and an effective campaigner. But Jackie reportedly had an audience of only about 200 people in Cleveland (The Cleveland Call and Post gave him an audience of 700) and was so disgusted that he threatened to quit.

This column has just learned that Jackie has canceled four speaking engagements, one in Atlantic City. The reason could not be earned. He was on the West Coast and it may have been decided to keep him longer in California where the colored vote could determine whether Senator John F. Kennedy or Vice President Nixon will get the State's 32 electoral votes.

The publicity division of the Democratic National Committee is flooding newspaper offices with press releases aimed at the colored voter. The Republican National Committee and Volunteers for Nixon-Lodge are sending out almost nothing appealing to colored voters. Nor is there any decent campaign literature directed to the colored voter from the Nixon campaign directors.

THE DEMOCRATS have a very able staff of colored workers, headed by Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago. Working with Dawson are Louis E. Martin, a Chicago newspaperman; Herbert E. Tucker, a Boston lawyer; Oliver Hill of Richmond, Va., an NAACP lawyer, and Marjorie Lawson, a D.C. lawyer.

Also working with Dawson is Rep. Robert N. C. Nix of Philadelphia. Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Detroit is a vice chairman of the speakers' bureau. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem booked himself across the country through John Young III, a Harlem press agent.

Powell's speaking engagements took him to Pittsburgh, Rochester, N.Y., Kansas City, Mo., St. Louis, Miami, Oklahoma City, Muskogee, Okla.; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Buffalo, N.Y., Youngstown, Ohio; Cleveland, Detroit, Syracuse, N.Y., and Jersey City.

* * *

CHRISTINE DAVIS, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee, of which Dawson is chairman, is campaign assistant to Margaret Price, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee in charge of cooperative women's programs.

Traveling with Kennedy as one of his assistants is Frank Reeves, District of Columbia Democratic National Committeeman and another NAACP lawyer.

Working with Pierre Salinger (Kennedy's press secretary) as one of Salinger's assistants and also traveling with Kennedy is Andy Hatcher, a newspaperman from San Francisco. Lawrence Oxley, retired Labor Department employee and president of the Pigskin Club here in Washington, is a field worker under Dawson.

ON THE REPUBLICAN side, Val Washington is director of minorities for the Republican National Comtee, Fred Morrow of the White House staff is with the Volunteers for Nixon and Lodge, and Joseph V. Baker, a Philadelphia public relations man, is an adviser to Nixon.

Nobody will say what the trouble is — whether it is jealousy, feuding, lack of a budget, divided responsibility, or what.

One answer to the problem could be Max Rabb, New York attorney and former Secretary to the Cabinet of President Eisenhower. Rabb was named Friday as assistant to Leonard Hall, campaign chairman for the Nixon-Lodge ticket. Hall made the announcement.

Rabb was at the White House from 1953 to 1958. Prior to going to the White House, he was administrative assistant to Henry Cabot Lodge from 1937 to 1943 while Lodge was in the Senate. He later served as assistant to Lodge while Lodge was preconvention campaign manager for General Eisenhower in 1951-52.

Rabb has worked closely with minority groups and played a key role in the desegregation of the District of Columbia following the Supreme Court decision in the Thompson Restaurant case.

Boycott of Dixiecrats draws blast

The Afro American
Baltimore, Md
Date 6-11-60

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Dixiecrat members, who control the House District of Columbia Committee, Wednesday boycotted the House as a conservative Republican, Rep Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, accused the committee of "nonfeasance" and "misfeasance" in refusing to act on a bill providing for home rule for the District of Columbia.

The committee, heavily padded with southern race baiters, keeps District of Columbia home - rule bills bottled up Congress after Congress.

The Southerners, some of the most racially prejudiced in the Congress, raise the bogeyman of domination of District of Columbia government by colored residents here, if home-rule should be granted.

* * *

IN HIS speech, Mr. Curtis defined "nonfeasance" as failure to act, and "misfeasance" as improper action.

Two of the 23 sponsors of the bill, Reps. John R. Foley of Maryland and Abraham J. Multer of New York, both Democratic members of the District Committee, joined with Mr. Curtis in urging members to sign the petition to discharge that committee from further consideration of the bill. The measure is bottled up in a subcommittee.

The bill provides for the District of Columbia an appointed Governor and Secretary and an elected legislative assembly and nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

Mr. Curtis had served notice the day before that he would make his charges against the District Committee and urge members to sign the discharge petition, but the Dixiecrat members of the committee decided to boycott the House floor during the Curtis speech.

REP. JOHN L. McMILLAN of South Carolina, chairman of the committee, left the House floor before Mr. Curtis began his speech and did not return. McMillan said he decided to "ignore" Curtis.

Two other Dixiecrat members of the Committee, Reps. James C. Davis of Georgia, chairman of the subcommittee which has the bill bottled up, and Howard W. Smith of Virginia, a senior member of the District Committee and chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, also left the House floor before Curtis began speaking.

The snub to Mr. Curtis was arranged by the absent Dixiecrats during the afternoon after Davis rechecked the signatures on the discharge petition on the speaker's desk.

The Afro-Am

THERE WERE 200 signatures on the petition when Davis rechecked it. But two Republicans added their signature after Mr. Curtis had finished speaking and had signed the petition.

They were Rep. William E. Miller of New York, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, and Rep. Bruce Alger of Texas.

Both said they signed the petition in direct response to the indictment of the District Commitee made by Mr. Curtis.

These signers brought to a reported 213 signatures on the petition. At least 219 signature are required to take the Administration's home - rule bill from the committee and bring it to the House floor for debate and vote.

* * *

MEANWHILE, THE House Judiciary Committee has filed a report favoring constitutional amendment to give residents of the District of Columbia the right to voe for President and Vice President.

The report points out that the 800,000 population of the District of Columbia is greater than that of 13 states, but residents of he Disrict can no vote because the consitution restricts that right to citizens of the states.

The proposed constitutional amendment is separate from the question of home rule for the District of Columbia.

The House Judiciary Committee, in approving a resolution already approved by the Senate, struck from the Senate resolution provisions proposing constitutional amendments to authorize Governors to fill temporary vacancies in the House and to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in Federal elections.

Capital Spotlight

The Afro-Am
Baltimore Md
By Louis Lautier

Everybody Can Use Beaches U.S. Aided

During debate on the Federal aid to school construction bill Rep. William Colmer of Mississippi, a dyed - in - the - wool segregationist, told the House that if there was any doubt, that segregated school districts will be denied Federal funds for new building, he called attention to the fact that the Attorney General had already filed suit to open the beach at Biloxi, Miss., to colored people.

"Upon what theory?" Colmer asked. "Upon the theory that the Federal Government contributed to the safeguarding of that sea wall by pumping some sand in there."

The House Appropriations Committee plans to take another look at the problem of recreational facilities at water resources projects which is increasing in magnitude as additional millions of Americans take advantage of recreational opportunities at Federal projects throughout the country.

THE GENERAL policy which has been followed with respect to such facilities is that the Federal Government will supply the minimum requirement for public health and safety.

Generally speaking, this has meant sanitary facilities, approach roads to the water areas, parking areas, and facilities for launching boats.

But the Army Engineers and the Interior Department's Bureau of Reclamation are seeking to expand the definition of minimum facilities to include supplying camp areas, trailer park areas, family picnic areas, and even such things as ski ramps for water skiing.

In the opinion of Attorney General William P. Rogers, where federal funds have been used in the construction of such facilities conditioned upon state or local authorities assuring perpetual public ownership and administration for public use only, colored people are a part of the public and cannot be kept from using the facilities, whether in Maine or Mississippi.

* * *

THE CHIEF of Engineers is authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1944 and its amendments to construct, maintain, and operate public parks and recreational facilities in reservoir areas under the control of the Department of the Army, and to permit the construction, operation, and maintenance of such facilities by others.

The act also provides that the water areas of all such reservoirs shall be open to public use generally without charge for recreational purposes, and that ready access to and exit from such water areas along the shores shall be maintained for general public use.

Annual attendance at such recreational projects has shot up from 161 million visitor-days in 1950 to about 95 million in 1958.

Under the beach erosion program, the Federal Government will make joint studies with the local people on beach protection. It is done of a 50-50 matching basis.

* * *

AFTER THE studies are made, projects are recommended to Congress and, if approved, the Federal Government pays one - third of the cost of the protection of the elements of the beach which are public and to which the public has access.

If it is a privately controlled beach, the Federal Government makes no contribution.

If colored people are not already doing so, here are some of the beaches which they are entitled to use under the Federal beach erosion control program:

Rehoboth Beach, the largest population center along the Atlantic coast of Delaware, is a popular and growing beach resort. The summer patronage is drawn from all of Delaware and from points as far as Washington, Baltimore and Philadelphia.

* * *

ABOUT 85.6 PER CENT of the entire project area, Rehoboth Beach and the area between Rehoboth Beach and Indian River Inlet, is publicly owned and access to the beach is not restricted.

The section between Dewey Beach and Indian River Inlet, including the beach and adjacent dunes, is a State park, much used during the warmer months for camping and surf fishing.

The economy of Rehoboth Beach and vicinity is dependent upon a suitable beach for recreational purposes. Beach erosion control — the protection of the shoreline throughout the project area — is necessary to protect the adjacent property and preserve the economy of the area.

* * *

PALM BEACH, Fla., is on the coastal barrier island by that name on the east coast of Florida, about 300 miles south of Jacksonville and 70 miles north of Miami.

The total estimated project cost is $5,370,100, of which the Federal Government will contribute 19.3 per cent of the costs of construction of a sand-transfer plant and of its operation and maintenance for a period of 10 years, and 4.7 per cent of the cost of initially restoring the beach and of periodically nourishing it for the same period.

Completion of the project will greatly reduce storm damage to the beach and the shorefront roads, eliminate the cost of maintaining existing seawalls, provide recreation facilities to upward of 175,000 persons, increase value of property shoreward of the beach, and reduce the annual maintenance requirements of the federally maintained Palm Beach Harbor about 75 per cent.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Fellow journalist raps Louis Lomax

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md
Nov 19 1960
Sat 6-11-60

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

There is nothing enlightening or edifying in "The Negro Revolt Against 'The Negro Leaders,'" by Louis E. Lomax, a free-lance reporter, in the June issue of Harper's magazine.

In the first place, there is no revolt against colored leadership.

Segregationists in the South are subjecting colored persons, who have engaged in any phase of the fight for constitutional rights, to economic pressures, threats of bodily harm, mob violence, and, in some cases, even to murder.

But colored leadership, at the local as well as the national level, is standing up as never before and speaking out against racial segregation and discrimination.

* * *

MOREOVER, this diverse and diffused leadership in every section of the country is supporting the NAACP and its programs.

That support enables Thurgood Marshall, director - counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., to boast:

"If we don't have enough lawyers to defend students who have engaged in the sit - down demonstrations at lunch counters in the South, we will get them; if we don't have enough money, we will get more money."

The Lomax article proves only what has already been proved a hundredfold— that whenever a man is willing to belittle colored leadership and colored organizations and commit them to the limbo, he has a ready market.

* * *

MR. LOMAX pronounces the death sentence on the "Negro leader" and announces the birth of the "Negro Individual." That is silly because there always will be colored leaders and colored individuals will always be born as long as the world endures.

Before Mr. Lomax passes sentence, he criticizes both the NAACP and the National Urban League. He predicts that unless "Negro leadership organizations" accept third rank in the fight for racial equality, they will be replaced by other organizations.

I do not believe that any of these predictions will come to pass.

Emphasis and directions may change, but both the NAACP and the Urban League are built on two solid a foundation to pass away before state-enforced racial segregation and discrimination are abolished or before equality of opportunity is achieved in the industrial field.

Nor will the colored press pass out of existence until the millenium.

For as long us there are goals to be attained by emerging colored peoples in Asia and Africa, as long as any colored man in Mississippi is denied a single constitutional right because he is colored, as long as a single colored worker is denied, a job or promotion because he is colored, the work of the NAACP and the Urban League, backed by the colored press, will be pressed forward.

* * *

MR. LOMAX has shown that he is no student of history. If he were, he would have known that even in slavery times there were differences, perhaps over methods, among the black people who aided the fight for freedom.

For example, Frederick Douglass was an anti-slavery orator and journalist who fought with Amherst - educated Robert Purvis, whose white father had left him a comfortable fortune.

Dred Scott, whose fight for freedom became a "cause celebre" and helped to bring on the Civil War, was an illiterate slave.

Harriet Tubman, the "Moses of her people," preferred the role of a lone operator. Sojourner Truth was an itinerant preacher.

Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm— he was the first college - educated colored American— established 'Freedom's Journal" in 1827.

When Russwurm resigned the editorship of the paper to go to Africa to promote colonization, saying it was a "mere waste of words to talk of ever enjoying citizenship in this country," he was denounced as a traitor by his former abolitionist friends, both colored and white.

IN THE intervening years history has merely repeated itself and will continue to do so in the future.

The difference is that there are so many well educated colored people in every section of the country. The South has been shocked because of its failure to recognize this.

Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta explained this phenomenon on the CBS-TV program, "CBS Reports," a study of the integration problem in Georgia.

Mayor Hartsfield said the average white southerner judged all colored persons by the colored person he hires and if he sees a colored man chopping cotton, he thinks all colored people are cotton choppers.

There has not been, and will not be, in any period of history in this country when any single colored person can hold himself out as the spokesmen for all colored Americans.

* * *

LEADERSHIP IS diverse and diffused.

For example, Judge William H. Hastie of the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals is one of the leaders of the judiciary of the country. Percy Julian is a leading sceintist. Ralph Bunche is one of the world's leading statesmen and a political scientist.

Leading educators include Drs. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University; Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse University, and Martin E. Jenkins, president of Morgan State College.

This naming of leaders in various fields could continue without end and in a democratic society, each individual has the right to express his views, whether those views concern NAACP policy, sit - down demonstrations, or politics.

But on the question of survival of the NAACP, I challenge Mr. Lomax to find one colored person who believes the organization should be liquidated.

Capital Spotlight

The Afro-American
Baltimore
Sat 6-11-60

By Louis Lautier

Rep. Dawson Never Takes World Junkets

With disclosures that junketing Congressmen have had their bar bills paid from public funds, it is nice to note that Rep. Bill Dawson, of Chicago chairman of the House Government Operations Committee never goes on a junket.

Dawson's committee has jurisdiction wherever federal funds are spent, and that means he can send investigating teams into virtually every country in the world except Russia, her satellites, and Red China.

Dawson arranges for his sub committees and their staffs to visit some of these countries, and he has even included Mrs. Christine Davis, committee staff director, on some of the missions. But he himself never takes advantage of his chairmanship to give himself a free trip around the world and at the swankiest spots at taxpayers' expense.

* * *

THE REPORT is that Irving Ferman, whose resignation as executive vice chairman of the President's Government Contracts Committee, did not get along well with Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell.

An informed source said Ferman wanted to crack down on George Meany, AFL-CIO president, in the dispute over employment of colored electricians on Government construction jobs in the District of Columbia, but Mitchell, vice chairman of the committee, wouldn't let him do it.

Ferman was the fair-haired boy of Vice President Nixon, chairman of the committee. He originally was appointed to succeed Major General Cornelius E. Ryan (retired Army officer), as executive vice chairman. His co-workers say he gradually took over the duties of Jacob Seidenberg, who was executive director and Seidenberg decided that out of self-respect he had to quit.

Ferman was conscientious. He tried to open up white-collar jobs in industries in the South having Government contracts and he tried to compel employment of colored skilled craftsmen on Government construction jobs in Washington. That he made little dent in the two fields was not his fault but that of the Government contracting agencies and the AFL-CIO.

It is too bad that Ferman and Mitchell did not hit it off well because Secretary Mitchell has rendered yeoman service in removing racial discrimination in hiring and upgrading.

* * *

FREDERICK DREW GREGORY, 19, will enter the United States Air Force Academy at Colorado springs, Colo., July 1, under an appointment from Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

Young Gregory is one of the Francis A. Gregorys (Nora). His father is assistant superintendent of industrial and adult education of the District of Columbia public schools and his mother is a teacher.

Young Drew graduated from Anacostia High School in 1958. He attended Amherst College for one semester and American University for the second semester. He was on the swimming team at American U and played baseball in high school.

Only two colored youths are graduating from service academies this month. They are Cadet Ira Dorsey of St. Louis, who is graduating from West Point, and Joseph O'Halloran of New York City, who is graduating from Annapolis.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON —From a lynching and a race riot in Springfield, Ill., the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, on Feb. 12, 1909, the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's birth, to the sit-down demonstrations against racial discrimination at lunch counters and 5-and-10 cent stores in the South is a short span in histo

But in that span, under the leadership of the NAACP, colored Americans have come within view of the realization of the intent of Senator Charles Sumner and others that the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments had clearly established as a constitutional principle that all persons without distinction of color shall be equal before the law."

Before anyone writes an epitaph for colored leadership and the N. A. A. C. P., let's look at the record.

At the turn of the century the Confederate states had hit upon a scheme intended to disfranchise colored people completely. The scheme was the so-called "grandfather clause."

Embedded in the constitutions of the southern states, the "grandfather clause" exempted from property and literacy restrictions for voting all descendants of men who were voters on Jan. 1, 1866.

In 1915, the NAACP was a toddling of six years. But Moorfield Storey, the great Boston lawyer, appeared before the Supreme Court in behalf of the NAACP and argued that all discriminations respecting the right to vote on account of color were unconstitutional.

The case had arisen from the conviction of certain election officers in Oklahoma under a Federal criminal civil rights statute which forbade, conspiring unlawfully, willfully and fraudulent to deprive colored citizens of the right to vote.

In a general election in Oklahoma 1910 colocered men had been denied that right.

Chief Justice Edward Douglas White, a Louisianian, delivered the opinion of a unanimous court holding that the 'grandfather clause' in the Oklahoma constitution of 1910 was void because it violated the 15th Amendment.

In 1917, when the NAACP was only 8 years old, the late Joel Spingarn, chairman of the board, led the fight which resulted in the establishment of a camp for the training of Negro officers at Des Moines, Iowa.

A large and important section of the Negro press, led by the Afro American and the Chicago Defender, opposed a segregated officers training camp. But the camp was established and on Oct. 14, 1917, 639 colored officers were commissioned — 106 captains. 329 first first lieutenants, and 204 second lieutenants.

Again in 1917 the NAACP was back before the Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of a Louisville, Kentucky, ordinance which made it unlawful for any colored person to move into and occupy a home in any block upon which a greater number of houses were occupied by white people than by colored people.

Mr. Story is again the attorney for the NAACP, but this time W. Ashbie Hawkins of Baltimore filed a brief on behalf of the Baltimore Branch of the NAACP.

The court held that the ordiance was an invasion of the civil right to acquire, enjoy and use property which is guaranteed by the 14th Amendment.

In the years since Federal troops had been withdrawn from the South, colored men had been effectively denied a voice in the selection of the state and local officials who governed them.

In the contest over the election of Rutherford B. Hayes as President and the defeat of Samuel J. Tilden, it was reported that 22 contested electoral votes were allowed to go to Hayes by the South on the promise of the Republicans to withdraw troops from th South. The withdrawal of the troops followed the report of the Electoral Commission which refused "to go behind state returns."

Student Sitdowners Get Full Backing Of Elders

By LOUIS LAUTIER

ST. PAUL, Minn. (NNPA)—The NAACP 51st annual convention went on record Saturday as approving "without reservation" the sit-down demonstrations of students at lunch counters and in public libraries.

A convention resolution urged greater tangible support of the demonstrations by church, labor and other groups. It said support by such groups hither to has been "mainly verbal."

Such groups were asked to recruit pickets from within their ranks and request their membership to respect the picket lines established by the student demonstrators.

The NAACP pledged its "continuing support" of the demonstrations — moral, financial, legal, consultative, and participatory. It urged NAACP branches to assist the demonstrations "to the full extent of their capabilities."

* * *

A RESOLUTION on discrimination by service organizations was referred to an editorial committee for broadening.

The decision grew out of demands that the Salvation Army and the Professional Golfers Association be named along with Rotary, Lions, Odd Fellows, Kiwanis, Optimists, and others which were called upon to revise their charters to remove racial bars from their membership requirements.

The resolution on social tensions also condemned the bombing of churches, synagogues, community centers and homes; commended religious, labor and civic organizations which have built "bridges to interracial understanding, and commended churches which have taken steps to integrate.

It also commended church organizations which are operating their schools on a non-segregated basis, called upon all church agencies and "Christian associations" to abolish racial discrimination in all facilities under their jurisdiction. It also commended organizations which have aided the victims of racial persecution in South Africa.

* * *

A RESOLUTION dealing with the "so-called Muslims," a religious sect, was tabled. It warned fellow Americans against "the increasing 'black nationalism' promulgated by such groups.

Delegates wished it made clear that no criticism was intended of bona fide Islamic groups in this country.

The resoluion concerning basic civil rights condemned the failure of both state and Federal grand juries to indict the known lynchers of Mack Charles Parker. It recommended Federal antilynching legislation.

Other recommendations in the resolution called for:

1. Legislation to give the Attorney General power to seek injunctions for violations of constitutional rights, a fair employment practice law with enforcement powers, the inclusion of anti-segregation amendments in all bills authorizing Federal aid to schools, housing, hospitals, recreation, and the aged.

2. Federal legislation outlawing the poll tax, revision of the Senate rules so as to curb filibusters, home rule for the District of Columbia, and state ratification of the proposed amendment to give residents of the District the right to vote for President and Vice President.

3. Commended the FBI and the Justice Department for prompt action in the April 24 riot when colored persons attempted to swim at a public beach in Biloxi, Miss., and urged the Justice Department to pursue its suit against Harrison County and the City of Biloxi for barring colored persons from using the beach "with all expedition and vigor."

4. Deplored attacks on the Supreme Court because of its May 17, 1954, decision outlawing segregated public schools and branded as "foes of civil rights" northern members of Congress who join with Dixiecrats in voting to circumvent decisions of the court.

5. Condemned efforts of states to destroy the NAACP, pledged to fight with every resource such efforts, and called upon the President to use his influence to safeguard the right of the NAACP to operate.

A resolution on political action promised cooperation with "non-partisan" organizations. Cecil Poole, secretary to Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, a favorite son candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, moved to strike out the sentence, "The organization must be non-partisan." His motion was defeated.

Delegates in the convention, who are representatives of organized labor, split over a resolution favoring the "principle of a closed shop," but opposing the closed shop when it is used to exclude colored workers.

While recognizing that certain international unions have made contributions in the fight for equal opportunity and in support of the NAACP program, the resolution noted that union leaders in the South, in seeking to avoid fights over racial issues, "are permitting racist elements to gain control of local union operations."

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, the resolution said, has failed to enforce AFL-CIO policy resolutions against racist practices in many crafts and industries.

The labor and employment resolution also called for:

1. The President's Committee on Government Contracts to start "at once" a nationwide systematic program of cancellation of contracts of firms which do not comply with the antidiscrimination clause in Government contracts.

2. Ending the Mexican farm labor import program.

3. Expressed its support of the newly organized Negro American Labor Council and urged NAACP members who are members of labor unions to affiliate with it.

In a resolution on housing and health, the NAACP reaffirmed its objective of "a free, open and competitive housing market available to all persons regardless of race, creed, color, or religion."

The resolution also:

Called upon the Urban Renewal Administration to announce a policy of non-discrimination and require assurances from local communities when applying for federal renewal assistance that they will neither create nor expand patterns of segregated living.

Called upon the Public Housing Administration to establish a firm policy of non-discrimination and also called for the enactment of fair housing legislation by states and called upon the President to issue an executive order banning segregation and discrimination in federally - aided housing.

In the resolution on education, the NAACP reiterated its support of the Powell anti-discrimination amendment to federal aid to school construction legislation.

The resolution also condemned efforts to intimidate teachers who oppose abolition of the public school system and the action of governors and other state officials who cause the dismissal of faculty members for advocating integration.

It urged NAACP branches to insist that no teacher be penalized for his or her participation or public approval of student protest demonstrations.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Hush-hush air about Washington NAACP

Charges of irregularities in the conduct of the affairs of the District of Columbia NAACP Branch are being

aired in a hush - hush atmosphere by the executive committee of the branch.

One report is that a move is afoot to quash the charges if the Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, branch president, signs a statement that he will not be a candidate for re-election.

The charges grew out of the action of Mrs. Mildred Pitts, the branch secretary, in firing Miss Vivian Chisolm, administrative assistant. The Rev. Mr. Jackson reportedly upheld her action. The combination on the office safe was changed. So were the locks on office files.

* * *

LEON CALHOUN, branch treasurer, called Miss Chisolm and asked for her financial report which was overdue. She told him she could not make it out because she could not get into the safe and file cabinets. He then asked her if she knew of any irregularities. She reportedly submitted a written detailed statement.

The executive committee reportedly remained in session one night from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. the next morning going over the charges.

The votes in the committee reportedly were all against the Rev. Mr. Jackson. On some votes, it was reported, there were only two votes in his favor—his and that of Frank Reeves, the attorney, who are in the same political camp. They were Humphrey supporters in the District of Columbia Democratic Presidential preference primary. Reeves was committeeman on the Humphrey slate.

* * *

THE NAACP national office appears to have ample authority to step into the situation if, interest of the NAACP, the the executive committee does not act. The NAACP constitution authorizes the national Board of Directors, upon satisfactory evidence of conduct inimicable to the best interest of the NAACP or of the branch, to instruct the executive committee to declare an office vacant and order a branch election for the office within 30 days.

If the executive committee fails or neglects to remove the officer within 30 days, the national Board may declare the office vacant and conduct an election.

Incidentally, Miss Chisolm is back on the job.

* * *

THE LOW - DOWN on the resignation of Bayard Rustin as special assistant to the Rev. Martin Luther King of Atlanta and as director of the New York office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, after a blast by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, New York Democrat, is very hush-hush.

All persons involved deny the statement of Rep. Powell to newsmen that Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, front - running candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, had "dumped" Belford Lawson and "taken on" Senator Humbert Humphrey's man, Frank Reeves, Democratic national committeeman elect for the District of Columbia.

Marjorie Lawson, Belford's mate, left Tuesday (July 5) for Los Angeles. She will have an office in the Kennedy - for - President healquarters and has written colored delegates to the Democratic national convention requesting them to come to see her.

Reeves declined comment. But it is known that he has agreed to help Kennedy.

AN INFORMED source said Reeves is joining the Kennedy forces but will not announce his support of the front-runner until the District of Columbia delegation, elected on the Humphrey slate, announces what they will do. Joe Rauh, a member of the delegation, has announced his support of Kennedy.

A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and president of the newly formed Negro American Labor Council, was puzzled when reporters at the 51st annual convention in St. Paul asked him why George Meany, AFL - CIO president had not sent Boris Shishkin head of the AFL-CIO Committee Against Discrimination, and Theodore Brown, his assistant, to the convention.

He finally suggested that this reporter ask Meany that question. Shishkin and Brown, as well as the Rev. Charles Webber, a religious worker in the AFL-CIO headquarters here, have been attending NAACP conventions.

Meany is mad with either Randolph or the NAACP, most probably the NAACP. An informed source here, however, said Brown had been invited to attend the convention but Shishkin had been overlooked.

Brown flew out to St. Paul for the NAACP dinner sponsored by the Negro American Labor Council, but paid his own expenses.

* * *

MAJOR LEON WESTON, a military instructor at Prairie View A. and M. College, has received orders assigning him to Fort Lee, Va.

Major Merle J. Smith, an ordnance officer, who was, formerly instructor at Howard University, was recently promoted to the grade of lieutenant colonel. He is now stationed at Kaiserlacten, Germany.

Major Walter W. Price, Quartermaster Corps, assigned to Fort Dix, N.J., will be transferred to Frankfort, Germany.

Capt. Lloyd E. Powell, Military Police Corps, a member of the 720th M.P. Battalion at Fort Hood, Texas, will be transferred to Korea in October.

Fast gavel avoided a growing rebellion

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

LOS ANGELES (NNPA) — The motion to suspend the rules and nominate Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas as the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate stopped an incipient rebellion among several delegations, including the District of Columbia.

Rep. John McCormick of Massachusetts, convention floor leader, made the motion after Johnson had been placed in nomination by Gov. David Lawrence of Pennsylvania and seconded by a number of persons with divergent views.

Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida, the permanent chairman of the convention, said the motion required a two-thirds vote, and called for a voice vote.

The chorus of "noes" sounded as loud as the chorus of "ayes," but Collins declared the motion carried.

* * *

THE McCORMACK motion cut off the dissenters from making known their disagreement with Senator John F. Kennedy, the Presidential nominee, over a running mate.

Among the frustrated delegates were those from the District of Columbia. The District delegatioin had decided in a hurriedly called caucus off the convention floor, to place Governor Orville Freeman of Minnesota in nomination.

Some of the District of Columbia delegates were extremely bitter over the selection of Johnson for the second spot on the ticket.

* * *

OPPOSITION TO the Johnson election also was particularly strong in the Michigan delegation where organized labor dominated, but AFL - CIO leaders quietly passed the word to the delegation not to make a floor fight against the Texan.

Governor Freeman told the District delegation that he would withdraw if he were nominated.

Besides the District of Columbia and Michigan delegations, other rebels were in the New York and California delegations.

The rebel delegates felt that Johnson's nomination nullified the ultra liberal platform the convention had adopted and was a sop which they did not wish to give the South.

* * *

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL of New York fought to keep colored delegates in line for Johnson. He had supported Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri for the Presidential nomination but had been speaking in Johnson's behalf during the preconvention campaign.

Powell told the colored delegates huddled around him on the convention floor that Johnson was better than either Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama or Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee.

Sparkman was the running mate of Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and Kefauver was Stevenson's running mate in 1956. Sparkman is one of the southerners who have bitterly opposed civil rights legislation. Kefauver has a spotty record.

Powell pointed out that Johnson did not come from a "defiant" state, meaning that Texas has taken some steps toward complying with the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools.

* * *

HE ALSO TOLD the other colored delegates that under Johnson's leadership, two civil rights bills had been passed — one in 1957 and the other in 1960 — and that these were the first such bills passed in more than 80 years.

Powell also argued to the colored delegates that if Johnson were elected Vice President and if Senator Eugene McCarthy or Senator Hubert Humphrey, both of Minnesota, were elected Senate Democratic leader, it would be possible to get a change in Senate rules to curb the filibuster.

Among the persons with divergent views who seconded Johnson's nomination were, Rep. William L. Dawson of Illinois and Gov. Lindsay Almond of Virginia.

* * *

THEIR DIFFERENCES over civil rights were shown by the civil rights plank. Dawson was a member of the committee which drafted the platform and worked for the civil rights plank. Almond spoke from the rostrum of the convention in support of the motion by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina to strike the plank from the platform.

Dawson told the convention that years ago, in a Democratic caucus, both he and Johnson, who was then a House member, were nominated for secretary of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and that Johnson withdrew and seconded his nomination.

Johnson, waiting in the wings, marched to the rostrum to acknowledge his nomination. He was accompanied by his wife, Lady Bird, and a daughter, Lucy Baines.

"My fellow Americans," he declared, "In all humility and with deepest gratitude I thank you for your action and I congratulate you on your action last night."

Johnson ended with this call to arms:

"Let us all, from all regions, work for a victory for the Democrats in November and for all of the people of the world in January."

HE WAS GIVEN a big ovation both when he came onto the rostrum and at the end of his speech.

A spokesman for Senator Kennedy Thursday night, insisted that Senator Kennedy had invited Senator Johnson to be his running mate.

Pierre Salinger, Kennedy's press secretary, denied a story by publisher John S. Knight of the Knight newspapers that Johnson told Kennedy that he intended to fight for the nomination.

Salinger said the story was "completely and absolutely untrue." He added: "Senator Kennedy asked Senator Johnson to run and Senator Johnson accepted."

A spokesman for Senator Johnson also said there was "absolutely nothing to the story."

MOSQUWE OPPOSED

CHICAGO — Members of Chatham-Avalon Park Community Council have registered opposition to Elijah Muhammed's proposed plan to erect a $20 million combination mosque, hospital, school, library and administration building on a vacant lot in the area.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Crime figures tell only part of truth

The Afro-American news

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON—Southern demagogues delight in picturing colored people, without discrimination, as the worst criminal element in the country. They quote statistics to sustain this view.

Statistics, however, do not tell the whole story. The Uniform Crime Reports, released periodically by the FBI, reflect only arrests by police departments throughout the country.

These police department reports do not have any statistics on convictions, acquittals, or cases dropped by prosecutors without ever going to a judge or jury, or cases ignored by grand juries.

Certainly the number of colored persons arrested without probable cause all over this country exceeds that of white persons.

* * *

ANOTHER RACIAL group held up as a criminal people are Italians.

But crime is not a matter of race. People of all kinds of racial strains fill the jails of this country.

If there is a higher percentage of crime committed by colored people than any other group, there is nothing to indicate the existence of a criminal syndicate among them.

The final report of the Senate Racket Investigating Committee declares that the problem of the criminal syndicate is critical.

The committee reports that its members are firmly convinced that "underworld infiltration of business and labor is a national problem," and that "the grip of hoodlums and racketeers on the American economy continues to grow."

The criminal syndicate is identified as the "Mafia" or "Black hand" society, which Italians have imported to this country and through which they carry on their underworld activities.

* * *

SIGNIFICANTLY, of all the names in the report, the name of not a single colored person appears as a member of the syndicate.

If the findings of the committee are correct, colored hoodlums and racketeers are engaged only in petty larceny. The racketeers who control gambling, prostitution and the traffic in narcotics are all white.

The Federal Narcotics Bureau and other agencies have identified a large segment of the underworld as the Mafia.

"Whether it goes by this or any other name, there is no doubt that there is a highly organized criminal group, related by nationality, marriage and other ties," says the Racket Committee.

* * *

THE OPERATIONS of the underworld were outlined to the committee by a number of expert witnesses who have had experience in the racket field.

They included Martin F. Pera, special agent for the Federal Narcotics Bureau; Capt. James E. Hamilton, head of the Intelligence Division, Los Angeles Police Department; Daniel P. Sullivan, operating director, Miami Crime Commission; and Sherman S. Willse committee staff investigator who served for 20 years as a member of the Narcotics Squad of the New York Police Department.

Pera testified that the Federal Narcotics Bureau has established that the major traffic of narcotics into the United States has gone "through the hoods of that organization that we term to be the Mafia."

* * *

IF THERE is such an organization as the Mafia in this country, it would seem that state or Federal law enforcement officers should be able to reach it on a criminal conspiracy charge.

It also would seem that if known hoodlums and racketeers are engaging in illegal activities, state and Federal law enforcement officers would be able to arrest and secure convictions of them.

In any event, law enforcement officers should forget about the racial identities of criminals and concentrate on the causes and motivation for their crimes.

Perhaps if that were done, something would be done toward curbing the rapid growth of crime in the United States.

Capital Spotlight

The Afro-American

By Louis Lautier

Baltimore, Md.

AMEZ Retirement Cutthroat Game

Sat. 5-21-60

Retirement and recall of bishops in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is a cutthroat game.

Bishops are automatically retired by the General Conference nearest their 74th birthday.

They may request recall to active service, but a majority vote of the Conference is required to recall them.

The requirement that they request recall makes them grovel before the Conference.

Bishop William J. Walls, the senior bishop, was the only one of the five bishops who did not grovel to get back into harness. He rested his recall on the statement that he was ready and willing to do whatever his church wanted him to do.

* * *

THE THING which makes this procedure a cutthroat game is the fact that every minister with a big church, with few exceptions, aspires to be a bishop, and the vote is by secret ballot.

Thus, the delegates—ministers and laymen — may serve their personal ambitions or grudges by voting against recall.

In the balloting on recall at the 36th Quadrennial General Conference, there were five names on the ballots — Bishops Walls, William C. Brown of Brooklyn, Walter W. Slade of Charlotte, N.C., Hampton T. Medford of Washington, D.C., and Daniel C. Pope, also of Washington.

The voters merely scratched out the names of the bishops they did not want recalled.

* * *

A TOTAL of 486 ballots were cast out of a total of 490 eligible voters. Four of the ballots were invalid and thrown out, leaving 482 valid votes and 242 votes necessary for recall.

A rebellion against the bishops, particularly Bishop Walls, had been going on ever since the Conference began. But on the vote for recall he led the five bishops with 374 votes which reflected the high esteem in which he is held.

Bishop Pope ran second with 343 votes. He has been assigned to Africa during the eight years he has been a bishop, and the delegates felt he should have another chance. The others fell by the wayside.

* * *

ONE OF THE personalities of the Conference is Edward M. Graham of Chicago, grand chairman of the Pullman Porters Benefit Association, a fraternal benefit insurance group.

Graham says the association had its origin in the fight of A. Philip Randolph with the Pullman Company back in the 1920's to organize the porters.

Graham also says the association pays out between $300,000 and $500,000 annually in sick and death benefits, and about 8 per cent of the Pullman porters throughout the country are members. Some mechanics also are members. The association has been in existence since 1921.

Perry Parker was its first president. Graham, a native of Selma, Ala., moved to Chicago in 1930 and was elected grand secretary-treasurer. He succeeded Parker in 1936 when the latter died.

* * *

GRAHAM IS one of the pillars of the AME Zion Church. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of Livingstone College, secretary of the Financial Board of the Church in the quadrennium just ended, and one of the founders of Martin Temple AME Zion Church in Chicago, of which the Rev. W. H. Jackson is pastor.

He also is chairman of the trustee board and of the building fund committee of the church, and vice chairman and director of the Conference transportation bureau.

Graham attended school in Selma, Tuskegee Institute, and the YMCA College in Chicago.

His wife, Josephine, was the first colored district director of the Parent-Teacher Association of Illinois. She is active in civic and educational affairs in Chicago.

His daughter, Alice, is director of entrance and a counsellor at Roosevelt University in Chicago.

One son, Joseph, is a free lance news photographer in Chicago. Another, James, is controller of the Pullman Porters Benefit Association, and two other sons, Charles and Perry, are employed by the Chicago Housing Authority.

* * *

ROBERT A. (Archie) BURRELL, a Howard Law School graduate, is an assistant district attorney of Erie County (Buffalo). He handles appellate cases.

Archie's wife is Dr. Anna P. Burrell, professor of education and psychology at the University College for Teachers at Buffalo. She is now in India under the Fulbright teacher exchange program.

The Erie County Republican organization turned Archie around. At one of its meetings it endorsed him for judge of the city court, and then withdrew its endorsement before the meeting ended.

Archie's brother, Lloyd, a graduate of the Howard University Medical School, is practicing medicine in Buffalo.

The Rev. J. Clinton Hoggard, Secretary of Foreign Missions, an Alpha Phi Alpha and one of the better prepared and younger ministers, was a candidate for the bishopric of the AME Zion Church. His home is in Washington.

Buffalo has a colored councilwoman, Mrs. Cora P. Malony. She is a Democrat.

Opposition And Acceptance

Atlanta Daily World

Court Acted 6 Years Ago

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

May 17 was the 6th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools.

That court placed upon Federal District courts the responsibility for determining whether school districts "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance" with the decision and to enter orders for admission of colored children to public schools "on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed."

Southern states have used every device imaginable to keep their schools segregated. In Arkansas the power of the State was even used to block a court order for admission of nine colored children to Central High School in Little Rock.

Special sessions of southern legislatures passed laws to close the schools if a single colored child was admitted to a single white school, to withhold state funds from mixed schools, to provide tuition grants for the private schooling of children whose parents did not want them to attend mixed schools, to permit the transfer of pupils from desegregated to segregated schools, and to provide for separate classes for white and colored pupils within segregated schools.

Eight southern states have adopted pupil - placement laws to assign pupils to schools on such factors as scholastic achievement, aptitude, health, morals, and residence.

As a general rule, these standards are applied only to colored children. Any white child is admitted automatically to a "white" school, but a colored child seeking entry to a white school has to meet the standards.

As part of their effort to block school desegregation, southern states have passed laws to restrict the activities of the NAACP or keep it from carrying on its activities.

Such laws would prohibit the NAACP from operating in the state unless it made public the names and addresses of its members and the source of every contribution.

Another law would require annual registration of every corporation which advocates abolition of racial discrimination or employs lawyers to engage in racial litigation. In order to register, such corporations also would have to disclose the names and addresses of its members and the source of each contribution.

Southern legislatures also defined barratry so as to make criminal the furnishing of counsel and the sharing of expenses by the NAACP in racial litigation.

Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, says only 6 per cent of colored children in the South have been admitted to previously all -white schools. The rate of such admissions has been 1 per cent a year. At that rate, it will take 100 years to desegregate the public schools of the South.

There has been some voluntary compliance, particularly in the District of Columbia and a few cities.

But in most of the states affected by the decision the NAACP has had to bring suits to enjoin school segregation.

The NAACP has had to carry the financial and legal burden of such litigation.

School districts which are still maintaining segregated schools are not likely to desegregate voluntarily, and the NAACP should not be compelled to bring suit on behalf of every colored child in such districts who want a non-segregated education.

For future progress the Federal Government should bring the full weight of its authority upon school districts with segregated schools, particularly in the six states in which the laws either require or permit the closing of public schools which are under orders of a Federal court to accept one or more colored children for enrollment in previously all-white schools.

These six states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

The proposals to bribe these states with Federal grants to desegregate are unacceptable.

The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Federal agencies be authorized and directed to withhold Federal funds in any form from both publicly and privately supported institutions of learning, which refuse, on racial grounds, to admit students otherwise qualified for admission.

But that recommendation would not reach the elementary and high school.

The burden of initiating and prosecuting suits to compel compliance with the Supreme Court decision against segregated public schools should rest with the Attorney General. He should be given the authority to prosecute such suits.

Attorney General William P. Rogers has never said he was opposed to legislation authorizing such suits. He has merely doubted the wisdom of giving the Federal Government authority to start litigation in addition to that to protect voting rights. But he specifically stated that he would not say that the Federal Government does not permanently need more authority.

school (tenth grade).

Schools have got to improve the courses they offer so as to hold the interest of the potential dropout until he gets at least a high school education or its equivalent, and provide vocational counseling even before the eighth grade.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

Mitchell predicts new hiring policy

By LOUIS LAUTIER
U. S. WASHINGTON

In releasing a new manpower study describing the labor force in the next decade, Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell predicted that "startling changes will take place in the American labor force during the next 10 years."

"Employers who do not abandon policies against hiring workers because of their age, or sex, or race, religion or nationality, or because they may be handicapped in some way, may have real trouble in finding enough workers in the decade ahead," he said.

Mr. Mitchell painted a rosy picture. According to the Labor Secretary, 29,000,000 new workers will be needed to meet the expected increase in the labor force and to replace workers who die, retire or will otherwise be unavailable for work.

Between 1960 and 1970, the labor force is expected to expand by about 13.5 million.

* * *

THE COLORED population of the United States represents 11.2 per cent of the total. The percentage of colored workers in the civilian labor force is slightly higher — 12.3 per cent.

Since most of the expansion in the labor force will be the product of population growth, a fair assumption is that expansion of colored workers will keep pace with the expansion of white workers in the labor force.

Even though colored workers have made a great deal of progress in the last few decades in moving up the occupational scale, relatively few of them are in the higher level jobs.

Moreover, colored workers are unemployed much more frequently, and for longer periods, than white workers.

Differences in the kinds of jobs held partly explain the disparity of unemployment, but there is little question that it is much more difficult for colored workers to get jobs commensurate with their education and training.

A larger number of colored workers must get into the higher level occupations.

To do this will require all of the ingenuity of individuals and organizations concerned with equal job opportunities for colored workers.

Young people who will enter the labor field in the next 10 years, or later, must get all of the education and training that is necessary for the field which he intends to enter.

They must be persuaded to remain in school. One - third of the dropouts quit school before completing the eighth grade, nearly two out of three never entered senior high

Capital Spotlight

Baltimore Md

By Louis Lautier

Charges Of Powell Deal Not Supported

Neither financial records of the Republican National Committee nor those of Citizens for Eisenhower show that Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, received $50,000 from either organization for switching his support to President Eisenhower in the 1956 Presidential campaign.

These reports, as required by the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, are on file with the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Drew Pearson, in a syndicated column, charged that before the Powell switch, the Harlem Congressman visited the White House and worked out with members of the White House staff a deal for payment of his outstanding obligations totaling $50,000, including the estimated cost of his own re-election.

* * *

AN INFORMED source also denies that Powell and his aides received any such figure for their expenses in connection with the campaign from either the Republican National Committee or Citizens for Eisenhower.

Normally, the Senate will not investigate the conduct of a member of the House, or vice versa, but Sen. John J. Williams, Delaware Republican, hung his resolution for a Senate investigation of this and other charges Pearson made against Powell on the fact that involved in the charges are the election of the President and Vice President.

So far, approval of the Williams resolution has been blocked, but if an investigation is held neither political party will benefit from it. Pearson charged also that Powell got $100,000 from Tammany Hall in 1958 for supporting Gov. Averell Harriman against Nelson Rockefeller — $50,000 cash and $100 a week for the next 10 years.

FAMOUS filibusters in the Senate date back to 1841 when a bill relating to the Bank of the United States was filibustered for several weeks and caused Henry Clay to introduce a cloture (debate limitation) resolution because of abuse of the privilege of unlimited debate.

In modern times, in 1917, the Armed Ship Bill of President Woodrow Wilson was successfully filibustered. The filibuster actually began Feb. 28, when a deliberate campaign to delay all proceedings actually began. The filibusterers forced 33 roll-call votes.

On March 1 they forced a long reading of the Journal. The next day the Armed Ship Bill came to the floor, and discussion of it had hardly begun when the Senate was compelled to adjourn sine die on Mar. 4.

President Wilson convened the new Congress on March, proclaiming an "extraordinary occasion." The first major item facing the new Congress was the cloture rule.

* * *

INDIGNANT at the failure of the Senate to act on his legislative program, Wilson issued a heated statement:

"The Senate of the United States is the only legislative body in in the world which cannot act when its majority is ready for action. A little group of willful men, representing no opinion but their own, have rendered the great Government of the United States helpless and contemptible."

On March 8, the cloture rule, proposed by Senator Thomas S. Martin of Virginia, passed by a vote of 76 to 3.

The first civil rights bill to be filibustered was the Dyer antilynching bill in 1922. A group of Southern Senators conducted the filibuster on the reading of the Journal and a vote was never reached on the motion that the Senate consider the bill.

* * *

IN 1938, a 29-day "feather-duster" filibuster was staged in January and February. It defeated passage of an antilynching bill, although an overwhelming majority of the Senate favored the bill.

In 1942, 1944, 1946 and 1948, four organized filibusters upon the perennial question of federal anti-poll tax legislation were successful in these years.

An attempt to pass fair employment practice legislation in 1946 was also killed by a filibuster.

On July 28, 1948, Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, Senate President pro tem, in sustaining a point of order against a petition to shut off debate on a motion to consider the anti-poll tax bill, ruled:

"... in the final analysis, the Senate has no effective cloture rule at all ... a small but determined minority can always prevent cloture, under the existing rules ... a very few Senators have it in their power to prevent Senate action on anything ... the existing Senate rules regarding cloture do not provide conclusive cloture. They will leave the Senate, rightly or wrongly, at the mercy of unlimited debate and infinitum."

* * *

IN 1949, the so-called Hayden-Wherry rule was adopted. It applied cloture to a motion to take up as well as to the pending business, but required a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate membership, or 64 Senators.

On May 5, 1950, Sen. Scott Lucas of Illinois moved that the Senate take up the FEPC bill. On May 19 a motion to limit debate on the motion to take up FEPC bill was defeated, 52 to 32. Under the 1949 rule, 64 votes were required to close debate.

IN NATION'S CAPITAL:

The Afro American

Baltimore, Md.

Jimcrow in housing linked to schools

Sat. 11/26/60

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Housing and school construction are integral parts of the problem of school desegregation.

31a news

As long as colored families are concentrated in certain sections of the cities, and as long as school boards place new school buildings in proximity to the school population, school segregation will continue.

School segregation in the North results almost entirely from residential segregation.

Studies depict the high degree of residential segregation which exists in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Birmingham and New Orleans. Some residential areas are virtually 95 or 100 per cent colored.

* * *

THERE IS more racial concentration in Northern cities and more dispersion of colored families in Southern cities. Increasingly, however, Southern cities, as they develop and grow, are following the established Northern pattern of a concentration of colored residents in city areas, ringed by outlying white areas.

The housing problems of colored people are not due entirely to racial prejudice. One factor is the opposition of politicians to their dispersion. The politicans want colored voters to remain in their precincts, wards and districts.

Congress is now considering two bills which will have an impact on housing, school construction, and school desegregation. One is housing legislation on which the Senate Banking and Currency Committee is holding hearings. The other is the school construction bill, on which the House will vote probably Thursday.

The House last April 28, by a vote of 214 to 163, passed the emergency home ownership bill, which, its proponents said, will relieve a shortage of home mortgage credit and halt a slump in residential construction.

* * *

GENERALLY, DEMOCRATS were for the bill and Republicans opposed.

Representative Alvin M. Bentley, Michigan Republican, offered an amendment to ban race or religious discrimination in the purchase, rental or occupancy of housing.

He had previously introduced a bill which provided that the Federal Government shall not extend any financial or other assistance for housing with respect to which there is or may be race or religious discrimination.

Several State Advisory Committees to the Civil Rights Commission had recommended that the extension of all Federal housing aids be on condition of a guarantee that the housing be available to all qualified persons under the same terms and conditions without regard to race and religion.

* * *

ON A TELLER vote on Mr. Bentley's amendment, three colored members of Congress— Dawson of Illinois, Charles C. Diggs of Michigan, and Robert N.C. Nix of Pennsylvania— voted against it. Representative Adam C. Powell of New York remained in his office and did not vote on the amendment.

Before passage on a roll - call vote of 235 to 139, the House rejected a motion to recommit the bill to the House Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to include the Bentley amendment. Dawson, Powell, Diggs and Nix voted against recommital.

There is a difference in philosophy on these anti - discrimination amendments, of which Mr. Powell has been the chief proponent in the House.

One school of thought, represented by Mr. Dawson, believes that it is better to get housing and schools built than to have anti - discrimination amendments adopted and the legislation subsequently killed by a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats.

The other school of thought, represented by the Administration and the NAACP, believes that race and religious discrimination should be prohibited wherever Federal monies are involved.

Mr. Powell plans to offer an anti - discrimination amendment to the school construction bill. The NAACP will seek to get an anti - discrimination amendment written in the housing legislation.

With so little progress being made in school desegregation, it would be well if the two schools of thought on anti-discrimination amendments would get together and agree upon a common approach rather than to have such amendments offered only to be voted down with the aid of "liberals" who give lip service to the goal of first - class citizenship for colored people.

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

By LOUIS LAUTIER For NNPA

Desegregation Problems

HOUSING AND SCHOOL construction are integral parts of the problem of school desegregation.

As long as colored families are concentrated in certain sections of the cities, and as long as school boards place new school building in proximity to the school population, school segregation will continue.

School segregation in the North results almost entirely from residential segregation.

Studies depict the high degree of residential segregation which exists in New York, Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Birmingham and New Orleans. Some residential areas are virtually 95 or 10 per cent colored.

There is more racial concentration in northern cities and more dispersion of colored families in southern cities. Increasingly, however, southern cities, as they develop and grow, are following the established northern pattern of concentration of colored residents in city areas, ringed by outlying white areas.

Chicago is the most residentally segregated city in the United States.

SIMILAR PATTERNS

Although there is an established city and state policy to promote integration, the New York City housing pattern is similar to that of Chicago. Although there are at least as many New Yorkers living in integrated areas as there are people in Norfolk, Va., there are three times that many colored people in New York living in segregated areas.

Approximately 80 per cent of the city's nearly 1,000,000 colored people are said to be concentrated in four or five areas.

Even colored people in the middle-income and higher brackets find it difficult to buy or rent suitable housing in suburban communities. Jackie Robinson, with a high income and the respect of the country, could not find a satisfactory suburban home in New York State and had difficulty getting one in Connecticut.

The housing problems of colred people are not due entirely to racial prejudice. One factor is the opposition of politicians to their dispersion. The politicians want colored voters to remain in their precincts, wards and districts.

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Generally, Democrats were for the bill and Republicans opposed.

AMENDMENT OFFERED

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He had previously introduced a bill which provide dthat the Federal Government shall not extend any financial or other assistance for housing with respect to which there is or may be race or religious discrimination.

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Powell amendment target of seggies

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Southern Senators are seeking some method by which the Powell anti-segregation amendment can be quietly put to death in the conference room and the House-approved $1,200,000,000 school construction bill, sent to the White House.

Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, chairman of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, has already issued a ukase that there will be no Powell anti-segregation amendment in Federal aid to school construction legislation.

In the past, Hill has pocketed school aid bills which were threatened with anti-segregation riders rather than take the risk of having such an amendment tacked onto a bill which came out of his committee. Yet he is an ardent supporter of Federal aid to education. He also is a dyed-in-the-wool segregationists.

* * *

IF THE House-passed bill is sent to conference, it is likely that the conferees will kill the Powell amendment.

House conferees would probably include Rep. Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, committee chairman; Cleveland M. Bailey of West Virginia and Frank Thompson of New Jersey, Democrats, who opposed the Powell amendment. Senator conferees would probably include Senators Hill and Barry Goldwater of Arizona, ranking Republican member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare.

Even if the bill goes to conference and the Powell amendment is killed, it is not sure that the measure will ach the White House. would have to go to the ful House Rules Committee, of which Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia is chairman. That committee was deadlocked. 6-6. until Rep. Carroll Reece, Tennessee Republican, joined with six Democrats to vote to send the bill to the House floor.

* * *

TIME IS beginning to run short. The Congress must adjourn not later than July 10 if its members are to attend the Democratic national convention in Los Angeles, beginning July 11. In that situation, any delay may be fatal.

The Powell amendment sailed through the House on three different votes after very little debate.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, New York Democrat, offered it after a segregation amendment, offered by Rep. Phil M. Landrum, Georgia Democrat, had been rejected.

The Powell amendment was approved first by a standing vote of 126 to 108, then by a teller vote of 151 to 103, and finally by a roll-call vote of 218 to 181.

On all three votes, the other three colored members—Representatives William L. Dawson of Illinois, Charles C. Diggs of Michigan, and Robert N. C. Nix — voted for the Powell amendment.

Their votes probably influenced other northern Democrats, who might have voted against the Powell amendment on the standing and teller voters — to ote for it each time.

* * *

EARLIER IN the session, Mr. Powell himself and Mr. Dawson, Mr. Diggs, and Mr. Nix had voted against an anti-discrimination amendment to a housing bill, as they had done a vear ago.

But Mr. Powell met his previous votes against anti-discrimination amendment to housing bills by telling the House that there was a difference. In the housing bill fight, he asserted, it had been announced that the anti-discrimination amendment was being introduced to kill the bill.

"I am using this amendment not to kill the bill but because if this amendment is not in it I cannot vote for Federal aid to education," he said, "because it would be considered a vote against civil rights."

He added that when the anti-discrimination amendment was offered to the housing bill, there was no law covering racial segregation in federally-aided housing, but that the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools was the law of the land.

POWELL DENIED that his amendment would kill the bill. He said those who were opposed to Federal aid would be the only ones to vote against,the bill because of his amendment.

"If they are in the majority they are going to defeat the bill anyway," he said.

Mr. Thompson opposed the Powell amendment. He said a letter from the NAACP "concedes that the jurisdiction is in the courts and that the courts are capable of handling the situation.

The Powell amendment provides that school faciliities constructed with Federal assistance shall be available to students without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, in accordance with the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The Landrum amendment, which Powell opposed, would have given the states the power to spend money allocated to them in accordance with state laws and policies requiring racial segregation public schools.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

South Is Winning War Centennial

The South may have lost the Civil War, but it is sure going to win the centennial.

The celebration is being planned by the federal Civil War Centennial Commission, of which Ulysses S. Grant III, grandson of the great Civil War general, is chairman. Vice President Richard M. Nixon is honorary vice chairman.

Virginia has voted $1,750,000 to celebrate the defeat of the Confederacy and the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court House, Va., April 9, 1865.

Mississippi is kicking in $500,000 for the re-enactment of such spectaculars as the siege of Vicksburg, during which General Grant took Fort Gibson and Major Gen. William T. Sherman took Jackson, holding back Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate general.

DEFEATED AT Champion's Hill and Black River Bridge, Confederate Lieut. Gen. John C. Pemberton was shut up in Vicksburg. He surrendered July 4, 1862.

Arkansas is sweetening the kitty with $500,000 to restore the Pea Ridge battleground where Union troops commanded by Gen. Samuel R. Curtis defeated Confederate Gens. Van Dorn and Price Mar. 6-8, 1862.

Nowhere in the program, however, is there to be reenactment of the massacre of colored troops when Confederate Gen. Nathan B. Forrest captured Fort Pillow, Tenn., April 12, 1864.

A letter put out by the Centennial Commission recently announced:

Arkansas, with Governor Faubus personally interested and taking an active part, is working at full speed on its centennial plans. The big interest of the moment is the possibility of a Pea Ridge reenactment and possibly a small restaging of the capture of Little Rock.

"THIS STATE plans to send a detachment of its National Guard to participate in the program at Manassas."

This item led Dan Wakefield, a distant descendant of Robert E. Lee, writing in The Nation, to comment:

"No doubt the Arkansas National Guard will be in good shape for the battle of Manassas, having served with distinction in the battle of Central High. And surely the U.S. paratroopers are well trained to participate in a "small restaging of the capture of Little Rock."

Where will colored people be while the centennial of the Civil War, in which they had so much at stake, is being celebrated?

Karl S. Betts, executive director of the commission, says they have been invited to take part just as Jews, Irish and Hungarians.

MINORITY GROUPS will have "their own" celebration. Mr. Betts said he called in some representatives of a colored history society and suggested to them that "they get the full story and present it to their own people."

When asked if either the centennial commission of any colored groups were planning special observances for Emancipation Day, Mr. Bettes replied:

"We're not emphasizing Emancipation. You see, there's a bigger theme — the beginning of a new America."

He added that there was an entire colored regiment about to be formed to serve in the Confederate Army just before the Civil War ended. The story of the "devotion and loyalty" of colored Southerners, he went on, "is one of the outstanding things of the Civil War."

A lot of colored people "loved life as it was in the old South," he said. "There's a wonderful story there — a story of great devotion that is inspiring to all people, white, black or yellow."

TRUE OR FALSE: Jet magazine said: "A coming $16,500-a-year committee director — Maxienne Fleming, Adam Powell's top aide. The solon promised her the high-level spot when he takes over the Labor and Education Committee."

Powell, in remarks made at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which he is pastor, Sunday, Feb. 7, said:

"I have so stated it in person to Congressman Elliott of Alabama and Congressman Landrum of Georgia that all the members of the present committee's staff, which is totally white, would be kept and evaluated strictly on their cooperation and ability."

The Ambassador of Ghana is giving a reception at the Ghana Embassy on the evening of March 7 in celebration of the third anniversary of his country's independence.

SOME HIGH AME churchmen are talking about electing no bishops at the AME General Conference in Los Angeles in May; others are talking about electing two. There is also talk of restoring Bishop David Sims to all the rights, privileges and perquisities of a full bishop.

Smart money in the District of Columbia is being put on Senator Wayne Morse to defeat Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota in the District of Columbia Presidential preference primary. Woolsey Hall, retired Treasury Department employee, a former member of the Board of Education, and a member of the District of Columbia Democratic Central Committee, is one of Morse's backers.

Artillery Capt. Samuel F. Sampson of Houston, Tex., now on duty at Fort Bliss, Tex., has been promoted to major.

Marine Corps Capt. Kenneth Berthoud, the senior colored officer in the corps, on duty at the Marine Supply Depot in Philadelphia, spent two weeks in Washington on a tour of duty attending Marine Corps conferences.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Senator Johnson has a hip-pocket bill

Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senator Democratic leader, has the liberal bloc lassoed—and they're maddening by the day.

Sen. Johnson has been getting from Senators reaction to a compromise bill of his own which he is carrying in his hind pocket, and, at the psychological time, he will dump it into the hopper as a substitute for the seven-point Administration program, which Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, Senate Republican leader, is sponsoring.

The heart of the four - point Johnson substitute is said to contain a voting-rights proposal much weaker than the plan of Attorney General William P. Rogers.

The Rogers plan, which is a part of the Dirksen package, would authorize federal courts to appoint referees to register qualified colored citizens to vote in areas where they are refused registration, and to see that they vote and their votes are counted.

* * *

THE JOHNSON substitute, which is being discussed in Senate cloakrooms, would require a person refused registration first to exhaust his state remedies before a court-appointed referee could register him.

Another version would give state registration officials 15, 20, or 30 days to act after a complaint had been filed before the referee could move.

The Johnson substitute would make interstate transportation of explosives for bombing and interstate conspiracies to intimidate people with bombs Federal offenses.

The fourth point would establish by statute a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity under Government Contracts.

Senator Johnson must sell his package to the Southerners. All he needs from them is a commitment to permit it to come to a vote after they have made speeches against it for consumption.

Prediction: All of the Southerners will do this, excepting the two Tennessee Senators—Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore — and Johnson's Texas colleague — Ralph Yarborough —will vote for the Johnson package.

* * *

ON THE ROLL-CALL, Dirksen will lose probably 10 of his 35 Republicans — Senators Francis Case, South Dakota; Styles Bridges and Norris Cotton, New Hampshire; Homer E. Capehart, Indiana; Margaret Chase Smith, Maine; John J. Williams, Delaware; Milton R. Young, North Dakota; John Marshall Butler, Maryland; Carl T. Curtis, Nebraska, and Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota. They will vote for the Johnson package.

Johnson will lose at least 10 of his 65 Democrats — Senators John A. Carroll, Colorado; Joseph S. Clark, Pennsylvania; Paul Douglas, Illinois; Thomas C. Hennings, Missouri; Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota; Pat McNamara, Michigan; Wayne Morse, Oregon; Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon; Stuart Symington, Missouri, and Phil Hart, Michigan. They will vote against the Johnson package.

The 18 Southern Democrats led by Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, will vote against final passage of the Johnson package.

As a part of the cloakroom deal will rule out as not germane to the four - point House bill proposals for Federal grants to assist school districts to desegregate their schools and for the creation of a Commission on Equal Job Opportunity, but will add some version of the Rogers voting referee proposal.

* * *

WHEN THE four - point bill comes up for debate in the House, beginning March 10, Rep. John V. Lindsay, New York Republican, will offer the Administration's seven - point program as a substitute for the four-point measure.

The House presiding officer will sustain points of order against the school - grants and the "little FEPC" provisions.

The rule, which the House Rules Committee granted for floor consideration of the four-point bill, makes the McCulloch Bill in order as an amendment providing for the appointing of voting referees.

The House will adopt the McCulloch amendment. Differences between the House bill and the Johnson package will be ironed out by conferees of the House and Senate.

This strategy is intended to regain for Johnson the ground he has lost in the South in his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination by the civil rights fight and to increase his stature in the North and with liberal groups.

* * *

THE SENATE filibustering record is held by Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who was the Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948. On Aug. 29, 1957, Thurmond held the floor for 24 hours and 18 minutes against civil rights.

Next to Thurmond is Sen. Wayne Morse, Oregon Democrat, who spoke against the tidelands bill for 22 hours and 26 minutes in 1953. The bill gave to the states offshore oil deposits.

In the round-the-clock sessions which began Feb. 29 here is how some of the filibusterers have killed time:

Feb. 29 — Senator A. Willis Robertson, Va. four hours and 39 minutes; Spessard L. Holland, Fla. three hours and 20 minutes; B. Everett Jordan, N.C., 1 hour 55 minutes; John L. McClellan, Ark., 3 hours 5 minutes.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Forrester Amazes Even The Dixiecrats

Rep. Elijah L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia Democrat, was speaking against the voting rights bill the other day. He was charging the Civil Rights Commission with promoting intermarriage and mongrelization (mixed breeding), and threatening for a divorce from Northern Democrats on the ground of political adultery.

The five minutes he had under House rules expired. Rep. James C. Davis of Stone Mountain, Ga., an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, asked unanimous consent that Forrester be allowed to talk for an additional five minutes.

Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Michigan Democrat, objected.

* * *

REP. JAMES J. FLYNT of Griffin, Ga., moved to strike out the last word — a technical motion used in the House to gain the floor for five minutes when a bill is being read for amendment under what is called the five - minute rule.

Flynt gave his time to Forrester. In the course of his remarks, Forrester said:

"They got after me one day about the way I pronounce that

word (Negro). I never had any trouble with a n— in my life, but, oh, my God, that 'Negro.' I have had plenty with him."

The next day even the Dixiecrats were amazed that Forrester let the epithet remain in the Congressional Record.

In the days of the late Rep. Vito Marcantonio, if John Rankin of Mississippi used a racial or religious slur, Marcantonio figuratively would have raised the roof of the House chamber in protest.

* * *

FORRESTER NEVER went farther than the eighth grade in the public schools of Ellaville, Ga., which was about the equivalent of fourth grade in a first-class school. He read law at home, was a private in the Army during World War I, and served successively as solicitor of the Leesburg (Ga.) city court, mayor of Leesburg, county attorney for Lee County and solicitor general of the southwestern judicial district of Georgia.

His greatest claim to fame was prosecution of Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons, Wallace and Samuel Lee. They killed John F. Stratford, their white neighbor, on Nov. 4, 1947, when Stratford attacked Mrs. Ingram.

Forrester got a murder conviction of all three, and they were sentenced to death. The NAACP entered the case and took it all the way to the Supreme Court, which refused a review. But the death sentences were commuted to life imprisonment. Mrs. Ingram was recently released from a Georgia prison.

Forrester was elected to Congress in 1950 and re-elected every two years since.

* * *

THE 24 COUNTIES in his district have a population of 383,148. He was elected in 1954 with 34,073, in the Presidential election year of 1956 with 151,703, and in 1948 with 16,703. These were the total votes cast in his one-party district. Republicans put up no candidates.

Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago comes from a district with a population of 323,354. In 1954, Dawson received 71,472 votes and his Republican opponent, 23,470. In 1956, Dawson got 86,704 votes and his Republican opponent, 36,847. In 1958, Dawson received 60,083 votes and his Republican opponent, 23,384.

Sen. Morse tells his racial policy

The Afro-American 2-14 Nat'l ed
Baltimore Md
By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA)—Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon told the Senate Tuesday that it will be "a sad day for America" when a colored person, a Catholic, a Jew or a member of any other minority group is elected to public office because of color or religion.

Senator Morse, one of the candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination, took the Senate floor to make clear his views on a telegram he received from a group of colored persons urging him to support a colored man for Democratic National Committeeman from the District of Columbia.

A similar request made of Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota resulted in the District of Columbia Committee for Humphrey announcing Tuesday its support of Frank D. Reeves, an attorney, for national committeeman.

"I think it will be a sad day in this country when any group takes the position that some member should be elected to office because he is a member of that group," Morse said.

Morse said he was aware of the motives of the persons who sent him the telegram. They are supporting Senator Humphrey for the Democratic Presidential nomination. Morse and Humphrey are pitted against each other for the delegates from the District of Columbia to the Democratic national convention.

The telegram to Senator Morse, which he made public, read:

"The undersigned interested citizens of the District of Columbia, being cognizant of the lack of adequate representation of the colored people on the Democratic National Committee, strongly urge you in your capacity of candidate for the Presidency of the United States to insist that your supporters nominate and elect a qualified Negro as Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia.

will not only further demanstrate the excellence of your will greatly assist all of us in full democracy to the people of the District of Columbia but it will greatly assist all of us in our own effort to create a more realistic and equitable representation of all segments of the population of this Nation's Capital.

Capital Spotlight

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md
By Louis Lautier

Diggs Misses Chance to Name-caller

Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Michigan Democrat, missed a bet on the House floor during the civil rights debate to challenge the use of a racial epithet by another member.

It happened after Diggs objected to a unanimous consent request that Representative Elijah L. (Tic) Forrester, Georgia Democrat, be allowed to speak for an additional five minutes.

Rep. James C. Davis, Georgia Democrat, offered an amendment which entitled him to speak for five minutes. He then gave his time to Forrester.

Apparently enraged by Diggs' objection, Forrester said he had never had any trouble with a "'n—' but oh my God, with the Negro."

* * *

ALTHOUGH FORRESTER did not refer to the "gentleman from Michigan," he intended the insult for Diggs.

It appears that there are two House rules under which Diggs could have immediately obtained the floor and challenged Forrester for using the insult on the House floor.

He could have obtained the floor on a question of personal privilege on the ground that Forrester had verbally assaulted him, or he could have called Forrester to order, compel him to take his seat immediately.

If appealed to, the House would have decided whether Forrester had violated the rules and, if he had, he would have been shut up for the day, unless permitted on motion of another member to proceed, or he could have been censured.

But Diggs sat silently and allowed the insult to go without protest.

* * *

EX-REPRESENTATIVE John E. Rankin, Mississippi demagog, was one of the few members of Congress who liked to hurl racial or religious insults.

On June 11, 1945, Rankin made a speech on the House floor in which he called Justice Felix Frankfurter a Communist and said that while in Mississippi the population was about equally divided between colored people and whites, at least 90 per cent of the casualties in World War II from Mississippi were gentile whites.

The next day Sen. Clifford P. Case, New Jersey Republican, then a Representative, expressed his disagreement with Rankin's remarks.

He said he was convinced that Justice Frankfurter is not only not a Communist but that he has no sympathy with the Communist philosophy or their political, social or economic beliefs or methods and that the American system "will come to no evil at his hands."

Turning to Rankin's racial slur, Senator Case said:

"...no group in this country has a monopoly on patriotism. Men of all races, colors and creeds, whether native — or foreign - borns, have equally sacrificed their lives or given the best years of their youth in this war."

* * *

IF CASUALTIES among colored servicemen were not in proportion to their number in the population, Senator Case added, it was due to two reasons:

1. Because of poverty and lack of equal educational and economic opportunity for generations, the percentage of colored draft rejections on mental and medical grounds was far above the average for other groups.

2. To some extent they may have been given noncombatant service of one kind or another more often than most other groups.

Then Senator Case closed with this peroration.

"I did not rise in defense of Justice Frankfurter or of the courage and patriotism of minority groups in this country. They need no defense by me.

"I rose because I could not by remaining silent permit any inference that I acquiesced in the sentiments to which I have taken exception.

"And, more important by far, because of my deep conviction that whenever we of the majority in this country permit such sentiments to go unchallenged, not only are we guilty of a wrong to the minority groups concerned but we risk the greater danger of brutalizing ourselves."

* * *

AN INFORMED source reports that the white community in Montgomery, Ala., would like the cradle of the Confederacy to be declared off limits for colored airmen stationed at Maxwell Air Force Base, but the Air Force has never issued any order to that effect.

During the civil rights debate in the Senate Wednesday, Sen. Spessard L. Holland, Florida Democrat, told Sen. Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican, that he was a "lit bit intrigued" by Javits statement that the Senate was almost in sight of passing the seven-point Administration bill before the House-approved civil rights bill reached the Senate.

He said Javits had offered more amendments to the bill than any other Senator which showed he thought very little of it.

Whereupon Javits reached down besides his desk and brought up from the floor and a neatly tied package containing laws passed by the Dixie states to maintain racial segregation.

Noting that Southerners had said amendments to the Administration bill weighed five pounds, Javits said "we weighed all the statutes passed in the South to thwart and to destroy fundamental civil rights of American citizens, and we find they weigh 10 pounds and 12 ounces."

CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

By LOUIS LAUTIER

(For the NNPA News Service)

Ring Out The False; Ring In The True

OLDTIME ELKS are wishing for the New Year a return to the lush days in Elkdom when the late J. Finley Wilson was grand exalted ruler and the assets included $181,396 cash in bank, $100,000 in Government bonds, and an apartment building in New York valued at $137,000, and the John Brown Farm near Harpers Ferry (W. Va.) was carried on the books at its purchase price of $30,000.

Daisy Bates as president of the Arkansas Conference of NAACP Branches showed courage far beyond the call of duty, and her life was in jeopardy from the moment that Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas in the late summer of 1957 inflamed Arkansas hillbillies against desegregating Little Rock schools.

She chaperoned the nine colored children who attended desegregated Central High School in Little Rock during the 1957-58 school year under the protection of battle-hardened United States paratroopers.

She carried on her NAACP activities while she and her husband, L. C. Bates, fought to save their newspaper, The Arkansas Press.

The paper has since folded as a result of loss of advertising and circulation revenue, due to an organized campaign.

AID OFFERED

After the Arkansas Press began to run into difficulties, the National Newspaper Publishers Association offered to aid the pair. These offers were never accepted, but individual contributions were.

Because of Mrs. Bates' leadership role in the school desegregation fight in Little Rock, since 1957 the NAACP has made substantial assistance available to the paper.

This was done because of the personal sacrifices the Bateses had made, because of the NAACP's desire to sustain a militant pro-NAACP voice in the community, and because the NAACP recognized that the continued presence of Mrs. Bates in Little Rock was essential to the success of the school desegregation fight there.

The NAACP Board of Directors still regards the situation as one warranting its continuing interest on the same level as in the past.

The NAACP has not disclosed this assistance because it considered it the kind of an arrangement that should be made public only by Mr. and Mrs. Bates.

On this there is a difference of opinion. The laborer is worthy of her hire. But, since the stipend which Mrs. Bates receives comes from the public — NAACP memberships, fund - raising campaigns and contributions — there are some members who believe there should be a full accounting.

In any event, before a full-scale campaign is launched for "Dollars-for-Daisy," the sponsors should check with the NAACP or ask Mrs. Bates for a full disclosure of the ararngement which she has with the association.

DELIGHTFUL COMPANION

The late Emmett J. Scott, Jr., son of the late Dr. Emmett J. Scott, who had a distinguished career as secretary to Booker T. Washington and secretary - treasurer of Howard University, was a delightful companion.

After graduation from the Mass. Institute of Technology, Emmett spent most of his life in New York City. He maintained bachelor apartments there. In the Joe Louis' reign, whenever there was a fight in New York, I would go by and see Emmett. Whenever he visited his father here, he would come by and visit me.

Emmett liked to sit around and talk, sipping something like a claret cooler or champagne, until the wee morning hours, and he was a late riser.

His Government career as an engineeing consultant on United States financed projects in Amman, Jordan, ended abruptly.

Emmett was a charming person. European women in the Jordanian capital were attracted to him. The evenings were long and there wasn't much for an unmarried American to do. So, Emmett would take European ladies dancing.

The Amerirans couldn't take it. When Emmett was asked to stop socializing with European women, he refused. Shortly afterwards he was recalled to the States and his services terminated.

ONE REGRET OF THE NEW YEAR: The retirement of Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson in June after 33 years as president of Howard University.

William O. Walker, president of the NNPA and publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post, will be a member of the official delegation the United States is sending to the inauguration of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia on Jan. 4.

Tubman was first elected President of Libeira for an eight year term on May 4, 1943, and reelected for four-year terms in May, 1951, and on May 3, 1955.

Roy Garvin, a Washington lawyer will be one of those attending the inauguration and will later visit Ethiopia and stop in Europe on his return home.

The Steve Davises and their daughter spent the holidays in the Virgin Islands. He's lieutenant colonel on the Army General Staff and she's staff director of the House Government Operations Committee, of which Representative William L. Dawson, of Illinois, is the chairman.

Incidentally, Norma Williams, congressional secretary to Mr. Dawson, underwent an operation while Congress was adjourned. She's back on the job.

The Ernest Johnsons gave a cocktail party so that their friends could see their new home. Architecturally, it's a showplace. Mr. Johnson is recreational director in Arlington County, Va., and Mrs. Johnson is a schoolmarm.

FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS

George Meany, AFL-CIO president, boasts of two things in his relationship with A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car, Porters:

1. That he has seen to it that the AFL-CIO does not hold its meetings in cities where Randolph and Milton Webster, a Sleeping Car Brotherhood officers, have to go to private homes.

2. That he put Randolph on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and sends him to meetings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, whose headquarters are in Brussels.

Of six policemen selected for the Canine Corps of the District of Columbia Police Department, one is colored. He is Pvt. Roy Ross of No. 4 Precinct, a native of Murfreesobor ,Ark. He attended Lincoln Junior College in Kansas City, Mo., and is presently taking a course in police science at American University here.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITOL

By LOUIS LAUTIER

Action On Registrars

SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., of Missouri, is to be commended for the speed with which he scheduled hearings before the Senate Rules Committe, of which he is chairman, on the proposal of the Civil Rights Commission to permit temporary appointment of Federal registrars to insure voting rights of colored citizens.

By holding hearings this month and having the hearings printed before the Senate begins debate on civil rights legislation on February 15, Senator Hennings will forestall any objections southern Senators may make that the question should first be studied before they are called upon to debate and vote on an amendment embodying the proposal.

Such objections have been used repeatedly in filibustering civil rights bill. Although extensive hearings may have been held on civil rights legislation the year before, and printed hearings are available, the appointment of a single new Senator to the Judiciary Committee has been sufficient grounds for ordering new hearings.

Senator Hennings also acted wisely in scheduling Robert G. Storey, vice chairman of the Commission, as his first witness. Mr. Storey is a distinguished Texan. He is dean of the Southern University School of Law and is a former president of the American Bar Association.

Significantly, five members of the Commission approved of the recommendation for Federal registrars. Those five included Dean Storey, the chief architect of the proposal, and ex-Gov. E Carlton of Florida. Only ex-Gov. John S. Battle of Virginia, who has since resigned from the Commission, dissented, and even he concurred in the proposition that "all properly qualified American citizens should have the right to vote."

STATES RIGHTS CLAIMS

In his dissent, Gov. Battle trotted out the old cliche of states' rights. Apparently, he believes that the states should have the right to grant or withhold the right to vote, as they pleased, on the basis of race, color or religion.

The founding Fathers never contemplated any such thing. At the time the Constitution was adopted slavery existed, and only three-fifth of the slaves were counted for the purpose of apportionment of taxes and representation.

But slavery was abolished by the 13th Amendment. The 14th Amendment provided that no state shall deny any person the equal protection of the laws. It settled the question of citizenship and provided for the reduction of representation in Congress of the states which denied any of its citizens the right to vote, except for participation in rebellion or conviction of crime.

Under the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, the Conferedate states were readmitted to representation in Congress and military supervision over them withdrawn after they had (1) framed a new constitution in conformity with the Federal Constitution, (2) adopted universal male suffrage, and (3) ratified the 14th Amendment.

By June, 1868, seven states — Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina — had met all of these condition.

NO CHANGE ALLOWABLE

The bill admitting Virginia to representation in the Congress recited that the constitution of that state "shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the right to vote or hold office in said State who are entitled to vote or hold office by said constitution, except as a punishment for such crimes as are now felonious at common law, whereof they shall have been duly convicted under laws equally applicable to all the inhabitants of said state . . ."

The 15th Amendment provided that the right to vote "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The findings of the Commission are ample to support its proposal. The Commission found that "substantial numbers of citizens qualified to vote under State registration and election laws are being denied the right to register, and thus the right to vote, by reason of their race or color."

It also found:

1. That the existing remedies under the 1957 Civil Rights Act are insufficient to secure and protect the right to vote of such citizens.

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Law Passed To Evade Desegregation Of Schools

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. —(NNPA)— The Supreme Court Monday agreed to review the judgment of the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis upholding an Arkansas law requiring school teachers to disclose the organizations to which they have belonged and paid dues in the preceding five years.

The law in question was one of two passed at the 1958 special session of the Arkansas General Assembly, called by Gov Orval E. Faubus in an effort to circumvent the decision of the United States Court of Appeals ordering desegregation of Little Rock public schools.

It provided that no person shall be employed as a teacher in Arkansas public schools, colleges or universities until he shall submit an affidavit to school officials listing the organizations to which he has belonged and paid dues in the five preceding years.

It also provided that any contract entered into with any person who has not filed such an affidavit is void.

Another law made it unlawful for any member of the NAACP to be employed by the State of Arkansas, any county or city, or any school district. The prohibition against such employment continued so long as membership in the NAACP existed.

The preamble to the act declared that the NAACP has been guilty of creating racial strife and turmoil in Arkansas, threatened progress in race relations, has striven to stir up dissatisfaction and unrest among colored people, and that membership in it is incompatible with the "peace, tranquility and progress that all citizens have a right to enjoy."

The preamble also stated that the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council, an arm of the Arkansas legislature which functions between sessions, has found that the NAACP "is a captive of the international communist conspiracy."

The NAACP attacked both laws. A three-judge Federal court held unconstitutional the act making unlawful the employment of NAACP members but upheld the act requiring teachers to disclose their affiliations. The NAACP petitioned the Supreme Court for a review of that part of the ruling upholding the requirements that teachers disclose the organizations to which they belong.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

What George Weaver Told Mr. Krushchev

Nikita S. Krushchev, Premier of Soviet Russia, on his tour of the United States met with a group of labor leaders in San Francisco last Sept. 20

In the group was George L. P. Weaver of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. His boss, James B. Carey, an AFL-CIO vice president and president of the IUE, along with Walter P. Reuther, also an AFL-CIO vice president and president of the United Auto Workers.

American press reports of what took place at the meeting were contradictory. These reports were based on a press conference held by the union leaders immediately after leaving Krushchev.

TO SET the record straight the press group traveling with Krushchev published their account of the meeting, which appears in "Krushchev in America," translated from the book, "Live in Peace and Friendship," the texts of the Krushchev speeches in the United States, published in Soviet Russia.

Here is an excerpt from the Russian version of the San Francisco meeting of Krushchev with the union leaders:

"Krushchev observed that Weaver, a colored man present at the discussion, had made several attempts to ask a question but that Reuther persisted in ignoring him for some reason.

"'This isn't a democratic way of holding a discussion,' N. S. Krushchev said. 'Let the black man speak. It's a shame, really. You still have places in this country which colored aren't allowed to enter.'

WEAVER SAID that the U.S. trade unions were fighting against racial discrimination and that they accorded him the honor of representing the U.S. labor movement at some international conferences.

"Two weeks ago, he said, he had attended a conference of the World Federation of United Nations Associations in Geneva.

"At the conference, Weaver noted with satisfaction, the U.S. and Soviet delegations had cooperated closely. They had drafted a joint resolution aimed at ending the cold war, and it had been carried.

"Weaver pointed out, however, that the U.S. delegation and the delegations of the socialist countries had differed on many points and had had sharp clashes over them.

"He asked N. S. Krushchev how a start should be made and how common ground could be found for cooperation. 'It's important for our people to have answers to the questions asked here tonight,' Weaver said.

* * *

"'I KNOW THAT your trade unions are doing a good deal for the Negroes to become equal citizens of the USA, N. S. Krushchev replied.

"'As regards the questions on which there is no agreement between your trade unions and those of the socialist countries, you know that you and we differ in our approach to many social phenomena, and appraise them differently.

"'Do you want our socialist system changed?'" Krushchev asked Weaver. "'We, for our part, don't want to interfere in your internal affairs and will not do it — won't try to bring about a change in the system you have.

"'We have said in the past and say now: "Let us be more tolerant toward each other." Though we differ with you on many questions, we have a common cause for the sake of which we should join our efforts. It is the struggle for peace. The people want peace, and are fighting for it.'"

* * *

THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT in the past year sent a trade mission to Liberia, Ghana, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, which included no colored members. The business members of the mission were Frank L. Gilbert, formerly divisional merchandise manager, Frederick and Nelson, a department store, Seattle, Wash.; E. Kennedy Langstaff, assistant vice president, American Overseas Finance Co., international financing, New York City; George C. Sevelle, president, Sevelle Enterprises, Los Angeles, and Alfred Teshenm export manager (Pittsburgh), Metal Carbides Corp.

A similar mission, without any colored members, also was sent to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Commerce Department spends about $600,000 a year for trade missions. The Office of Internal Trade Fairs, in order to obtain administrative approval of a trade mission candidate, submits its personal history statement and preliminary information sheet to the Office of Personnel Management.

Then the Office of Personnel Management checks the candidate's name with the Republican National Committee.

INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS who appeared in Western Europe under private sponsorship in the past year included Henry Blackmon, a baritone, who played the United States Information Service circuit in Germany; George Byrd, a conductor, who appeared in London last summer.

Also Everett Lee, a conductor, who appeared with the Munich Opera and the German - American Opera; Doris Mayes, mezzo-soprano, United States Information Service circuit in Germany; Robert McFerrin, baritone, who sang in

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Turning Point Seen At Demo Convention

The 1960 Democratic convention probably will be one of the most historic in the long history of the party.

It represents a turning point. Delegates from the Confederate states are no longer insisting on the status quo, separate but equal, second-class citizenship and other conditions of inferiority for colored people.

They are now pleading for a moderate civil rights plank—one with which they can still hold the Dixie states in the Democratic column and win the November election.

INCIDENTALLY, Herb Klein, Vice President Nixon's press secretary, insists that Mr. Nixon stands a good chance of swinging some Southern states into the Republican column against any Democratic nominee, except Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, Senate Democratic leader.

That is particularly true of Texas, which President Eisenhower carried in 1956.

One of the most active persons here is Mrs. Vel Phillips of Milwaukee, Democratic national committeewoman for Wisconsin. She is a member of the platform committee, which perhaps had the toughest job of any of the convention committees, and is co-chairman of the Rules Committee.

When Senator Spessard L. Holland, Florida Democrat and a member of the platform committee, spoke out in defense of the South, Southern traditions, Southern customs and a moderate civil rights plank, Mrs. Phillips did not hesitate to tangle with him.

* * *

OTHER MEMBERS of the platform committee are Rep. William L. Dawson of Chicago, Mrs. Gladys Duncan, wife of Todd Duncan, the singer, Washington, D.C. and Mrs. Lucinda Millin of the Virgin Islands.

Neither A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, nor the Rev. Martin Luther King, of the Southern Leadership Conference, both of whom had asked for time, showed up for the civil rights hearings before the platform committee.

Democratic economy hit Mr. Dawson and Mrs. Christine Davis, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee, of which Dawson is chairman. As a vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee Dawson rates two rooms in the Biltmore Hotel, convention headquarters, but because of economy Paul Butler, the retiring Democrat chairman, found necessary rooms for officers and staffs of the committee which were not available until the convention opened Monday.

* * *

ON THE convention scene is Charles S. Brown of Lansing, Mich., administrative assistant to Governor G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams of Michigan. Brown is one of the few colored assistants or secretaries to governors whose work is not restricted to civil rights.

Also here is George L. P. Weaver of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (AFL-CIO), a delegate from the District of Columbia, who is supporting Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mrs. Todd Duncan, a Humphrey supporter, will probably switch to Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, the front-running candidate.

Frank Reeves, elected Democratic Committeeman for the District of Columbia on the Humphrey slate in the District's Presidential preference primary, promised the Kennedy people two weeks ago, to do what he could to swing the other District of Columbia delegates from Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota to Kennedy.

* * *

ALSO ON the scene is Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Detroit, who is not going along with Gov. Williams, Walter Reuther and most of the Michigan delegation in supporting Senator Kennedy. He is a Symington supporter.

The Rev. E. Franklin Jackson of Washington, D.C., pastor of John Wesley AME Zion Church and a delegate to the convention, has NAACP troubles awaiting him when he returns home.

The executive committee of the District of Columbia Branch at its last meeting, named a subcommittee to take up with the national office questions of the conduct of the affairs of the D.C. Branch. Jackson is its delegate.

Also here for the convention is David Grant, a city official of St. Louis. He is an alternate delegate.

Other members of the Missouri delegation include Frederick Weathers and Jordan W. Chambers, both from St. Louis, and Leon Jordan of Kansas City.

BRINKMANSHIP

WASHINGTON — Citizens should give serious thought to the current trend in American foreign policy which seems to be based on threats of an atomic war and missile-rattling.

First, Russia warns the United States to keep hands off Cuba, then Eisenhower warns Russia to keep out of Cuba.

The constant hassle between this country and Cuba could cause us to stumble into a Third World War that would mean the end of civilization. It is high time that we found a way to settle international differences short of the threat of war.

Perhaps an attempt to discuss matters with Cuba would be more successful than our current efforts to force "our way" with the threat of military action.

CARRIE J. SMITH

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Ralph Bunche Story Is Seen Well-Timed

The Hearst newspapers timed their Bunche story well. The story, datelined the United Nations, reported that Vice President Nixon had suggested to President Eisenhower that the latter name Ralph J. Bunche to succeed Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge to the United Nations when Lodge resigns to campaign as the Republican Vice Presidential nominee.

At the time, there was nobody around to knock the story down. President Eisenhower and his press secretary, James C. Hagerty, were in Newport, R. I. If Hagerty had been in Washington, he would have neither confirmed nor denied the story.

During nearly eight years as White House press secretary he has rigidly followed the practice of telling reporters — when asked about prospective Presidential appointments — that "When we have an appointment to make we'll announce it."

* * *

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON and his entourage, including his press secretary Herbert G. Klein, were in Hawaii where the Republican Presidential nominee was bidding for the three electoral votes of the 50th state.

Dr. Bunche was in the Congo trying to placate Katanga officials to pave the way for the entry of United Nations troops into that province.

Knowing Nixon, this reporter would not put it beyond the Vice President to suggest the appointment of Dr. Bunche as the United States Representative to the UN to succeed Ambassador Lodge. But Dr. Bunche would have something to say about such an appointment.

Bunche previously turned down an offer of appointment as an Assistant Secretary of State because he did not want his family to live in Washington. His objections to Washington as a place of residence, however, have been removed. Washington was then a segregated city. It is now perhaps the most non-segregated city in the country.

* * *

ONE CONSIDERATION would be salary. The salary of Ambassador Lodge and the salary of Dr. Bunche are not known, but a fair assumption is that the salary of the UN Under Secretary is the higher and is tax-exempt.

But one of Dr. Bunche's chief concerns would be the comparative prestige of the two offices. The Lodge appointment seems to carry with it the greater prestige. As a UN official, then in a lesser position, Dr. Bunche was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1950 for arranging a truce between the Israelis and Arabs.

As a member of the UN Secretariat, Dr. Bunche heads the Special Political Affairs Department, one of three departments into which the Secretariat is divided. He receives his instructions from no authority outside the UN.

As successor to Ambassador Lodge, Dr. Bunche would be the United States Permanent Representative to the UN and the American Representative on the Security Council.

The Security Council consists of 11 members — five of them permanent, China, France, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining world peace and security.

* * *

SEN. JOHN F. KENNEDY, Democratic Presidential nominee, apparently did a good job of salving wounds by creating a civil rights division in his campaign organization and making Marjorie Lawson its director.

Belford V. Lawson, a Washington attorney, was the original Kennedy booster. But Belford decided to stick to his law practice. Kennedy hired Mrs. Lawson and she worked with him through the Democratic national convention.

But Rep. Adam Clayton Powell tipped off newsmen before the convention. As Powell put it, Kennedy had "dumped" Lawson and taken Frank Reeves, newly elected Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia, into his camp.

Everybody concerned denied that there had been any "dumping," but it was learned that Frank had agreed to work to get the District delegation to go for Kennedy. The delegation had been elected on a Hubert Humphrey slate, but Humphrey withdrew from the race after Kennedy licked him in West Virginia.

* * *

AT A HURRIEDLY called meeting of colored delegates in Los Angeles, Kennedy announced that Reeves was his man.

Most of the colored delegates already were hot because of Kennedy's selection of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas as his running mate, among them Rep. Charles C. Diggs of Michigan. Kennedy's announcement of Reeves' selection simply poured fuel on the fire.

But the revolt has been put down. The civil rights arrangement takes care of Mrs. Lawson. Governor G. Mennen Williams and Walter Reuther talked the Michiganders into going along with the ticket, and Charley Brown, the governor's administrative assistant, is in the civil rights set-up.

Louis Martin, vice president of the Defender Publications, and Christine Davis, staff director of the House Government Operations Committee, are representatives of William L. Dawson. Martin will handle public relations, and Mrs. Davis will work with Mrs. Margaret Price, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, on women's activities.

Capital Spotlight

Afro American
Baltimore, Md.

By Louis Lautier

Frank Reeves Off On Kennedy Tour

Frank Reeves, newly elected Democratic National Committeeman for the District of Columbia and an NAACP lawyer, is finding everything to his liking in the Kennedy camp.

Senator John F. Kennedy, the Democratic Presidential nominee, selected Reeves over a number of older and more experienced politicians from states where the colored vote may swing the election. Later Kennedy announced that Reeves would travel with him.

Reeves has been working in Florida. Senator Kennedy has announced a schedule for Sept. 2 to Sept. 18. The Senator campaigned Friday in New Hampshire and Maine, returned to Washington Friday night and left by jet from Friendship Airport, Baltimore, Saturday for San Francisco en route to Anchorage, Alaska.

* * *

FROM ANCHORAGE, Kennedy flew to Detroit Sunday. He delivered a major Labor Day address in Cadillac Square, Detroit, under the sponsorship of the Wayne County AFL-CIO.

Later, he toured the Michigan State Fair Grounds and attended a Labor Day picnic at Oakland Park in Pontiac, a rally at Atwood Stadium in Flint, a second Labor Day picnic at Pere Marquette Park

in Muskegon and a 9th Congressional District dinner at Dew Drop Inn, Muskegon.

He flew from Muskegon to Pocatello, Idaho, Monday night. The remainder of his schedule included stops in Spokane and Seattle, Washington; Eugene, Salem and Portland, Oregon.

In Portland he took a train for a whistle - stop tour of California. In Los Angeles, he took to the air again for two days of campaigning in Texas, then into Northern New Jersey, Harrisburg and York, Pa., Baltimore for a fund - raising dinner, a day in North Carolina, into West Virginia, then on to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for a national plow contest.

Kennedy also will address the American Legion in Miami on Oct. 18.

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MEANWHILE, VICE President Nixon, the Republican Presidential nominee, was laid up in Walter Reed General Hospital with an infected knee. Except for some pain in the left knee, he continued to feel very well. He had no fever. His appetitie was good and his general physical condition was excellent.

Tests showed that the Hemolytic staphylococcus aureus, which infected the knee, is sensitive to five antibiotics. The physicians treated the Vice President's knee with two erythomycin and penicillin.

The infection was localized in the knee joint. Mr. Nixon remained off his feet to avoid permanent damage.

As treatment of the knee progressed, Nixon consulted with members of his staff and dictated speech drafts to his executive secretary, Miss Rose Mary Woods.

He announced his schedule Friday for the first six days of intensive campaigning starting Sept. 12. It will take him 9,000 miles through 14 states, touch on both the Atlantic and Pacific shores and range virtually from the Mexican to the Canadian border.

* * *

TRAVELING BY jet plane, prop plane and auto, he will visit 18 cities and towns from Monday through Saturday.

He leaves Friendship Airport, Baltimore, by jet Monday for Indianapolis, Dallas and San Francisco. He goes from San Francisco on Sept. 13 to Portland and Vancouver, Washington, and Boise, Idaho; Sept. 14, from Boise to Grand Forks, N. D., and Milwaukee; Sept. 15 from Milwaukee; to Atlantic City, Roanoke, Va., and Omaha.

On Sept. 17 he goes to Guthrie Center, Iowa, to talk at a plowing contest, stopping en route at Council Bluffs, Red Oak, and Atlantic, Iowa, and then going on to Des Moines. From Des Moines he goes to Sioux City, Iowa, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and then returns to Washington.

* * *

THE COLORED vote is in a state of flux. A leading colored Oregon Democrat, Arthur J. Palmer of Portland, Oregon, has announced his support of Nixon. Palmer was the president of the Booker T. Washington Democratic Club in Portland. The word "Democratic" was dropped from the name of the club when he switched and Palmer took with him four or five of the club's members into the Nixon camp.

Republican candidates who attended the Republican Congressional Committee's Candidate Conference here Wednesday and Thursday included Genoa S. Washington of Chicago, who is making his second try at unseating Rep. Bill Dawson; Robert B. Blackwell of Highland Park, Mich., who is running against Rep. Charles C. Diggs; Joseph A. Bailey of New York City, who is seeking the seat Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, says he will vacate in 1963, and William O. Walker, publisher of The Cleveland Call and Post, who is running against Rep. Charles A. Vanik in the 21st Ohio District.

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL stated the two opposing points of view on the Powell amendment which the House wrote into the bill providing for Federal aid to school construction.

The House Rules Committee, composed of eight Democrats and four Republicans, kept the bill from being sent to conference to iron out differences between House and Senate versions.

Capital Spotlight

The Afro-American

Baltimore Edition

By Louis Lautier

Sat 10-6 to 8

Finds New Orleans Second-rate Town

NEW ORLEANS — I suppose, as a boy living in a dormitory at Straight University, which is now Dillard, I saw New Orleans through rose-colored glasses, but whatever glamor the Crescent City may have held for me has completely disappeared.

After looking at some of the principal cities of the world — Honolulu, Manila, Jakarta, Singapore, Bangkok, Calcutta, New Delhi, Karachi, Rome, Paris, Monrovia, Accra, Entebbe, Addis Ababa, Khartoum, Casablanca, Tunis, Tripoli and Brussels— I think New Orleans is a second - rate town.

The glamor may be there for the white visitor. He can visit the city's renowned restaurants, its theaters, and other places of interest. But New Orleans is still strictly Jim Crow.

* * *

ALTHOUGH THE Supreme Court several years ago ruled that racial segregation on street cars and buses unconstitutional, colored people are still riding in the rear of the street cars that run along Canal St. On some of the buses which run into predominantly colored sections, colored passengers appeared to sit where they pleased. But I wouldn't bet even on that.

I took a look into the Greyhound Bus terminal at Canal and Villere Streets. A segregated colored waiting room was crowded with colored people. A segregated restaurant for colored patrons was filled with colored diners.

The public schools are still segregated, although the New Orleans school board is under Federal court orders to begin desegregation shortly by putting into effect a grade - a - year plan, beginning in October with the first grade.

There is a scarcity of jobs for colored people. A large number of colored persons continuously hung around the Louisiana State Employment office in the hope of getting a job.

* * *

WHITE PERSONS were performing all kinds of menial jobs. The best jobs colored persons seemed to have was in the New Orleans post office. One does not see neatly dressed colored girls going downtown to office jobs. If they get clerical or stenographic work, it must be in the office of a colored professional man or a colored insurance office.

Colored persons were picketing stores whose customers were predominantly colored, but Mayor Morrison, who had gubernatorial ambitions, had an ordianance passed making picketing an offense, although the Supreme Court years ago ruled that picketing to compel employment was legal.

The irony of all this racial discrimination is that it is practiced where there was perhaps more integration in the bedroom than in any other State of the Union. Doubts are still expressed about the ancestry of some prominent people in Louisiana, where less than 50 years ago miscegenation was openly practiced.

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ONE OF the bright spots in New Orleans is the Police Department. The city has 44 colored policemen.

Mayor Morrison was recently in Washington with a group of Democratic Mayors forming a Kennedy urban renewal committee with Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York as the liaison between Kennedy and the Mayors. Powell, Morrison and the other mayors lunched together and held a press concerence.

The point is not the lunch. Southerners have no objections to dining with a colored person in a northern city, but shaking hands is verboten in his local community.

At the press conference held by these mayors, Morrison defined urban renewal as one of the cities' biggest problems. He is hoping that if Jack Kennedy is elected President in November, the mayors of Southern cities can get bigger handouts for urban renewal programs.

* * *

THIS BRINGS us to Rampart Street. Rampart Street, like every other celebrated street in colored sections of cities, north, east, west and south, is badly run down. It is actually a slum area. The only decent building I saw along Rampart Street was the building which houses The Louisiana Weekly.

New Orleans once had one of the world's celebrated redlight districts a block away from Canal Street and covering several blocks running north and south, east and west and including big stone houses for the fashionable trade, with some of the houses having colored inmates for the pleasure of white men only, and including the cribs where the cheap prostitutes plied their trade.

The redlight district has been broken up, but, an informant told me, the prostitutes are scattered all over town. Canal Street probably has more honky - tonks with strip tease dancers than there are in any other city of the country.

Incidentally, the redlight district has been razed and where houses of ill fame once stood there is now a housing development for white people.

* * *

BACK IN Washington the controversy is still raging over the action of the national Board of Directors of the NAACP in dismissing charges against the Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, president of the District of Columbia Branch, and ordering the Branch to fire its office secretary.

The question no longer is whether the Rev. Mr. Jackson was guilty or innocent of charges of borrowing branch funds without authorization and cashing his personal checks out of Branch funds, but the extent to which a branch is subject to dictation by the national office.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Arthur B. Spingarn Has Longest Tenure

ST. PAUL — Nobody attending the 51st annual convention of the NAACP has a longer period of affiliation with the association than Arthur B. Spingarn, its president.

Mr. Spingarn, 82, joined thee NAACP in 1910, the second year of its existence. He served as chairman of its legal committee from 1911 to 1939 when he became president.

Actually, however, he has been in the fight for first-class citizenship since 1905.

* * *

AT THE time he became active in the association, Oswald Garrison Villard was the editor of the New York Evening Post. He gave the association free rent in the Post building in Vesey Street.

Reminiscing, Mr. Spingarn recalled that one month the association was broke and Mr. Villard lent it $300 to carry it over the month.

The only expense of the Association at that time was Dr. William E. B. DuBois' salary. The NAACP paid him $125 a month as secretary.

Mr. Spingarn said the association never paid Moorfield Storey, the great Boston lawyer, who represented the NAACP in Supreme Court cases, anything. Nor did it pay Louis Marshall, whom Mr. Spingarn considered the greatest constitutional lawyer of his time.

* * *

MR. SPINGARN was the one who brought the late Charles H. Houston to the NAACP as its special counsel. He thinks he did so on the recommendation of Judge William H. Harlie of the United States Third Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia.

Later Mr. and Mrs. Spingarn visited Baltimore and a young brash lawyer showed them some courtesies. As a result, he recommended to Charley the employment of Marshall, who is now the head of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

* * *

HERBERT L. WRIGHT, national director of the NAACP Youth and College Division, was born in Albuquerque, N.M., and raised in Houston, Texas.

He received an A.B. degree from the University of Chicago and did graduate work at the University of New Mexico.

This is Wright's eighth year as director. He came to the association directly out of college. He was president of the NAACP college chapter at the University of New Mexico. He organized it.

Wright says he was attracted to the NAACP because he had led a sit-down demonstration against discrimination at Walgreen's Drugstore in Albuquerque.

Walgreen's would serve colored students if they went in with their white classmates, but would not serve them if they went in alone.

* * *

UNABLE TO get the drugstore to change its policy, Wright drafted a civil rights ordinance which was adopted by the Albuquerque City Council and Albuquerque became the first city in the nation to enact a municipal civil rights ordinance.

Among those attending the convention was George Brown, city editor of The Denver Post and a Colorado State Senator. He and Marguerite Belafonte, 1960 NAACP Freedom Fund chairman, will be married soon.

At the NAACP Freedom Fund dinner Thursday night. Clarence Mitchell III. a student at Morgan State College, sent a note to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, asking that he be given two minutes to teach the audience to sing, "We Shall Overcome," one of the songs student demonstrators have sung in Southern communities while engaging in sit-downs at lunch counters in 5 and-10 cent stores.

* * *

MRS. LILLIE MAE JACKSON, president of the Maryland Conference of NAACP Branches and president of the Baltimore NAACP Branch, was in the picket line at Woolworth's and Grant Stores here Friday.

Also attending the convention were the Rev. Edward W. Brown, pastor of Antioch Baptist Church, Beaumont, Texas; Mrs. Simon Gordon, Beaumont; John Roxborough, Ill. of Detroit, now counsel with the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, D.C., and Franklin H. Williams, on leave as West Coast NAACP secretary general counsel, now an assistant attorney general of California in charge of civil rights.

Also Frank W. Reeves, Democratic National Committeeman-elect for the District of Columbia; Cecil Poole, secretary to Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California; Charles S. Brown, an administrative assistant to Governor G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams of Michigan.

* * *

ALSO ROBERT MING, Chicago Lawyer; Alex Tureaud, New Orleans lawyer; Arthur D. Shores, a Birmingham Ala. lawyer; Loren Miller, a Los Angeles lawyer; Kelly M. Alexander, Charlotte, N.C., lawyer; Theodore M. Berry, Cincinnati lawyer, and Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood of Washington, D.C.

Robert D. Robertson of Norfolk, president of the Virginia Conferences of NAACP Branches, headed the Virginia delegation. He is business agent and treasurer of three Norfolk labor unions — the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 462, International Chemical Workers Local 49, and Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 23.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

CHICAGO — The complexion of the Republican and Democratic parties is changing.

The Republican party is being bleached and, if the bleaching continues, it will not be many years before it becomes lily-white.

The Democratic party is getting a slight sunburn. It is taking on a rainbow hue in which there are various shadings of color.

One illustration of the process which is working in the two parties is their national committees.

Forty years ago in Chicago, at the Republican national convention which saw Warren G. Harding get the nomination and go on to win the Presidency of the United States, Henry Lincoln Johnson became the Republican National Committeeman for Georgia.

His election followed a bitter fight before the credentials committe over the seating of delegations — one headed by Johnson and pledged to Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois, and the other headed by Roscoe Pickett, a white Georgian, and pledged to General Leonard Wood — and on the convention floor as well.

Johnson served until his death in 1926. He was succeeded by the late Benjamin O. Davis Sr. Meanwhile, Perry W. Howard was elected Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi.

His retirement at this convention marks an end to an era. There is no longer a colored person sitting as a member of the Republican National Committee. Mrs. Edna Redmond of Jackson, who served as Republican National Committeewoman for Mississippi, is being succeeded by Mrs. J. Balfour Miller, a native of Mississippi who resides at "Hope Farm" in Natchez.

The departure of Mr. Howard and Mrs. Redmond from the committee leaves no colored representation on it.

On the other hand, Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago continues, by appointment, as a vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

In addition to Dawson, there are now three elected members of that committee. They are Mrs. Vel Phillips, Democratic National Committeewoman for Wisconsin; Frank Reeves, committeeman for the District of Columbia, and Mrs. Lucinda Millen, committeewoman for the Virgin Islands.

Not only has the Republican National Committee become lily-white, the trend toward state delegations is also toward lily-whiteism.

The Mississippi black-and-tan faction, headed by S. W. Miller of Jackson, threw in the sponge when Howard announced that he would not seek reelection at this convention because of the state of his health.

The once powerful black-and-tan factions, which were important factors in the nomination of Republican Presidential candidates, no longer exist in such states as South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas.

Virginia, North Carolina and Alabama have long been lily-white states. Georgia had the good sense to merge its factions. But where the Georgia delegation was once predominantly colored, there are now only two delegates and two alternates.

With colored persons virtually eliminated from Republican councils in the South, the party is free to make a pitch for the white votes in the Deep South by pretending that is more segregationist than the Dixiecrats while it takes credit for passage of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Act in the North.

The architect of this grand strategy of being anti-civil rights in the South and pro-civil rights in the North is I. Lee Potter, director of southern operations for the Republican National Committee.

His strategy may raise the Republican percentage of the popular vote in the South.

On the other hand, the Potter strategy may cost the Republican party dearly in the big cities of the North in states where the colored vote is still pivotal.

* * *

THE STORY that vest-pocket sized magazine carried that President Eisenhower was about to have Secret Service agents throw its photographer out of his office until other accredited White House photographers intervened is fiction.

The truth is the maga had asked Dr. Archibald J. Carey Jr., of Chicago, chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, if it could get a photo of the President with him and Branch Rickey, vice chairman of the committee.

Dr. Carey thought it could be arranged. When the group whom Dr. Carey took in to see the President had finished their conference, Mr. Eisenhower turned to Dr. Carey and asked him whether the group would like to be photographed. The photographers were called.

As the photographers were shooting, the mag's photographer came forward and zeroed in on the President, Mr. Rickey and Dr. Carey. It was then the President asked the photographer who are you? He replied he had been around all the time. The President replied, well, he hadn't seen him.

It was all said pleasantly and there was no threat to throw anybody out of the White House.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Claim by Republicans Of 'No Money' Refuted

The statement of Sen. Thurston B. Morton of Kentucky, Republican national chairman, that the Republicans lacked money to carry on an intensive campaign among colored voters for the Nixon - Lodge ticket does not hold water.

The report of the Republican National Committee covering the period from Sept. 1 to Oct. 27, filed with the Clerk of the House, shows contributions from Jan. 1, 1960, to Oct. 27 totaling $2,725,580.81. Expenditures in the same period totaled $2,384,734.68.

The period from Sept. 1 to Oct. 27 was the one of greatest quiescence at both the Republican National Committee and Volunteers for Nixon and Lodge headquarters so far as activity among colored voters was concerned.

When the two headquarters began to move around Oct. 25, it was too little and too late.

* * *

REP. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, Chicago Democrat, received a contribution of $1,000 for his campaign for re-election to the House from the Teamsters Volunteers in Politics.

The pre - election report of contributions and expenditures, filed by Dawson with the Clerk of the House, shows total contributions of $3,500 and itemized expenditures of $927.40.

In addition to the Teamsters contribution, Dawson received $100 from Morris Bialas; $200 from Georgia Harris, a real estate operator, $200 from L. Price, and $2,000 from the Democratic Congressional Committee.

Genoa S. Washington, a token opponent, reported a $500 contribution from the Republican Congressional Committee and an expenditure of $627.80 for printing.

* * *

DAWSON SPENT $972.40 for a tabloid and $89 for auditorium rent.

The pre-election report of Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr., Detroit Democrat, had not been filed two days after the election.

His Republican opponent, Robert B. Blackwell of Highland Park, Mich., reported total contributions of $2,537 and itemized expenditures of $380.85.

Blackwell's contributions came from the Wayne County Republican finance committee $1,000; Republican Congressional Committee, $500; Wayne County Republican Committee $500; George W. Munford, $100; Barton C. Wilson, $35.

Other contributions were Harold E. Moore, $5; Norman N. Broom, $5; Joseph A. Clarke, Washington, D.C., $5. Cliteele Page, $2; Republican Committee of Highland Park, $100; Mrs. M. V. Hilliard, $10; Andrew F. Truehauf, Statler Hotel, Detroit, $250, and Wilber M. Brucker, Secretary of the Army, a former Governor

michigan, $25.

* * *

HIS EXPENDITURES included the Michigan Chronicle, advertising, $30; outside sign, "Blackwell for Congress," $100; five posters, $118.45; Pittsburgh Courier advertising, $7.40; canvas signs, $125.

Rep. John D. Dingell, Detroit Democrat, reported total contributions of $950 and total expenditures of $1,240.16.

His colored opponent, Robert J. Robbins, Detroit Republican, equalized his contributions and expenditures. He reported $500 from the Wayne County Republican Committee and itemized expenditures of $500.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem Democrat, reported no contributions and no expenditures.

Note: Such a report does not mean that no funds were collected and spent on behalf of a candidate. A local committee collecting and spending funds for a candidate is not required to file a report with the Clerk of the House.

* * *

POWELL'S REPUBLICAN opponent, Joseph A. Bailey, a lawyer, had not filed his pre-election report two days after the election.

Arthur O. Boyer, business agent for a union, who ran against Powell on the Democratic line, also reported no contributions and no expenditures.

Rep. Robert N. C. Nix, Philadelphia Democrat, reported total contributions of $525—$500 from the United Steel Workers and $25 from Carlos Alvarez—and expenditures of $461.28.

The Rev. Clarence M. Smith, Republican and Baptist minister who ran against Nix, reported no contributions and no expenditures.

* * *

DISBURSEMENT ITEMS reported by the Republican National Committee include:

Sept. 15: Salaries—Thalia Arnold, $196.60; Clay J. Claiborne of Atlantic City, $416.60, and Val J. Washington, $271.18.

Sept. 15 — Val J. Washington, reimbursement of expenses, $1,819.77; Sept. 20, Barrington D. Parker, a District of Columbia lawyer, reimbursement of expenses, $62.36; Sept. 20, Claiborne, reimbursement of expenses, $42.71.

Sept. 28 — Elaine B. Jenkins, wife of Howard Jenkins, an attorney in the Office of the Solicitor, Labor Department, reimbursement of expenses, $123.09; Claiborne, reimbursement of expenses, $38.55.

* * *

SEPT. 30: SALARIES— Thalia Arnold, $196.60; Washington, $271.18, and Claiborne, $416.60;

Oct. 5 — Elaine B. Jenkins, expense advance, $250.

Oct. 14: Salaries — Thalia Arnold, $196.60; Claiborne, $416.60, and Washington, $271.18.

What happened to Elk's money?

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D.C. (NNPA) Eddie Hunter, fun - oldtime comedian, who played such theatres as the Howard in Washington, the Apollo in New York, and the Regal in Chicago, had a skit in which there was a chant, "Everybody wants to know where the money's gone."

That chant might very well have been the theme song of Elks as Elk grand lodge payrollers gathered here for their annual mid-winter conference.

According to informed sources, the Elks grand lodge is down to the $100,000 in Government bonds and the John Brown Farm at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., which were part of the assets the late J. Finley (Little Napoleon) Wilson, grand exalted ruler for 30 years, left at the time of his death in February, 1952.

The cash in bank is reported to be so low that the order had to suspend the payment of travel expenses for officers who attended the mid-winter conference.

* * *

AN EXAMINATION of grand lodge minutes from 1951 to 1959, inclusive, shows that the order has had receipts totaling $1,505,417.68.

That sum includes the approximately $181,390.31 in cash in the bank which Mr. Wilson left at the time of his death.

Receipts, as shown by the minutes, were $97,137.57 in 1952, $99,843.14 in 1953, $97,608.19 in 1954, $73,649.68 in 1955 $198,[illegible].30 in 1957, $271,833.75 in [illegible], and $176,532.84 in 1959, totaling $1,435,417.84.

To the total receipts is added $70,000, the estimated amount received by the order from the cash sale of the Monterey Apartments in New York City, which had been carried on the books at a value of $135,000.

The Monterey Apartments were sold Nov. 1, 1957, for $85,000—a loss of $50,000. The settlement sheet shows that after payment of commission to Joseph Honore, there was a balance due the grand lodge of $71,969.58.

The grand lodge trustees — John T. Freeman, James H. Fultz, Dr. L. W. Williams, Quinn Banks and Fred Grant Jr. — reported that all funds from this transaction were turned over to William C. Huesston, grand secretary.

* * *

IN THE same period, the net worth of the order has dwindled from $450,290.47 as of July 31, 1951, to $234,951.58 as of last Aug. 20.

In 1951 the Elks grand lodge had $181,390.31 in cash in bank,—$100,000 in Government bonds, the Monterery Apartments valued at $137,000, the John Brown Farm (purchase price), $30.000; a vacant lot in Savannah, Ga., $850.16, and notes receivable, $1,050.

At the 1959 grand lodge session in Atlantic City, Mr. Huesston reported that the grand lodge had $19,997.69 in cash in real estate, $1,000; revolving fund, $4,000; furniture and fixtures $1 and supplies $9,952.89.

Against this total worth of $234,951.58, no liabilities were reported except Social Security taxes payable, $1,670.17, and income tax payable, $9,687.94.

These sums were deducted from disbursements of $177,977.38 to reach the net disbursement figure of $170,096.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Good argument for Federal registrars

By LOUIS LAUTIER

If anything confirms the validity of the plan of Attorney General William P. Rogers for the appointment of voting referees by Federal courts to oversee the election process from registration to certification of the results, it is the hysteria it has induced among Southern Senators.

The first to have a fit over the plan was Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D., Ga.), who contends that the plan was an adaptation of the Reconstruction Enforcement Act of 1871.

If the 1871 Act is the basis for the Administration's plan, then the Attorney General has made a clever adaptation of it.

* * *

SENATOR TALMADGE himself said the 1871 Act, while aimed at disenfranchising Southern Democrats, was used to perpetuate Republican machine control in New York.

* * *

THE ENFORCEMENT Act spelled out a detailed program for control of elections of Congressmen. Senators were then elected under scandalous conditions by state legislators.

The Enforcement Act made it a Federal offense to register falsely, vote without legal right, make false returns of votes cast, or bribe or interfere in any manner with officers of elections. What is wrong with such a law? Nothing.

The 1871 Act, of which Talmadge complains bitterly, authorized circuit judges, on the request of two citizens in any town with a population of 20,000 or more, to appoint supervisors of elections to attend places of registration and election, armed with authority to challenge any person proposing to register or vote unlawfully.

A Democratic Congress repealed the 1871 Act in 1894. That was a mistake. If there were abuses in its administration, they should have been corrected.

The purposes of the 1871 Act and the Administration proposal are entirely different, as are also their methods of enforcement.

The 1871 Act was designed to bring about honest elections. It depended upon criminal sanctions for enforcement.

* * *

THE ADMINISTRATION'S plan is designed to bring about the registration of qualified colored persons in areas where such persons have been refused registration because of race or color, and to see that their votes are cast and counted.

It depends on contempt proceedings for enforcement.

The need for such legislation is well illustrated by what happened in Terrell County, Ga. There, registration was refused to public school teachers who hold degrees from Georgia state colleges and graduate degrees from out-of-state universities on the ground that they are illiterate.

In Macon County, Ala., members of the faculty of Tuskegee Institute and of the staff of the Veterans Hospital were unable to register.

If it is adopted, as is proposed, as an amendment to the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the Attorney General will have effective weapons to use against those who would deprive United States citizens of their right to vote, for no reason other than their color.

Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

Val Washington Did Not Meet With Reds

Debunked: A vest - pocket sized magazine reported recently that the trip of Val Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee, to Hong Kong, a British Crown colony 90 miles south of Canton, commercial city and seaport in Kwatung province, China was to discuss the release of American airmen illegally held by Red China.

Fact: It's a violation of United States law for a private citizen to negotiate with a foreign government.

The 11 airmen were convicted of espionage by a communist military tribunal and were illegally detained after Sept. 25, 1953, the date set by Korean armistice for the release of prisoners of war.

* * *

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Harlem Democrat, at the request of a New York newspaper, while attending the Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung, Indonesia, in April, 1955, was snubbed by Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, when he sought an appointment to discuss the release of the airmen.

Washington hears that W. Averell Harriman, ex-Governor of New York, is interested in organizing an African trade fair and has interested Eric Johnston, the movie czar, in heading the movement.

* * *

ILLNESS CUT down on attendance at the Elks mid-winter conference here last week. Among those missing were Bob Johnson of Philadelphia, grand exalted ruler; Bertram W. Gregory of Detroit, grand esteemed leading knight, and Dr. Carter L. Marshall, formerly of New Haven, Conn., now of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands grand medical director.

Among those in attendance were James T. Copper, Chicago, assistant grand secretary; Judge Perry B. Jackson, Cleveland, grand treasurer; Harvey L. Harris, Mt. Vernon, N.Y., grand esteemed loyal knight; the Rev. K. P. Battle, Rocky Mount, N.C., grand lecturing knight; Herbert K. Wilson, Jamaica, Long Island, grand recorder.

John T. Freeman, Philadelphia, chairman of the grand trustee board; Dr. L. W. Williams, Valdosta, Ga., and Fred Grant, Hamilton, Ohio, grand trustee; J. B. Yearwood, New York City, and John R. Cooper, Chicago, grand auditors; Quinn R. Banks, Washington, Pa., grand trustee; George W. Lee, Memphis, commissioner of education.

Hobson R. Reynolds, Philadelphia, grand commissioner of civil liberties; Charles P. McClane, Steelton, Pa., director of public relations and shrine; Bert Bethune, Daytona Beach, Fla., and Oscar Price, Pittsburgh, grand organizers; Dr. J. A. Megahy, Chicago, member of Health Commission.

Truly Hatchett, Baltimore, Dr. G. B. Key, St. Louis, assistant grand commissioner of education; Dr. Henry W. Hunter, Cleveland, educational regional director.

Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Staten Island, N.Y., grand daughter ruler of grand temple; Mrs. Buena Kelly Berry, Norfolk, Va., grand secretary of grand temple; Mrs. Annabel Reid, New York City, grand directress of education; Mrs. Emma Turner, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, grand registrar of the education department.

Mrs. Bertha McKanlass, Detroit, grand directress of shrine; Mrs. Albert Graham, Detroit, and Mrs. Rosetta Jordan, assistant directress of education.

* * *

THE COMPTROLLER has refused a charter to an interracial group for a national bank here on the ground that there are already enough banks in the District of Columbia.

The Howard University Choir, under the direction of Warner Lawson, sang two numbers on the closed circuit television dinner that linked all the Republican dinners in 41 states and the District of Columbia to the one addressed by the President in Los Angeles. They were "God Bless America" and "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Mrs. Mary L. Shadd, publisher of The Milwaukee Defender, is a candidate for alderman on the Republican ticket. Mrs. Vel Phillips, Democratic National Committeewoman, already is a member of the Common Council of Milwaukee.

Miss Cora Brown, a special associate general counsel of the Post Office Department, is slated to move over to the President's Government Contracts Committee to succeed Jacob Seidenberg as its executive director. Dr. Seidenberg resigned effective Jan. 31.

Miss Brown, who is from Detroit, has been a member of the Michigan bar since 1948. She was a Michigan State Senator from Jan. 1, 1953, to Dec. 31, 1956. Before her Senatorial term expired, she supported President Eisenhower for re-election in the 1956 campaign.

Previously Miss Brown was a Detroit policewoman and a social case worker for the Children's Aid Society and the Old Age Assistance Bureau.

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PAUL ROBESON JR., is one of five New York youths who have announced their intention of refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington during hearings Feb. 2 to 5. He attended the 1959 Vienna Youth Festival.

Benjamin J. Davis, a Communist party official, also is under subpoena to testify before the committee.

Battle lines drawn for rights fight

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, (NNPA) — Battle lines are drawn for one of the stiffest fights over civil rights in Congressional history.

As zero hour approached Monday and Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the Senate Democratic leader, moved to bring up civil rights, the Senate appeared to be in for extended debate.

Riding on the outcome are the political fortunes of Senator Johnson. If the Senate adopts the Administration proposals, including the Rogers voting referee plan, the position of Senator Johnson as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination will be strengthened nationally.

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BUT THE Texan may lose some Southern support. The Southerners have their backs to the wall. They are getting no aid from Republicans, who are almost solidly behind the Administration program.

The two Georgia Senators Richard B. Russell and Herman E. Talmadge, have indicated that they may lead a filibuster.

If so, Johnson will get a chance to prove that the change in the filibuster rule he put through in January, 1959, is working.

When the 86th Congress convened Jan. 7, 1959, under the rule in effect, a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate membership, or 64 Senators, was required to shut off debate.

The liberal bloc wanted a rule which would permit a majority of Senators present and voting, or, at the most, a majority of the Senate membership, to invoke closure.

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THE REFORM in the rule produced by Senator Johnson, which is now in effect, provides for closure by a two-thirds vote of Senators present and voting.

The difference between the old and the new rule is slight since civil rights is highly controversial and a vote on a motion to shut off debate always attracts an almost full attendance.

The ability of Southern Senators to stage a successful filibuster has been diminished by the admission of Alaska as the 49th state on June 30, 1958, and of Hawaii last Mar. 18.

All four new Senators — E. L. (Bob) Bartlett and Ernest Gruening, Alaskan Democrats, and Hiram L. Fong, Republican, and Oren E. Long, Democrat, of Hawaii — are expected to vote for cloture, if such a vote is taken.

Out of 100 Senators, it is doubtful that Southern Democrats can muster 23 votes against limiting debate. Their ranks on the civil rights issue are no longer solid.

IS SENATOR Johnson is to gain favor with the liberal element of the Democratic party, which has been very critical of him over civil rights and the oil and gas issues, he would have to vote for cloture.

Out of the 22 votes from the Deep south states, the Southerners also would probably lose those of Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas and Estes Kefauver and Albert Gore of Tennessee, leaving 18 sure votes against any limitation of debate.

They probably would pick up the votes of Republicans Milton R. Young of North Dakota, Barry Goldwater of Arizona, and Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota.

Senator Johnson played his cards close to his chest. He did not disclose what his strategy would be before the Senate convened at 11 a.m., Monday — an hour earlier than usual.

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IT WAS generally presumed that he would call up some House-approved bill, to which civil rights amendments would be offered.

Such strategy was made necessary by the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Sen. James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, is chairman.

Aided by Sen. Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolian Eastland has kept civil rights bottled up in the full Judiciary Committee.

The Constitutional Rights subcommittee, headed by Sen. Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri, reported to the full Judiciary Committee in July a skeletonized bill, requiring for the preservation of voting records and providing for the extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission to Jan. 31, 1961.

The life of the Civil Rights Commission was extended by a legislative rider on an appropriation bill. But the Dixiecrats have kept bottled up in the Judiciary Committee the provision requiring preservation of voting records.

SENATOR JOHNSON himself has a civil rights bill. It would create a Community Relations Service to mediate conflicts over constitutional rights.

It also would give the Attorney General subpoena power in voting rights cases and would define two new Federal crimes designed to stop bombings and threats of bombings.

The Johnson bill also had a provision to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission but its enactment is no longer necessary.

Sen. Everett M. Dirkson, of Illinois, the Rep. Senate leader, has ntroduced the Administration program, including the Rogers plan for the appointment by Federal courts of voting references in areas where state or local registrars refuse to register qualified colored persons.

That provision is the one most likely to lead to a bitter and prolonged debate.

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SOUTHERNERS HAVE already applied to it the label of a "carpetbag" bill patterned after a Reconstruction enforcement law.

They also argue that it is an invasion of states' rights and would permit Federal judges to jail for 45 days, without a jury trial, any election official who denied the vote of any colored person qualified under the Rogers plan.

The most far-reaching bill, which is also expected to be offered as an amendment, is the one sponsored by the liberal bloc, led by Senators Paul Douglas, Illinois Democrat, and Jacob K. Javits, New York Republican.

It provides for technical, financial and administrative assistance through the Health, Education and Welfare Department in school desegregation cases.

It also authorizes injunctive relief in suits brought by the Attorney General to protect the constitutional right to attend a nonsegregated public school.

BESIDES THE political fortunes of Senator Johnson, also involved may be the political fortunes of Sens. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Stuart Symington of Missouri.

A wrong vote on an amendment or absence on a key roll-call vote could spell doom for the political ambitions of any one of these candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Of these candidates, Humphrey is definitely lined up with the liberals and is one of the sponsors of the Douglas - Javits bill. Kennedy is the sponsor of an anti-bombing bill.

The test votes will probably occur on a motion to shut off debate and on adoption of the Rogers voting referee plan.

On the House side, the House Rules Committee was set to resume hearings Tuesday on a rule to send to the House floor for debate and vote the Celler civil rights bill embobying certain of the Administration's program. There also a bitter fight in expected to develop over the Rogers plan.

Congo Crisis . . . .

By Max Lerner

THE LONG overdrawn account of inhumanity in Africa are finally being presented for settlement. That the settlement should be demanded most dramatically in the case of the Belgian Congo is one of those ironies of history which are constantly hitting us in the face in this day of reckoning.

Mr. Lerner

The fact is, every student of Africa knows, that Belgian rule in the Congo and the adjoining Ruanda-Urundi has in the past half-century (since the death of the execrated Leopold in 88) been one of the few instances of decent, enlightened, and progressive colonial administration in Africa. Yet it is in the Congo that the departing whites have been subjected to the worst personal humiliations and outrages, and it is in the Congo that the structure of self-government has most miserably broken down.

How does one explain this? Part of the explanation lies in the backwardness of the Congolese social structure, and the continuing pattern of tribal feuds and hatreds which are now tranferred to the whites. But mostly the fault lie- with the idea which was at the core of Belgian rule. It was the idea that one people can treat another people like children and then expect them to behave like adults.

■

THE BELGIANS built clean and modern factories for the Congolese, and fine hospitals and clinics, and neat white houses for them to live in. But until three years ago they allowed them no part in governing themselves. And the little colony of Belgian administrators kept aloof from the 13 million natives. "They live as far away from us," said one Congolese, "as if they inhabited the planet Sirius." They knew them only as servants and workers. They regarded the Congolese people as wards to be cared for, with kindness and of course with profits for their trouble. They ran a decent, germ-proof, antiseptic paternal operation, bringing all the modern improvements into the jungle. They came to grief because even with the best of intentions paternalism is not enough.

■

IN 1958 I spent several weeks in the Congo, long enough to get the feel of the place, too short for an yreal study of it. I saw the Pigmy villages in the heart of the rain-forest, was caked with the dust of the long parched stretches, saw the factories and the new housing developments in Elizabethville and Stanleyville.

There were two points at which I caught a glimpse of events to come. One was in a conversation with a number of Congolese "evolues" — young natives who had been picked by the Belgians for education and training, to develop into a native elite. As the chosen ones, they were presumably also the safe ones from the Belgian viewpoint, yet they expressed discontent with the slow progress of freedom. The other was when a young Belgian official told me bitterly that the leaders of the big business corporation which ran and controlled the Congo were too smug about their accomplishments and too stuck in their ways to know what was happening in the minds of the Congolese.

He turned out to be a better prophet than I had anticipated. Leaders were developing among the Congolese who were determined to get freedom. The All-African People's Conference, at Accra in Ghana in 1959, was the turning-point. Immediately after it the Leopoldville riots broke out. Nothing the Belgians could do from that point could prevent their being ousted from the Congo and the setting up of a native republic. The dream of freedom seemed to have been fulfilled in the heart of Africa.

There is another way of putting it, which I owe to Peter Ritner's exciting new book, "The Death of Africa" (Macmillan, 1960). The Belgians brought urban'zation. The old tribal villages were broken up, and with them the old social controls. The new cities were built, but they have not developed a new set of social controls such as our own big cities have. In the crisis of liberation and hate the proletariat of the new cities lost their heads, and they are in danger of losing their new nationhood.

■

The big element of hope in the Congo crisis is the role of the United Nations. With the danger of the Congo becoming an East-West cockpit, because of the new stubborness of the Belgians and the obvious effort of the Russians to use the Congo for their anti-West campaign, only the UN can make some sense of the chaos.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

No Middle Road Party

I LISTENED attentively to President Eisenhower when he addressed the Republican National Convention in Chicago on July 26. I also listened attentively as he addressed several hundred Republicans at breakfast at the Morrison Hotel, Wednesday, July 27. When he addressed the convention he was defending his record, indicating that expenditures for national defense was adequate. At the breakfast the President was expounding his "middle-of-the-road" philosophy for the Republican party.

Dr. Mays

He talked about "the middle road, the broad highway" and condemned extension whether left or right. He said with emphasis that the Republican party was the "middle-of-the-road" party. The President did not define to my satisfaction what he meant by the "middle road." It is virtually impossible to be a "middle-of-the-roader" in times like these. Decisions must be made—sometimes to the right and again to the left. In traffic the "middle-of-the-road" means a wreck and death.

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IT IS SIGNIFICANT to note that the platform committee, and it is rumored under the influence of the White House, attempted to walk the middle road until Nixon and Rockefeller had their famous all-night meeting in New York.

From that moment on the platform committee began to modify and drastically revise its platform on national defense, education, old age security, civil rights, etc. It is clear as day that Nixon and Rockefeller in insisting that the platform be strengthened in certain areas had no intention of making the Republican party the "middle-of-the-road" party.

It is equally significant to note that the platform as adopted was certainly no middle-of-the-road platform. There was no reference to that kind of philosophy. Nixon and Lodge in their acceptance speeches gave every indication that they believe in progressive Republicanism. They plan to more than continue the Eisenhower policy. They plan to develop further the Eisenhower program. In the platform where "continuing" was used they substituted the word "acceleration." It is significant that in their acceptance speeches no reference was made of the "middle-of-the-road" breakfast speech of the President.

GOV. ROCKELFELER did the party a great service when he lured the party away from the conservatism of Senator Goldwater. Rockefeller does not deserve all the credit. Rockefeller and Nixon may have been working together all the time.

He could not too soon make a move that would give the impression that he was not 100 per cent with the President. And yet he had to step in his own shoes. Rockefeller gave him a way out and the two gave the party a more liberal face. It could not survive under the conservative wing of Senator Goldwater.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Best Hope for Peace

WERE IT NOT for the United Nations, the third World War would probably have already destroyed much of mankind. The United Nations stopped the aggression in Korea. Only God knows what the results would have been in Lebanon, the Suez, Laos and recently in the Congo had there been no United Nations. How wonderful it is that world problems can be argued and debated in the forum of world opinion. Wonderful, too, that small nations can make their contributions to world peace along with the great powers. When the newly established Congo Republic was falling to pieces and Russia was accusing Belgium of aggression and insisting that Belgian troops get out of the Congo in three days, it was Ceylon and Tunisia that put forth a resolution that was unanimously adopted by the Security Council.

Dr. Mays

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FIRST OF ALL, when the Congo blew up it was good for the world that Ralph Bunche, The Undersecretary of the United Nations, was on the spot. Hammarskjold used the power granted him under the charter's article 99 and called an emergency session of the Security Council. While the Security Council was listening to the debate between Belgium and the Congo and Lumumba was making wild irresponsible statements about inviting the Russian soldiers to the Congo, Ralph Bunche was there to keep the worst from happening and, I believe, urging that Lumumba get a larger view by visiting the United Nations. "In a matter of hours," says Time magazine, Hammarskjold had pledges of troops from Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia and Ethiopia. The first Ghanian troops were in Leopoldville in 24 hours. He had promises from Sweden, Ireland, Liberia and the Mali Federation. Close to 12,000 United Nation troops were in the Congo within 10 days.

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THE UNITED NATIONS may not be all it ought to be, but without a doubt it is the best we have for preserving the peace of the world. If we ever get to the point where nations will disarm, a United Nations army may be possible and probable. Let the critics stop damning the United Nations until something better is born.

The great job confronting mankind is disarmament. If the United Nations can succeed in getting the nations to disarm and reduce national units to police forces and have a United Nations force to police the world, mankind will survive. It is gratifying that the United States played a major role in getting food and United Nations troops to the Congo. It is good for the West and good for the United States if we win the admiration and good will of the African people.

—FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS—

"A rich man who does not enjoy his money is like an ass carrying gold while eating thistles."

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Is There Any Difference?

AS THE candidates make their appeal to the voters this fall, let us compare the two platforms on civil rights. The Democrats say: "The time has come to assure equal access for all Americans to all areas of community life, including voting booths, school rooms, jobs, housing and public facilities." They promise to use the full powers provided in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960 to secure to all Americans the right to vote.

Dr. Mays

If these powers prove inadequate, further measures will be enacted. They promise to strive to eliminate literacy tests and the poll taxes as prerequisites for voting. The Democrats promise to use full powers—legal and moral—to eradicate discrimination in education and to see that every school district submits plans of desegregation by 1963. They will work to empower the attorney general to file civil injunction suits in Federal courts to prevent denial of any civil rights on "grounds of race, creed or color."

They will support legislation for the establishing of a fair employment practices commission. They promise to make permanent the Civil Rights Commission. The Democrats promise further to end segregation in Federal services and institutions and to terminate discrimination in Federal housing contracts.

THE REPUBLICANS promise: "Continued vigorous enforcement of the civil rights laws to guarantee the right to vote to all citizens." Legislation to provide the completion of six primary grades in a state-accredited school as evidence of literacy for voting. To continue the vigorous support of the Justice Department to assist courts to end segregation in public schools.

The Republicans will use the 1960 Civil Rights Act to prevent obstruction of court orders. They promise to propose legislation to give the attorney general power to intervene in name of U.S. to end segregation in certain cases.

They will propose action to prohibit discrimination in housing constructed with Federal money and removal of discrimination in operation of Federal facilities. They will oppose the use of Federal funds for construction of segregated community facilities.

ON SIT-INS, the Republican statement is stronger. They reaffirm the constitutional right to peaceable assembly to protest discrimination in private business establishments.

The Republicans commend the businesses that have already abandoned discrimination in eating places and urge others to follow. The Democrats are weaker on sit-ins.

The Democrats are stronger in advocating the abolition of the literacy test for voting. They are also stronger when they advocate executive orders to abolish discrimination in Federal agencies. The Democrats favor the right of the attorney general to intervene in any civil rights cases. And, yet, there isn't too much difference.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

It Is Unfair

I AM NOT a Catholic; I am a Baptist. At this writing I am neither anti-Kennedy nor anti-Nixon. I am more of an independent than I am a Democrat or a Republican. I reserve the right to vote for the candidate that I think will serve this country best. At the present time I do not know which candidate I should vote for. I must hear the issues debated between the two men and on the basis of what they present in the next two weeks, I will make up my mind. But I do not think it is fair for the religious issue to be brought into this campaign.

Dr. Mays

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WE CERTAINLY should not condemn a man because he belongs to a particular faith. We do not exempt Catholics from Army duty. They are required to pay taxes and fight and die for their country like everybody else. It would be most unfortunate for this country if every Catholic who is born is doomed so far as ever being able to be elected President of the United States. No one should vote for Mr. Kennedy because he is a Catholic and no one should vote against him because he is a Catholic; just as no one should vote for Mr. Nixon because he is a Quaker or against him because he is a Quaker. The ability of the men, their attitude toward national and world problems and their probable abilities to implement their programs should be the deciding factors. After all, there is a Congress and there are many things that a President of the United States cannot do. Frankly, I think it is nonsense to believe that the Pope will influence Mr. Kennedy's action as President of the United States.

■

WE MIGHT look at it another way. I doubt if a Negro could get the nomination of either party for the presidency or vice presidency at the present time. This fact is true, I am sure, because of race. I believe there are some Negroes, if they had been white, who would have been offered the position of Vice President or maybe President. God knows that many Negroes have far more ability than some men who have been President of the United States. Whatever the present situation may be, I would hate to believe that a Negro could never be elected President of the United States because of race prejudice. I want to believe that the Negro can aspire to become President of the United States and that in due course this will happen. Race is a gift of God and no one should be discriminated against because of his race. One's religious faith is not a gift of God, but it is the result, mainly, of environment and one should not be discriminated against on the basis of race any more than one should be discriminated against on the basis of religion.

Both of the men are able and they should be judged on their program and what they offer the American people and on their character.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

What Does It Mean?

COLLEGES are crowded. Morehouse registered 778 men for this semester—51 more than a year ago. On July 10, we had closed the freshman class. And yet, we have more students than we expected. An enrollment of 600 would be more comfortable for Morehouse. This means that private colleges will not be able to avoid larger enrollments. A few years ago, it was argued that the tax-supported institutions should take up the increase and private schools concentrate on quality. It sounds good but it isn't realistic. Colleges that have a reputation of being good will have more and more students knocking at their doors. We can be as selective as we please and yet for the next few years our enrollments will increase.

Dr. Mays

There is great danger here for private schools. There is a point beyond which a school cannot go. If enrollment keeps mounting, there will be need of more teachers and more buildings. These will cost far more than what students pay in tuition. There is already a shortage of teachers. I suspect every college and university in the United States needs more teachers in certain areas. Even colleges that have money to pay for additional teachers cannot find them.

■

BUT THERE IS another problem. Will we increase the eagerness on the part of students to learn as the enrollment increases? We have all too many students who do not love learning. If we are to produce quality students we must create in them an insatiable desire to learn. They must love learning and get a thrill at the discovery of new truth and new ideas. Unless the increasing enrollments give us dedicated students who will go on to professional, graduate and technical schools and thereby increase the number of able ministers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, and scientists, the large enrollments will not help us too much. We need dedicated students who are determined to be more than ordinary.

We have enough ordinary people. We have too many below average people. Too few excellent people. The aim of every institution should be to reach excellence in its program and in its student body. The teacher is important here. His job is not only to know what he teaches and impart knowledge but it is equally important that he will inspire and motivate his students to strive for excellence.

■

LARGER enrollments could mean mediocrity. Unless we find a way to improve the quality of our teaching along with larger enrollments we will have a mediocre educational program. We all must ask the question, bigger enrollments to what end? This is a serious problem and it faces every college president and his faculty. Larger enrollments to what end? This is the question. I see no end to it. They say that for a decade or more college enrollments will continue to increase.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Matsu and Quemoy

THESE ARE TWO small islands, approximately five miles off the mainland of Communist China. They are approximately 100 miles from Formosa. It is these two islands that have claimed the attention of Nixon and Kennedy in their race for the presidency. Kennedy holds the position that the two islands are indefensible and that as president of the United States, he would not take the country to war in order to protect these two islands. Vice President Nixon declares that he would go to war over Matsu and Quemoy if an attack on them were a prelude to an attack on Formosa. One is forced to raise the question, how would Mr. Nixon know if an attack on Quemoy and Matsu was a prelude to an attack on Formosa? Without splitting hairs, isn't that tantamount to saying that the United States would fight if these two islands were attacked by Communist China?

Dr. Mays

■

I DO NOT believe the Vice President nor the Congress nor the Chief-of-staff could know with precision when an attack on these two islands would be a prelude to an attack on Formosa. It seems to this writer that the Kennedy position, with respect to Matsu and Quemoy, is a sounder one than that of the Vice President. There are only a handful of people on the two islands.

Suppose we reverse the situation. Suppose there were two islands, five miles from the coast of the United States, and China, Russia or Britain said that they would go to war if the United States made an attack upon these two islands. It wouldn't make sense, and I suspect the United States would grab them if they had any strategic advantage. Matsu and Quemoy are not worth a war. I fail to see the principle which the Vice President argues for.

We are in a better position in our intention to defend Formosa. Even here, I find myself in disagreement with both Kennedy and Nixon. Let us suppose, again, that Formosa were 100 miles from the mainland of the United States, and the people on this island were Americans, mainly. We would be angry with any nation if it were ready to engage in a war over an island whose people, mainly, were Americans. Chiang's record on the mainland of China is not good. Objective thinking would lead to the conclusion that Chiang Kai-shek hardly is worth defending.

EVEN WHEN Nixon and Kennedy both swear that they will fight over Formosa, I believe that history would be against such a war if we fought over Formosa. Neither Kennedy nor Nixon would dare take this position. If they were not running for the presidency of the United States, they might. In backing Chiang Kai-shek in China, we backed the wrong horse, and now we are out on a limb to the point that we feel obligated to back him on Formosa.

It is hard to justify the defense of Formosa. This makes the defense of Matsu and Quemoy absolutely indefensible.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Kneel-Ins

IT IS RIDICULOUS and ironical that anyone should have to stage a demonstration in order to worship in a church that calls itself the House of God. A group of students in Atlanta have appeared at several Atlanta churches for worship. They have been received in some and rejected in others.

Dr. Mays

It should be kept in mind that the church is the only institution in America that proclaims a Heavenly origin. The political state claims no such origin and educational institutions claim no such origin. Our economic organization does not claim to be ordained of God. The only other institution in our society that has a divine origin is marriage and the family. And yet, so many organizations are ahead of the church when it comes to interracial practices.

■

SINCE MAY 17, 1954, schools have been heavily desegregated in the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma and Missouri. There has been negligible desegregation in Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida. In all states, segregation has been abolished in dining cars, Pullman cars and interstate travel. Golf courses are integrated in some states of the South and in some parks. These are so-called secular organizations and do not assemble on Sunday to worship the Lord God of Hosts.

It must be exceedingly embarrassing to Southern ministers whose congregations deny fellowship to members of the Negro race while they preach about the Righteous and Holy God who is the Father of all mankind. Ministers wax eloquent on these points and yet there are hundreds of white ministers in the South who do not have the courage to lead their people to where they will accept interracial worship in the House of God. It is very difficult for a minister who denies worship and fellowship to a Negro to say to a drug store or a variety store that it should open its restaurant and cafeteria to Negroes. The dilemma of the minister in this position must be heartbreaking if he takes his ministry seriously.

UNLESS I FAIL to see both sides of this question, let me make it clear that Negro ministers and Negro congregations have no right to decry segregation in the white church unless they, themselves, are willing to go all the way in having white people not only to worship with them but willing to have them as members of their churches. None of us come to God with clean hands on this point.

I do, however, know that white people are welcome to worship in all Negro churches in the South that I know anything about. No Negro church would drive a white person away who wanted to worship, or lead them to the balcony, basement or other segregated sections in the church. If Negroes segregated in the church they would probably do so by giving the white people the best seats.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Professional and Collegiate Enrollment

PROFESSIONAL and collegiate enrollment is on the increase. This increase will continue for an indefinite period; certainly to 1970 and beyond. There were close to four million students in our colleges and universities during the academic year 1959-60. This increase will continue beyond 1970.

This fall will see a stepped up enrollment throughout the country. This should mean more and more men and women will graduate from college and more will graduate with advanced degrees. Will it mean more teachers for colleges and universities? There is a terrific shortage of Ph. D. degree people in almost every area of knowledge. They can hardly be found in chemistry, physics, mathematics, psychology and in the biological sciences. This is true not only because too few Ph. D.'s are graduated each year, but also because so many agencies are clamoring for men with the doctorate. I am sure that fewer than a thousand men with Ph. D.'s in physics are turned out each year. It may be fewer than 700.

Dr. Mays

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I BELIEVE that much of this difficulty is due to the fact that too few students do well enough in their undergraduate work to achieve a Ph. D. degree in physics, chemistry, mathematics and psychology. Our students are not sufficiently motivated to do academic work of high scholastic standing.

In some instances the students lack the ability to do high quality work. There are others who have good abilities and will not apply themselves while in college. Their work is so mediocre that they will hardly be accepted for graduate work in an outstanding university. Then, too, a man in science with a major in physics, psychology, Mathematics and chemistry can go into industry and government with the A. B. degree if he is a top student. The pay is good and any number of men stop short of a master's degree or a Ph. D. degree.

This certainly is a challenge to teachers and to students. It is the responsibility of the teacher to motivate students to achieve their very best during their four years in college. It is not enough for teachers to fill the minds of students, but they must also stretch the student's mind.

■

ALL STUDENTS need their minds stretched, but Negro students in particular need their minds stretched. On all too many campuses the scholarly atmosphere is not there and students go leisurely on their way without realizing the seriousness of the four college years and with no knowledge of the keen competition that awaits them.

All too often students are inclined to complain and to whimper when the teacher lays it on and requires them to meet a standard of excellence, only to discover in future years that the teacher they love most is the one who required them to work hard.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Terrell County Board of Registrars Found Guilty

ON SEPT. 13 District Judge William A. Bootle ordered the Board of Registrars to cease all discrimination against Negro voter applicants. The United States Justice Department brought suit on behalf of the four Terrell County Negroes under provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. This was the first suit won by the Justice Department. Judge Bootle refused, however, to appoint referees to protect Negro voting rights in Terrell County. The irony in this situation is the fact that Atty. Charles Bloch of Macon, Ga., a Jew, defended the registrars and tried to make it appear that there had been no discrimination against Negroes on racial grounds. Mr. Bloch is one of the most outstanding segregationists in the nation. We are thankful, though, that there are not many Jews like Charles Bloch.

Dr. Mays

■

The registrars were found guilty on seven counts:

1. **Using different colored application forms for white and Negro voters.**
2. **Keeping separate registration and voting records for whites and Negroes according to race.**
3. **Delaying action on application for registration by Negroes while not delaying action on applications of whites.**
4. **Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read and write a more lengthy and difficult paragraph of the constitution of Georgia or of the United States than whites are required to read and write.**
5. **Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read aloud and to write from dictation while not requiring white applicants to do likewise.**
6. **Administering tests to Negroes singularly and apart from white applicants while administering such tests to white applicants in groups.**
7. **Requiring a higher standard of literacy of Negroes than of white applicants in passing upon the results of the literacy tests.**

This is a significant ruling because it shows that the Justice Department can move in on its own and guilt can be established. Judge Bootle ordered the registrars to register the four Negroes who had been denied the right to qualify for registration and voting.

■

IT IS AN amazing thing to see how "good people," and I am sure church people, will deliberately lie in order to cover up a wrong. These registrars knew all the while that they were discriminating against Negroes. Attorney Bloch knew that they were discriminating against Negroes. We have reached a low ebb in our public morality. These four registrars will not be censored by the public in Terrell County. They will still be in good standing in social circles. They will still be members in good standing in their respective churches and if officers in the church, they will still be officers.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Kennedy and Nixon Slug It Out

IN THE second debate the presidential candidates were less polite to each other. They charged and counter-charged. They were frank and bluntly polite. Not being conversant with the facts, it is very difficult to know who is right when when two supposedly honest men accuse each other of inaccurate statements. Two people interpreting the same set of figures may draw different conclusions, depending upon the angle from which he interprets. But there are areas in which the candidates differ widely.

Dr. Mays

They differ on the defense of Quemoy and the Matsu Islands, a few miles of the coast of mainland China. Nixon contends that the United States should defend these islands and Formosa. Kennedy holds that Quemoy and Matsu are indefensible and that is only Formosa we should defend. I am inclined to agree with Kennedy that Matsu and Quemoy are not worth a war if defending them would lead to war. It is anybody's guess as to which view will keep us from going to war with Red China. Either defense, whether Quemoy and Matsu or Formosa may lead to war. If Communist China's main objective is Formosa, war may come anyway. In this sense the difference between Nixon and Kennedy does not amount to much.

■

THEY DIFFER again on Cuba. Whether the Eisenhower Administration could have made Cuba more pro-American by persuading Batista to hold free elections is again anybody's guess. It seems that Batista would have held free elections if the U.S. Government had urged him to do so. This is water over the dam. In a way, it is useless debate.

I find myself in agreement with Kennedy that to have expressed regret over the U-2 incident would not in any way have injured the prestige of the U.S. We have expressed regrets before. Whether the expression of regret would have saved the Summit Conference, nobody knows. It certainly would have given Khrushchev a weaker argument in accusing President Eisenhower of being wholly responsible for the breakup of the Summit Conference.

■

ON THE ISSUE of civil rights, Kennedy seems to be willing to give the Attorney General more power to enforce civil rights for the individual citizen. Nixon seems to confine his more to non-discrimination in voting and in Government contracts.

They both agree that there should be no Summit Conference without thorough preparation at lower levels of Government, thus enhancing the possibility of a successful summit. To this writer, that makes sense.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Persecution or Prosecution or Both?

THE NATION and the world will hardly believe that what is happening to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is not persecution. It is a Georgia law that one establishing residence in the State of Georgia, must secure a Georgia driver's license within 30 days after establishing residence. He had an Alabama license. The maximum penalty for driving without a Georgia license is a $50 fine and six months in prison. In Dr. King's case, the sentence was a $25 fine and a 12 months suspended sentence. Judge Mitchell gave him 12 months when the law requires only six. On the basis of this misapplication of the law, Attorney Hollowell won bail and appeal. The appeal is on the basis of the original sentence—$25 fine and 12 months suspended sentence, not the four months sentence.

Dr. Mays

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IT LOOKS like persecution. Firstly, it is true that in a suspended sentence one is not to get into any difficulty during the period of suspension. The City of Atlanta and Rich's, Inc., dropped all charges against Rev. Mr. King and the students who sat-in and dropped charges against students arrested for other reasons. The judge could have said since there were no charges against the Rev. Mr. King in Atlanta and since he had not been convicted, he had not violated his probated sentence.

If he had done this, the community would have been saved the turmoil experienced as a result of the trial. Rev. Mr. King did not deliberately violate the law by not purchasing a Georgia driver's license within 30 days after establishing residence. It could happen to me and you. The judge insisted on having the trial even after Atlanta had dropped charges.

SECONDLY, Judge Mitchell in sentencing Dr. King to four months in a prison work camp was admitting that the 12 months suspended sentence was an error. Why did the judge give him 12 months in the first place? We must assume that Judge Mitchell knew the law when he handed down the sentence. If ignorance of the law does not excuse a layman, it certainly does not excuse a judge. In the light of this fact, the judge could have easily dismissed the trial simply by stating that the Rev. Mr. King was still on probation.

Thirdly, D. L. Hollowell pointed out that nobody in the history of Georgia had ever served four months in the state work prison for not having a Georgia driver's license. The Solicitor for the State did not deny this. If this is true, Dr. King was the only person in the history of the State of Georgia who had been given such a stiff sentence for not having a Georgia driver's license. This is further proof that it is persecution and not prosecution or both.

There was no need to have the United States criticized all over the world because the Rev. Mr. King did not have a Georgia driver's license.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

31a negro
Pittsburgh Courier

Class Reunions

IN 1920 I was graduated from Bates College in Lewiston, Me. It seems that it was yesterday when I was graduated from that institution. I wanted to go back after 40 years to see some of my classmates; especially those I had not seen in 40 years.

Mr. Mays

Returning after 40 years is both pleasant and unpleasant. It is pleasant to renew acquaintances with men and women who 40 years ago were your classmates and sit around and chew the rag over what has happened in these 40 years.

The three most brilliant men in my class are all dead and each one of them died several years before they reached their 60's. It is equally sad to return after 40 years and discover that most of the professors that taught you have also passed on.

I FOUND only five teachers at my reunion who were there when I was a student. The faculty was almost entirely new.

The most colorful class at the reunion was the class of 1910, those who came back to celebrate their Jubilee Year. The women wore golden capes.

There were a few there who graduated 55 and 60 years ago. The reunion dinner conducted by the alumni was quite a brilliant affair.

■

AS A COLLEGE president, the most impressive thing was a description of what the Bates alumni did for the college over the past 12 months. The president of the alumni association read what each class had raised for the college since the last commencement. Even the class of 1958 was back in representative numbers and reported $6,000.

This is more than the entire alumni association of some colleges raise during the year. The president of the alumni association after reporting what each class had contributed during the past year, presented President Phillips a check for $92,000.

This amount was placed at the president's disposal to increase faculty salaries and to provide scholarships for worthy students and especially to increase faculty salaries.

When we consider the fact that Bates is a small college with an enrollment of not more than 800 and the further fact that the number of alumni cannot be too large, $92,000 is a lot of money.

SUPPOSE the alumni of a Negro college the size of Bates would do half as much, there would be $45,000.

Suppose the alumni of a Negro college the size of Bates would raise one-third as much, the college would have $30,000. It is a statistical fact that the income of the average Negro family is half that of the average white family.

I believe that the Negro alumni could do about half as much as the alumni of white institutions in some colleges like Bates. The alumni are reservoirs of support for our colleges. We must harness that power and strengthen our colleges.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

3a negro
The Pittsburgh Courier

The Most Encouraging Yet

GOVERNOR Nelson Rockefeller speaking before the Negro Baptist Conference in Buffalo, N. Y. recently, said what no man in high office has ever done when it comes to providing equal opportunities for all Americans in every phase of Government work. Not even Adlai Stevenson the year he was drafted as the Democratic nominee has been so bold and courageous as Governor Rockefeller. This, it seems to me, is the most significant statement any high Government official has made on the subject, and I quote:

Mr. Mays

"Congress should enact a permanent ban on racial discrimination in all work done under Government contract, license or certificate.

"The Federal Government should clean its own house by making sure that there was equal opportunity for employment in every agency and equal access to every Government facility.

"The President should prohibit at once by Executive Order discrimination in all Federally subsidized housing, with the same principle to be applied more gradually to all Federally insured housing.

"The Attorney General, in addition to aggrieved citizens, should be empowered to go to court to force school desegregation in Southern states now evading such action."

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THE GOVERNOR insists that the Justice Department should "utilize vigorously" its present power to obtain injunctions against persons interfering with Federal court orders requiring the desegregation of schools. He accused the Democrats of tending to settle the civil rights issue by talking much and doing precious little.

In the Buffalo address, the Governor rejected any theory that national civil rights problems should be solved with heavy reliance on moral suasion and education rather than on enforcement of the law.

Let us see what would be the immediate results of one item suggested by Governor Rockefeller. Many of us have argued for decades that the Federal Government should first clean its own house by abolishing discrimination in all Federal agencies throughout the United States. That would mean that the scores of Government agencies with headquarters in Atlanta would be desegregated immediately. For example, it would mean that in the Department of Internal Revenue where a black face is seen only as janitors, Negro men and women would have an equal opportunity to be employed. This house cleaning would do more than anything else to convince the world that the Federal Constitution means what it says.

The Federal Government has been soft on segregationists and it is in the area of human rights involving Negroes that we have been reluctant to enforce decisions. Education and persuasion are not enough.

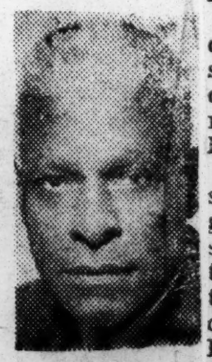
Pittsburgh Courier

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Sat. 7/16/60

Thirty-four Years of Distinguished Leadership

I HAVE GREAT admiration for Mordecai Wyatt Johnson. I worked with him as one of his deans for six years. The test of a man's leadership is determined by the respect and admiration you have for him after observing him close up. This column is a salute to Mordecai W. Johnson.



Mr. Mays

These are some of the things he has done during the 34 years he has served as president of Howard University:

1. The United States Government appropriated millions of dollars for the support of Howard University and the university was never in politics. No strings were ever tied to the appropriation. No member of Congress, no member of the President's Cabinet and no other high Government official ever dictated the educational policy of Howard University. The board of trustees did the hiring and the board of trustees did the firing without political pressure.

2. Howard University is academically free. The professors are free to teach the truth as they see it and at no time have they been afraid to follow the dictates of their conscience in the classroom. Academic freedom is one of the signs of a great university. The fact that the university is academically free is due in a large part to the leadership of Mordecai Johnson.

3. Inseparable from academic freedom is a faculty of able men and women devoted to the cause of education. It is my understanding that every department or school of the university is properly accredited by the appropriate agency.

4. The physical plant is excellent. There wasn't much to Howard University physically in 1926. It hardly deserved the name of university. A few men like Kelly Miller and Dwight Holmes had made the university famous. But there wasn't too much to the university physically. The expansion of the physical plant in these 34 years is staggering. When Mordecai Johnson went to Congress, shortly after he went to Howard, requesting a million dollars, some people thought he was crazy. Now a million dollars is only token money.

5. Mordecai Johnson is a man of great integrity. He has insight, will power and is a man of conviction. There has been no scandal at Howard under his administration.

6. He has given the university and the nation a courageous leadership. Few university presidents would have had the character and the ability to speak the prophetic word in criticism of the social and political ills of our times as he.

If happiness is found in accomplishing worthy goals, President and Mrs. Mordecai W. Johnson should be happy as they behold the work of their hands.

This kind of leadership is difficult to follow, but I believe that James Madison Nabrit will walk worthily in the footsteps of his predecessor. I pay high tribute to Mordecai Johnson. I salute James M. Nabrit.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

31a
The Pittsburgh Courier

A Shame and a Disgrace

A GROUP of us was discussing the academic performance of Negro students. After considerable discussion, we had to come to the conclusion that, by and large, the Negro student is not concerned with the pursuit of academic excellence. For some reason, the vast majority of Negro students have not been motivated to the point where they are willing to apply themselves to do their best in elementary and secondary school and in the college and university.

Mr. Mays

Sat. 7-23-60

We know many of the reasons. We can logically blame some of it on a lack of economic and cultural opportunity. We can also charge it to the poor schools which most Negroes have had to attend. Whatever the reasons may be, the fact remains that the academic performance of the majority of Negro students is entirely too low.

■

IN OUR DISCUSSION, a member of the group pointed out that in a certain teachers' college where 40 per cent of the enrollment are Negroes and 60 per cent are white, 99 per cent of the honor roll students are white and only one per cent are Negroes. If the percentage of Negro honor roll students were equal to the percentage of white students, instead of one

per cent of the honor roll being Negroes, 40 per cent of the honor roll students would be Negroes. The performance of the Negro students in this teachers' college must increase 40-fold in order to equal that of the whites.

Another discussant pointed out that in a certain college where the enrollment is about 50-50 Negro and white, 90 per cent of the members of the Alpha Kappa Mu Honorary Society are members of the white race and only 10 per cent are Negroes.

At another institution, it was brought out that two-thirds of the scholarship people are foreign students, whereas the foreign students constitute only 13 per cent of the student body. When you add all these facts together, it is a shame and disgrace. I am sure that these statistics would be similar across the board if we had the facts before us.

■

I SUPPOSE there is no one remedy for this condition. It poses a problem for teachers of Negro youth everywhere. And yet I am inclined to believe that the poor academic performance of Negro students is not due entirely to poor school, a lack of economic and cultural opportunity. These factors explain much of it, but I believe some of the difficulty must be placed upon the teachers, themselves, from elementary school through college and university. If these students are not motivated early, it is terribly late when they get to college and university.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Montgomery Carries On

ON JULY 10 I addressed a mass meeting in Montgomery, Ala. It was in response to an invitation by Rev. Ralph Abernathy, in an effort to raise money to pay the fines of 32 Alabama State College students who had been convicted for taking part in the student demonstrations that have swept the South since February. They were convicted on two counts: disorderly conduct and refusing to obey a police officer.

Mr. Mays

The fines averaged approximately $171 per student. The money had to be paid by 9 o'clock, July 11, or these 32 students would have had to serve considerable time in jail. I take it that the nature of the charges made it rather difficut to appeal the case on up through state courts to the Supreme Court. Although my schedule was exceedingly heavy, I felt obligated to go to Montgomery and help out if I could.

The Montgomery Improvement Association needed to raise $12,000. They needed between $5,000 and $6,000 to pay the fines of the 32 students. They raised a little more than $10,000 at the mass meeting.

■

IT WAS amazing to observe how it was done. Rev. Ralph Abernathy had used his national contacts to get money from churches and other organizations and had perfected an organization whereby 50 captains were appointed to raise $100 each. All of the captains did not raise $100, but most of them did or were very close to $100. One captain raised $197 and another $163. Those who went over the $100 mark tended to offset those who did not. Of the $10,101.35 raised on that occasion, more than half of it came out of Montgomery, Ala. When you consider the fact that Montgomery is not a very large city, this was a wonderful job.

These captains were men and women, mostly women. They were church workers and many of them had never had an opportunity to study for a college degree. But they understand the meaning of freedom and the price that must be paid if we are to achieve it. They were proud of their accomplishments and they had every right to be.

■

I MUST pay tribute to the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association in this connection. Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the MIA; Rev. S. S. Seay, secretary, and Robert D. Nesbitt, chairman of the finance committee of MIA. Able participants in the rally movement were Rev. H. J. Palmer and Rev. Robert E. Du-Bose Jr. There were others whose names I do not recall. But, without a doubt, there is great hope when the average Negro citizen is willing to make sacrifices for freedom.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

It Was Pathetic

THE NIGHT before the Democrats nominated Kennedy and Johnson, Chester Bowles presented the civil rights plank which was adopted. The Southern members of the platform committee presented a minority report. Ten states were represented in the minority report. The convention listened or pretended to listen to the objections raised to the platform by the Southerners. Jack Spalding of Atlanta Journal said in essence that the people listened for awhile to the minority report and to speeches by Southerners, but soon quietly turned their attention to other matters.

Mr. Mays

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THE DELEGATES allowed the South to have its say and then accepted the entire Democratic platform. The minority report was a weak report. It complained that "the loyalty of the people of the South to their party had been repaid for by scolding and derision." It contends that the Southern states are being subjected to "studied vilification." The report accuses the radicals in both the Republican and Democratic parties as attempting to drive the South from the Democratic party. The minority report complains that there are things in the plaform that are incompatible with the Constitution of the United States. The minority report wants the states to decide who should vote without any interference on the part of the Federal Government. It bitterly denounced that section in the Democratic platform that gives sanction to the "sit-in" demonstrations.

The minority report claims further that a denial to vote to Negroes has been grossly exaggerated. Member of this report state that it is unthinkable that "literacy tests" should be abolished as a test of qualification to vote. In a strongly worded paragraph the minority platform reads:

"For our part, we are opposed to the establishment of a Government by the idiots and the ignorant. The liberal salvationists among us have been shouting for the need for education, more money to be spent on it than ever before in our history. At the same time and in this same platform document they would abet ignorance and literacy. Apparently their credo is, when it comes to voting, let's keep 'em dumb to be more easily herded to the polls like sheep!"

■

SPEECH AFTER speech on the part of representatives of the deep Southern states, the objections raised in the minority report were ignored and the plaform was adopted.

It is as clear as day that a large segment in the South is living in the past and has no conception of the trend of events in the latter half of the twentieth century. They will move into the era of progress in human relation screaming and kicking as the more liberal tides pull them into the new era of human brotherhood.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

A Compliment to Martin Luther King Jr.

A RADIO newsman reported Governor Vandiver as saying something like this: That Martin Luther King Jr. had more influence with the Democratic Platform Committee in Los Angeles than he or the South had. This is not an exact quotation, but in essence this is what the radio analyst said. This should not surprise the Governor. He and the representative of ten Southern states were looking to the past, seeking to plot out progress in the area of civil rights. They want to hold to the status quo or turn the clock back to the time prior to May 17, 1954. What Governor Vandiver, Senator Stennis, Charles Bloch of Georgia and others like them, cannot understand is the fact that never again will segregation and discrimination be sanctioned by Federal law. It is just as impossible to go back to pre-May 17, 1954, days as it is to abolish airplanes and automobiles and go back to the horse and buggy days. These men look to the the past. Martin Luther King Jr., the leaders of the NAACP, the prophetic leaders in the Democratic and Republican parties and the right kind of Negro leadership everywhere look to the future.

Dr. Mays

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THOSE WHO LOOK to the past for the solution of racial strife will drowse to death by the sheltered shore of prejudice. Racial prejudice and discrimination based on color are no longer popular. They are frowned upon around the world. This will become increasingly more true as the nations of Asia and Africa come into their own. It is hardly an accident that the two Southerners who loomed largest in the Democratic convention in Los Angeles were LeRoy Collins of Florida and Lyndon Johnson of Texas—one permanent chairman and the other one, Vice Presidential nominee. If they had been staunch segregationists, these honors would not have come to them.

ALABAMA also pays a tribute to Martin Luther King Jr. The Associated Press announced recently that the State of Alabama had dropped its case against King. King was cleared Monday, July 18, of a "second charge of perjury in filing his Alabama income tax." The prosecuting attorneys are reported as saying that they dropped the second perjury indictment "because they lack evidence." Knowing Dr. King as I do, I knew from the beginning that the charges of perjury were false. After sitting through a part of the first trial, I knew that no fair jury could convict him. He was acquitted. The Associated Press article quoted Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford as follows: "When we tried him before, the jury did not think we had a case and I don't think this case is any better."

It is worthy of note that in every encounter Doctor King has had with the Alabama law he has come out victorious. "Thrice is he armed who has his quarrels just."

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier
There Wasn't a Word
of Truth in It
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WHEN people do not want to do something, they use their minds to justify why it should not be done. And if it is in human relations, they use their imagination to manufacture obstacles which usually have no basis in fact. Our greatest fears are fears of things that never happen.

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Dr. Mays

One of the major arguments advanced against desegregating the public schools was that Negro pupils were so poorly prepared and so far behind, that if they entered white schools it would be detrimental to the educational advancement of white students. The opinion of segregationists was almost unanimous on this point. Articles were carried in the leading magazines of the country, on TV and radio programs, stating how damaging it would be academically if Negro students entered the same schools as whites. Pamphlets were written to that effect.

■

THE SUPERINTENDENT of Schools in Logan County, Ky., when asked if he had noticed any decrease in the performance of white students since the school was integrated, replied: "No, sir, our testing program doesn't indicate anything of that type." When Supt. Ward I. Miller of Wilmington, Del., was questioned on this subject, he said: "The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advanced placement and honor classes is truly remarkable." Commenting on what Superintendent Miller said, the questioner commented, "In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration." Dr. Miller replied, "We feel it is better."

Supt. William Henry Oliver of Nashville, Tenn., reports: "Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies . . . I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together." Supt. John H. Fischer of Baltimore, Md., says: "Desegregation has no more effect on academic standards than it has on the yardstick by which a pupil's height is measured."

■

DR. OMER CARMICHAEL of Louisville, Ky., reports: "The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children . . . There was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro children at all levels, and the white did not suffer. Supt. David L. Green of Dover, Del., says: "The scholastic standards of the Dover High School have not been lowered by the admission of Negro pupils." Supt. Carl F. Hansen of the Washington, D. C. public schools, makes it clear that the quality of education that is being offered in the Washington system to bright youngsters at the top level is better than it

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Courier
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Why John D. Rockefeller I Was Great

SOME PEOPLE think the accumulation of money in and of itself makes one great. They think hoarding it makes them important. They believe that fine cars, fine houses and beautiful clothes make them important. So we see hordes of people striving to become outstanding and famous by the mere accumulation of all these things. But one can have all these things and not be great and not be outstanding.

Dr. Mays

It was not John D. Rockefeller's wealth that made him loved, respected and honored. It was what the man did with his wealth. It was what he gave to benefit mankind that made him known and honored throughout the world. If he had not improved mankind with his wealth, it would have been a different story. The Christian Century is right when it says:

"It was the spiritual contribution he made as a Christian man. He showed that a man placed as he was in a position of wealth and power could, under God, devote his life and resources to Christian ministries of inquiry, healing and teaching; could do so modestly and in such a way as to transmit his convictions to his own sons; could influence the whole pattern of philanthropic giving in a nation so privileged it had to learn to share beyond all precedent to save its own soul."

This quotation sums it up. He set a model for other foundations to go by. He also set an example so high that his sons and their children's children will be inspired by the life he lived and the example he set.

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I was in Mr. Rockefeller's presence only a few times, mostly in connection with the United Negro College Fund. Without Mr. Rockefeller Jr. the UNCF would never have taken wings and flown. Each time I was with him, I felt the quiet dignity and the sane humility of the man. I am sure he never had a boastful moment and never did think one time he was better than other people. He probably felt that he was what he was by the grace of God.

When I think of Mr. Rockefeller, I think of some people I know. They have little of this world's goods, move around with undue pride boasting of their importance, and make no real contribution to mankind. Compare them with John D. Rockefeller Jr. and one must exclaim that really great men are humble men. It is what one gives and not what he saves that establishes him in the hearts and minds of men.

There is nothing comparable to the way he lived except great prophets, surgeons, statesmen, and scientists. By their labors, diseases are conquered, slaves emancipated and men redeemed to a higher life. Whether rich or poor we can all profit by his life. He was a temperate man. I am sure he did not drink or smoke or swear. In every way he lived the good life and blessed mankind everywhere.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Courier
Sat. 6/25/60

Scared About Nothing

IT IS AMAZING how fearful power can be. It is interesting to note how much fear the peace-loving and penniless Jesus generated in the hearts and minds of the rulers of the Roman Empire.

He had nothing—no power, no prejudice, no money and no army—and yet, the Roman government permitted Jesus to be crucified. The 90-pound Gandhi was feared by the mighty British Empire in his campaign of non-violence.

Dr. Mays

In a non-violence crusade in Montgomery, Martin Luther King Jr. was hated and feared by the city authorities. I suppose entrenched evil is always afraid of anything that might uproot the evil.

■

ON SUNDAY, May 15, a student at Morehouse College announced that the students of the Atlanta University Center would celebrate the sixth anniversary of the May 17, 1954, decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring segregation in the public school unconstitutional, by marching through town by the way of the Capitol en route to the Wheat Street Baptist Church, where they would celebrate this eventful day.

It was made clear that this would be an orderly, non-violent march and that the only purpose was to celebrate the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court, which the Negro considers his second emancipation. This little statement created an excitement and for two days Atlanta was jittery.

The Governor issued a declaration making it clear that the students would not be permitted to come on the Capitol grounds and that he would see to it that no such demonstration would take place on state property. He denounced the idea and just about dared the students to march.

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SO, EARLY Tuesday morning, May 17, the state patrol was guarding the Capitol, some 80 or 100 of them, I am told, were there. According to the press they were armed, they had clubs, a supply of tear gas and had possession of the fire hose to keep or prevent any of the students from entering the Capitol grounds to have a brief worship service in commemoration of May 17, 1954.

One would have thought that a Communist army was marching in to take over the Capitol.

In contrast to the attitude of Governor Vandiver, Mayor Hartsfield remarked that it would be a nice thing if the Governor would invite the students in to show them the fine museum at the State Capitol.

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THE PATROLMEN were there all day and it is estimated that it cost $10,000 to have them there and that some $70,000 was lost in manpower hours by people watching and expecting something spectacular to happen.

How strange, how odd, how irresponsible can we be?

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Harry Morris of Liberia

THE FIRESTONE Rubber Plantation in Liberia is so huge that one is likely to feel that the Liberians, themselves, are not in the rubber business. It is true that in 1959 Firestone had about 706,600 acres in tapping, and possibly an acreage of 15,000 of immature rubber. The Firestone operation is something to see. But, it's equally thrilling to see the operation of Harry Morris of Liberia.

Dr. Mays

Harry Morris has perhaps the largest acreage of rubber of any Liberian. Mr. Morris took me and some friends over his farm. He has 2,100 acres under cultivation in 40-acre blocks. He is expecting to produce one million pounds of rubber in 1960. He has 300 workers. Mr. Morris has just purchased 5,000 more acres, and this acreage will be under cultivation in due cours.. When you recall that rubber sells at approximately 37 cents per pound at the present time, you can see what one million pounds would yield. To state it mildly, Mr. Morris is one of the wealthiest men in Liberia. He spent nine years in the United States and finished the Morris High School in the Bronx, New York His father died and young Morris had to return to Liberia. Three brothers died by the time he was 10. He has three children—Constance Morris, 13 now studying in Philadelphia; William Morris, 11, and Judith Morris, 8. He is married to the former Miss Wilma Holland of Danville, Va. Mrs. Morris is a graduate of West Virginia State College.

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THE MORRISES have a beautiful home located 45 miles from Monrovia at a place called Kakata, Liberia. The present home is beautiful, but I understand that Paul Williams of California is designing a new home for the Morrises which may cost $200,000. He owns the largest individual rubber plantation in Liberia. All told, it is estimated that Liberians, themselves, have something like 60,000 acres of rubber under cultivation.

I am quite sure that Harry Morris is an inspiration to all Liberians and an inspiration to anyone who meets him and who sees what he has accomplished and what he will still accomplish. A young man with the spirit of adventure and who has some capital might do well to consider investments in Liberia. He would be welcome provided he had a genuine interest in promoting the welfare of Liberia. It takes a rubber tree about seven years to yield rubber. Land can be leased from the government for a negligible fee

recourse but to stamp it out.

What's sure, there's more bloodshed ahead. South Africans are much more fanatical than our breed of racists. They have far more to lose. They'll doubtless try to make a few weak concessions to the blacks but the latter are going to be satisfied with nothing less than full freedom. South African blacks have a fighting record.

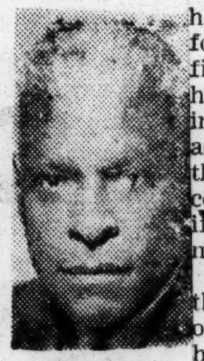
My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

We Salute Mrs. Evelyn M. Hodges

AN INTERESTING thing happened at the commencement of the Florida A. and M. University on Saturday, May 28.

It was so unusual because seldom does something happen that warrants such a spot on a commencement program. The Florida Institute of Certified Public Accountants each year gives an award to the candidate who makes the highest mark at the first sitting on an examination to become a certified public accountant. This year's award went to Mrs. Evelyn M. Hodges of the Florida A. and M. University faculty. In order that the reader might understand clearly the significance of this award. I quote the first two paragraphs of the letter Mr. Beasley of the Florida Institute of Certified Public Accountants wrote to Mrs. Hodges under date of May 20, 1960:



Mr. Mays

"Dear Mrs. Hodges: The Florida Institute of Certified Public Accountants makes an award to the certified public accountant candidate passing each examination at the first sitting with the highest weighted grade for all four parts. The grades are evaluated by the Florida Institute's Committee on Accounting Personnel without reference to the name of the individual.

"It is my pleasure on behalf of the Florida Institute of Certified Public Accountants to advise you that you are the recipient of this award for the November, 1959 uniform certified public accountant examination. We take pride in your attainment and offer our sincere congratulations."

MRS. HODGES is a native of Jacksonville, Fla., and is a graduate of Fisk University in the class of 1949 and she holds a Master of Business Administration degree from the University of Indiana.

I had just spoken to the graduating class on the subject, "The Challenge to Overcome the Disabilities of 341 Years in a Quarter of a Century."

According t othe Tallahasee Democrat and from a statement made by Mr. Triplett, who presented the awards to Mrs. Hodges for the Florida Institute of Certified Public Accountants, 367 persons took the examination along with Mrs. Hodges in November, 1959, 66 of whom passed.

MRS. HODGES made the highest grade of those sitting for the examination for the first time. Mrs. Hodges was exhibit A of the thing I was trying to say in my commencement address which gives evidence that our disabilities can be overcome in a relatively short time if we are determined and if we make up our minds to do so.

It was a thrilling moment for the faculty, students and visitors when Mrs. Hodges received her award and everybody was glad for themselves and for her. They gave her a standing ovation. I congratulated Mrs. Hodges at the time, and I take this opportunity to congratulate her publicly in order that all readers of The Courier might know of this significant event.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

It Is Still With Us

IT IS still true that many Negroes believe that in certain critical areas only a white man can do the job.

This is true in law, medicine and banking.

There are Negroes who think that a white doctor is better than a Negro doctor. This is evidenced by the fact that thousands of Negroes prefer a white doctor and a segregated waiting room to a Negro doctor and an unsegregated waiting room.

Mr. Mays

Even where Negro doctors are very much available, I suspect white doctors get more Negro patients than the Negro doctors.

Four years ago my wife was seriously ill. Many of my closest friends urged that I get a white doctor. I did not. Mrs. Mays recovered. If s! had not recovered, some people would have argued that a white doctor would have saved her.

THERE WERE some who were convinced that Martin Luther King Jr. needed a white lawyer, Alabamian and Southerner, if he had a ghost of a chance to be cleared of perjury in Alabama. Dr. King believed otherwise.

He insisted that Negro lawyers should defend him. He was right. I sat through a part of the trial. I doubt if a white Alabama lawyer could have argued this case as ably as Attorneys Ming, Delany.

I do not believe that any white lawyer in Alabama would have cared enough to put his mind, heart and soul in this case.

I doubt if a white lawyer in Alabama would have run the risk of social ostracism if he had argued the case resulting in King's acquittal.

IT WAS a remarkable thing to see and hear Ming, and Delany marshaling their evidence against the state's lawyer and before an Alabama judge and white Alabama jurors.

I think even King, Ming and Delany were happily shocked when King was cleared.

Here is more evidence that all of the ability is not clothed in white skin.

If a white lawyer had argued the case and King was cleared, it would have been conclusive proof that it was because the lawyer was white and Southern. If Ming and Delany had lost it, there are those who would have said, "King's lawyers should have been white."

WE MUST never forget that law is law and a Negro can learn as much law as any white man and that medicine is medicine and a Negro can learn as much medicine as any white man.

The same is true of banking, teaching, preaching or in any other field. If one has the ability and will apply himself diligently, he can succeed in a prejudiced South.

We must keep another thing in mind. Most of the civil rights cases have been won by Negro lawyers. Most of these cases would have been refused by white lawyers, especially here in the deep South.

What we see here should be very encouraging to young Negroes for the future will be brighter for them than it was and is for their elders.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier

An Unforgettable Experience

AFTER flying 15 hours and 25 minutes, stopping only in Dakar, we had traveled from Idlewild International Airport in New York to Roberts Field in Monrovia, a distance of approximately 5,000 miles. Including an hour's stop in Dakar, we made the journey in 16 hours and 25 minutes. We had gone as guest of the Government to witness the fourth inauguration of a truly great leader, William V. S. Tubman, and his Vice President, William R. Tolbert Jr., on Jan. 4, 1960. President Tubman has already served 16 years.

Dr. Mays

In one sense the inauguration began on Sunday afternoon, Jan. 3, when an inaugural thanksgiving and intercessory service was held; thus the inauguration began in worship and prayer. At 4 A.M., Jan. 4, a gun was fired from Fort Norris announcing the dawn of day. At 8 A.M., a gun was fired from Fort Norris for the hoisting of National Ensigns. At 9 A.M., there was a military escort from Barclay Training Centre to the Centennial Memorial Pavilion where the inauguration was held.

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ON TIME the procession began, including the proper representatives of the Liberian Government and the official delegations of foreign countries. This procession alone was an unforgettable experience. The men at the inauguration wore high hats and tails. The choir sang "Liberia, the Gem of West Africa." This was followed with prayer by the Chaplain of the Senate. The choir sang next "The Lone Star Forever." At this time, the President pro tempore of the Senate administered the oath of office to the President elect, William V. S. Tubman. After the choir sang "Te Deum Laudamus," President Tubman administered the oath of office to the Vice President-elect, William R. Tolbert Jr., followed by Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus." By now a packed house was ready to hear the President's inaugural message.

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BY ANY count, it was a great message of a great leader. The address was interrupted 37 times with applause. An article will be devoted to the address. The inaugural service concluded with the Liberian National Anthem.

Other significant events extended through Thursday, Jan. 7, including such brilliant affairs as the "Review and Inspection of Units of the Armed Forces of Liberia, the Liberian cultural dances, the inaugural banquet, entertainment of paramount and clan Chiefs and other interior officials, garden party, special convocation on Friday, at which time the University of Liberia conferred honorary degrees upon Raymond Firestone, Martin Jenkins, John W. Davis, Ralph Bunche, Thurgood Marshall and the writer.

As I viewed this scene, I thought: "Africa, perhaps, will become the melting pot of the world."

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier

Progress Under Tubman

AN ADMINISTRATION or organization must be judged by the leadership and by the philosophy and progress of that leadership. It is not an accident that President Tubman is entering his 17th year as President of the Republic of Liberia. The President is loved by all the people. It is said that if anyone steps on the toes of the least Liberian, President Tubman says "Ouch."

Dr. Mays

The record shows that tremendous progress has been made since Mr. Tubman became President in 1944. There has been a remarkable increase in government revenue. In 1944, the national revenue was about $1 million. In 1960 it is $25 million or more. Roads are being paved all over the country and it is a delight to travel over hundreds of miles of beautifully paved roads. A modern automatic dial telephone system is in operation and there are wireless telegraph stations throughout the country. One of the most significant forward steps under President Tubman is the extension of the suffrage. There is universal adult suffrage in Liberia and the women have the same right to vote and to be voted for as men. In 1959, Mrs. Ellen Mills-Scarbrough was elected to the House of Representatives. Miss Angie E. Brooks is assistant Secretary of State; Mrs. Etta Wright is assistant Secretary of Defense; Mrs. Edith Harris is assistant Secretary of Public Works and Utilities, and Mrs. Georgia Cooper is Secretary of the Senate.

CONSIDERABLE progress is being made in the field of education. In 1944, the beginning of the Tubman Administration, there were a total of 187 schools in the country, 235 teachers and 11,722 students. In 1959 there were 850 schools, 4,152 teachers and 72,267 pupils. There are more than four times as many schools, almost 20 times as many teachers and six times as many students. In 1957 the number of hospitals had increased to 23 with a total of 1,200 beds. There are eight leper hospitals, 106 clinics and one TB sanitarium with 50 beds. These hospitals were manned by 82 doctors. This number has been remarkably increased since 1957.

The open door policy formulated by President Tubman 16 years ago has brought much economic progress to the country. He said in his inaugural address to the Legislature in 1944: "We shall encourage the investment of foreign capital in the development of resources of the country, preferably on a partnership basis, and we shall accord to investors the necessary protection and fairness of treatment." Foreign capital enters into a partnership agreement with the government which is beneficial to both parties concerned. In addition to the Firestone Plantation Company—a pioneer concessionaire—there are others, such as the Liberian Mining Company, African Fruit Company, Liberian Import-Export Company and many others. The Firestone Company alone employs 25,000 Liberians.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier

This I Believe

I BELIEVE that if the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. had not been a leader in the Montgomery Bus Boycott Movement and if he were not a crusader for civil rights, he would have never been indicted by the state of Alabama, charged with perjury in connection with income tax returns in 1956 and 1958. It may be exceedingly difficult to prove this point, but some things are true even when they cannot be proved. If the Rev. Mr. King had written a non-controversial novel and had made money therefrom, I am still of the opinion that he would not have been thus indicted. If they had discovered any error in mathematics, it would have been adjusted with the state revenue people and that would have been the end of it.

Dr. Mays

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IT IS CLEAR in my mind that is an effort to discredit King's leadership and to curtail his activities in the interest of civil rights. It has always been true, and probably always will be true, that a leader who arouses the people against entrenched wrongs and injustices, and if he has a following, is feared by government.

It is when a leader gathers a large following and is responsible for uprooting age-old traditions, that political power becomes excited. If Mahatma Ghandi and Nehru had attracted no attention the British government would not have kept them in jail so long and so many times. It is always possible to find some cause for indicting such a person.

I believe that the grand jury and the courts were doing what was their duty after certain persons conspired against the Rev. Mr. King. Whether this conspiracy to get him results from jealousy, prejudice or downright hatred, or from all three, the aim is to destroy his influence and leadership.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, the people who know the Rev. Mr. King would never believe that he falsified in making his tax returns in 1956 and 1958. Whether there was or was not an error, I am not in the position to say. I am convinced that if a mistake was made in reporting, it was not deliberate and not intentional. If it were possible to examine the integrity of all people alive today, I would place the honesty and integrity of the Rev. Mr. King alongside that of the most honest man alive.

And yet, his reputation is at stake. He must prove that his returns for 1956 and 1959 were accurate or if in error, he must establish the fact that it was not intentional. In this case the state will not assume that he is innocent until proved guilty.

This is the time when all people who believe in justice and fair play, Negro and white alike, must come to the support of the Rev. Mr. King. It would be a tragic thing if we do not, because this could be an attempt to put the fear of the Lord in any man who is inclined to speak out against social, political and economic injustice.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier

White Immunity?

IF YOU are a member of the Georgia Legislature and a member of the white race, you can say things that may incite murder and lynching and get away with it.

On Feb. 19, Representative Harvey Jordan of Calhoun County, Georgia, is reported to have taken the floor on a vote of personal privilege to allow him, he is quoted in the Atlanta Journal as saying, "to let the folks back home know that he had been up here." It is reported that he spoke on three subjects, "Hope," "Cooperation" and "Give the N—r What He Wants." In the course of his address, the Journal states that he made reference to the Rev. M.L. King Jr., saying, "If the Rev. Mr. King would come preach a sermon in Miller County on Saturday night, he would go to Heaven quick."

Dr. Mays

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THIS IS AN invitation to murder and lynching. Much of the murder and lynching that have gone on in the United States over the years has been caused by irresponsible men in high office who encourage the "fellow down there" to take the law into his own hands. A white skin in Georgia guarantees you this privilege. Some

years back I heard a candidate running for the governorship of Georgia say, "If a Negro attempted to enter a school down my way, he would not live to see the sun set." He was elected. An editorial in the Constitution (Feb. 20) quotes Roy Harris as saying: "It will be necessary to arouse the people . . . so that it will be impossible to execute the Supreme Court decision."

What would happen if a Negro in a responsible place would say something to encourage Negroes to kill or murder white people? Would there be laughter among Negroes as there seems to have been in the Georgia Legislature when Representative Harvey Jordan made his speech in the Legislature "to let the people back home know that he had been up here"?

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THE REPRESENTATIVE is supposed to have told a number of stories in Negro dialect, bringing considerable laughter from the Representatives, designed to show that Georgia Negroes do not want integration. He is said to have poked fun at the more-liberal-minded Representatives and took cracks at the Atlanta Constitution and Ralph McGill. The Journal article states that Representative Jordan claims that Negro teachers and employes in Calhoun County wrote him to request the Governor to pay no attention to HOPE (Help Our Public Education). HOPE is an organization designed to use its influence to keep the public schools open.

We will never have equality and justice in America as long as one can get by because he belongs to a particular race. It is not good for a child to get away with misconduct because he is the son of a prominent man. It is not good for a nation if there is immunity based on race.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

This Too Is Atlanta!

ATLANTA has had a considerable amount of favorable publicity in recent years. Articles have been written ex-

toiling the good race relations existing here in Atlanta and a good bit has been said about the great educational center in Atlanta, the progress Negroes are making in banking, insurance, real estate and in the construction of beautiful homes. All of these are noteworthy and needed to be said.

Dr. Mays

On the other hand, I have always felt that these beautiful things have been said about Atlanta without looking at the other side of the picture. Fourteen members, under the name The Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, have put out a brochure under the caption "A Second Look—The Negro Citizen of Atlanta." It is a sobering statement because it tells us we are not so far along after all. To brag about Atlanta without giving the less favorable side is terribly misleading. "A Second Look at Atlanta" gives the other side.

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THE BROCHURE points out that double sessions continue in about a dozen and a half Negro schools and that many Negro children travel 10 miles a day to reach a school that will admit them. There is no advanced training available to Negroes in medicine, dentistry, law, architecture, aeronautical engineering, civil engineering, electrical, industrial management, textile engineering, and mechanical engineering. The brochure goes on to point out that there are over 3,300 of the nation's leading business concerns having thriving branches in Atlanta and that some 55 departments and agencies of the United States Government are located here. And yet, most of the graduates of Negro institutions of higher learning must leave Atlanta if they hope to find positions in business concerns and Federal departments that employ only whites in Atlanta. The Post Office is the greatest employer of Negroes of all of the Federal agencies in Atlanta. In the Internal Revenue Department where all of us pay taxes, a black face is not seen beyond the janitorial level.

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THE DEATH RATE for whites in Atlanta is 8.3 per thousand; the death rate for Negro Atlantians is 11.7 per thousand. The brochure makes clear that Atlanta's 14 general hospitals and 9 related institutions provide some 4,000 beds for whites and with the exception of 430 beds at Grady Hospital, Negroes have available to them 250 beds in three private Negro hospitals. Some of the hospitals were built with Federal money. There are 2,500 graduate nurses in Atlanta and of this number 157 are Negroes. There is no post-graduate training program available for Negro nurses. Thirty-eight Negro physicians are barred from membership in the Fulton County Medical Society. Negroes constitute 35.7 per cent of the population while occupying only 16.4 per cent of the total developed residential land.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

The Meaning of the Sit-Down Protests

THE STUDENT sit-down protests do not exist in isolation. They are a part of the age-old battle which Negroes have been waging since 1863 to become a Negro American and not an American Negro. In fact, they are a part of the struggles of the Negro slaves who staged insurrection in an effort to be free. These sit-down protests are in the tradition and spirit of Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman.

Dr. Mays

They certainly go back to World War I when Negroes from Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, So. Carolina, Virginia and other Southern states fought on European soil along with Englishmen and Frenchmen to make the world safe for democracy, a democracy denied them at home. Negroes fought in Europe, Asia and Africa for the four freedoms, too, in World War II, four freedoms which they do not fully enjoy. The sit-down protests cannot be isolated from the Korean War in which we fought to put down Communist aggression. These sit-down protests are in line with all the court cases which the NAACP and other organizations have spearheaded to equalize salaries and to desegregate the schools. They are related to the Montgomery bus boycott, touched off by Mrs. Rosa Parks who did not see fit to give up her seat for a "Southern white gentleman."

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IN FACT, this is a part of the world struggle on the part of the suppressed peoples everywhere — Asia, Africa, North and South Americas—to breathe the air of freedom and justice. As 4,000 Negro students in the six institutions in Atlanta said unanimously two weeks ago: "Every normal human being wants to walk the earth with dignity and abhors any and all proscriptions placed upon him because of race or color. In essence, this is the meaning of the sit-down protests that are sweeping this nation today."

It is indeed naive for any one to doubt, as Governor Vandiver of Georgia does, that the Civil Rights Manifesto unanimously accepted by six separate bodies in Atlanta is the work of someone from afar. Negro students and Negro leaders in the South do not need anyone from Moscow, Paris, New York or Boston to tell them to cry out against injustices that smell to high heaven. When Southern segregationists attribute our protests to outsiders, they are trying to support the fallacious theory that Southern Negroes love segregation and discrimination. I, for one, have been protesting against segregation and discrimination since I was 6 years of age—years before I set my feet outside of my native South Carolina.

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BILLS CALLING for segregation and discrimination were easily enacted into law. On the other hand, it takes a mighty long time to get such laws abolished.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Less Fear and More Respect

AS I APPRAISE further the battle that Negroes in America have been fighting for human rights within the last 25 years, there are two things that stand out most significantly and they are most encouraging. There has always been a fair number of courageous Negroes even during the days of slavery. But there can be no denying the fact that slavery, segregation, exploitation, lynching and all kinds of brutality have put a fear into thousands, yea, I suspect, millions, of Negroes. They have been afraid of jail and they have been afraid of bodily harm. Many of them have been submissive and weighted down with an inferiority complex.

Dr. Mays

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IT IS GRATIFYING to note that the Negro is becoming increasingly more courageous, but sanely courageous. This lack of fear is manifested in the sit-down protests that are sweeping the South at the present time. These Negro students know perfectly well that there is some danger in what they are doing. They not only run the risk of being jailed but they also run the risk of being brutally treated. And yet, all over the South they have staged their protests and have accepted their lot uncomplainingly and with little or no sense of fear. The officers of the law do not frighten them to the degree that they feel like running when they see the policemen coming.

The courageous battle that Negroes are making in the Federal courts is another evidence of the courage which the Negro is displaying in his undying determination to rise to the full stature of a full-man in American life. And in all of this, he is fighting the battle non-violently and this is a most unarming thing to the Negroes' oppressors.

■

BUT THERE IS something else more important. The Negro is respected now as never before in the history of this country. People who take everything and never fight back gain neither the respect of themselves nor the respect of others. When people protest injustice they gain respect. When they accept it uncomplainingly they are despised by others and even by themselves.

The battles in the Federal courts, the Montgomery bus boycott, and the sit-down protests that are sweeping the nation today prove conclusively that the Negro is not happy and satisfied in his subordinate role in American life. Politician after politician has tried to make the nation believe the Negro loves segregation. He wants to be segregated. He not only wants it and loves it, but he is happy in it. The most prejudiced Southerner ought to know now that the Negro is not happy in being a second-class citizen and that he is not satisfied. Everyone wants to be loved but had I to choose between love and respect, I would choose respect.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Spontaneous or Organized?

THERE has been considerable debate as to whether the recent sit-down protests were spontaneous or organized and inspired. I do not know the details as to the origin of the sit-down protests in restaurants and libraries. In fact, it seems to me that it makes little or no difference whether the sit-ins were spontaneous or whether there is an organization behind them. This may be true and it may not be true. Frankly, I have no concrete evidence.

Dr. Mays

But what difference does it make whether the protest against a great injustice is spontaneous or whether it is organized? As this writer sees it, it makes no difference. The very fact that the great injustice exists calls for a remedy. If the sit-down protests were spontaneous when they began in Greensboro, it struck a responsive chord in the minds and hearts of Negro students. If it were organized, the injustice is so deeply resented by Negro students that it makes for fairly easy organization. I think it is beside the point to try to invalidate the sit-down protests on the ground that they are organized and that some special organization is sponsoring them. To this writer, that is besides the point.

■

THE ISSUE is clear. Has a man who caters to the public the right to accept all the public except the Negro segment of that public? If there are 20 national groups or racial groups in a community, has the o[wner] the right to say that he will accept 19 of the national groups and exclude the 20th? How far does one's personal right go? How private is a business that caters to the public? This is going to be an interesting decision when these cases reach Federal court. If it is legal for the State of New York, in its civil rights legislation, to say that a restaurant or hotel cannot discriminate on the grounds of race, is it not reasonable to expect that the Federal Government will say the same thing? I raise the question again, how private is a business that caters to the public? Is it legal for a man to put up a sign saying that Negroes are not allowed if he makes his money off the public?

■

EVEN GRANTED that a man have a right to exclude Jews or Gentiles or Negroes from his business, does he have the right to call upon the state to support him in his exclusion policy? The assumption is that prejudice is at the basis of discrimination and segregation. If this is so, have I the right to impose my prejudice upon another by law? This, too, will have to be decided in court. It is my opinion that a business that caters to the public and depends upon the public for a living cannot discriminate on the grounds of race. I predict that when the cases of the sit-down protests reach the Federal court, my opinion will be sustained.

Dr. Mays calls racism 'damnable'

WASHINGTON

"Racial discrimination — pardon my language — is so damnable in the church because the church doesn't belong to man but to God."

So declared Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, before the Fellowship Forum at the 12th Street YMCA on Sunday.

He said that racial discrimination was not a part of the early Christian church, but grew up in the expansion of Western civilization.

"In the Old Testament, discrimination is not based on religion and not on race or color."

Hebrews in Biblical times took in all groups who accepted Judaism, which was the dominant religion of that day, he said.

* * *

HE DEBUNKED the old practice of upholding racial discrimination on the assumption that Noah cursed Ham, or that God sanctioned the curse of Father against son.

"You don't have to be a scholar or to know Hebrew, just read the Ninth Chapter of Genesis," Dr. Mays said. "You will find that God didn't do the cursing, but Noah did.

"You will further note that when Noah did, he was coming out of a drunken stupor.

"I don't believe God would use a drunk to do that kind of work," he added.

The Dutch Church in South Africa and other denominations here and elsewhere distort Scripture and do violence to Christianity with racial theories allegedly based on the Bible, he said.

"No where in the early church do we find discrimination based on race or color," Dr. Mays said.

* * *

ON THE desegregation front, he said he didn't forsee any school integration in Atlanta until 1961.

He spoke up for the student movement in which boys at his college play a role in the drive against lunch counter segregation.

Dr. Mays said, "If it isn't Christian to protest in love, for God's sake what is Christian?"

The speaker was presented by the Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers pastor of the Church of Redeemer (Presbyterian), which sponsored the final forum in a series for the spring.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Why We Have to Work So Hard

THE MOST immoral thing that one can do to another is to deliberately inflict upon him disability and then resist every move that the disabled makes to remove the disabilities. This is the Negro's plight in America. He has been proscribed and restricted by law and when he attempts to get these proscriptions removed by law, he faces a long drawn out process in Federal court. If it isn't that, it is arrest and jail because one disobeys these unjust laws. How cruel, brutal, immoral, to make a man fight for that which is given him by virtue of the fact that he is human by virtue of the fact that he has safeguards guaranteed to him in the Constitution and due him by virtue of our Christian pronouncement. Let me illustrate.

Dr. Mays

■

ONLY THE NEGRO has to wage battle after battle in order to be able to cast a ballot without intimidation, fear or maybe death. This is not true of other Americans; only the Negro must spend thousands upon thousands of dollars trying to receive the ballot. Orientals, Europeans and Australians are not segregated by law in Southern United States. A man from Ireland, England, Germany, or any other country except Africa, can come to this country and ride without the stigma of segregation. It is only the Negro that suffers these disabilities. It is only he who must wage a long battle in Federal court in order to get these restrictions removed. The public schools, colleges and universities in the South are unsegregated, many races are enrolled in the schools of the South. It is only the Negro that they battle to keep out of their schools. Why must the Negro fight so hard to gain what everybody else is expected to have and does have?

■

INDUSTRIES COME South and spend millions, yea, billions of dollars for profit and to improve the economy of the South. It is only the Negro whom local people tell Northern industry you must not employ, except in the most menial jobs. It is mainly Negroes whose houses are bombed when they move into a certain district. Occasionally, Jews' homes may be bombed but for the most part it is the Negro that they do not wish to live next door. No other racial group in America has had to sue in Federal court to implement the separate but equal doctrine of the 1896 Decision of the United States Supreme Court. The gap of inequality was widened and the Negro had to sue in order for there to be a beginning of a program to close the gap.

I cannot answer these questions. I only know that the social revolution is on and there can be no permanent retreat until we make America what she ought to be. It is for these reasons that I cannot believe in the inherent goodness of man without at the same time believing in the potentiality of evil in every man.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

We Salute The Courier

THIS IS A great year not only for The Pittsburgh Courier but for Negro journalism. No one could have predicted that in 1960 The Courier would have developed as it has developed and made the contribution to America that it has made. We salute The Courier. Especially do we salute Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Vann. For fear many will not see the attractive aniversary brochure which has just been gotten out, I quote here The Courier Story taken from this brochure. The year was 1910—almost 50 years ago! A small band of intrepid men felt they needed a mouthpiece to project their fight for the things which they, and their neighbors were entitled to as growing, two-fisted industrial Americans.

Our City—a sprawling, growing, two-fisted industrial community—dominated by steel, iron, and coal.

"Thus was born The Pittsburgh Courier!

"Today our newspaper has become a legend and a symbol. Today we are a million dollar a-year journalistic empire.

"We are proud of our achievements. We have launched crusades; we have engineered campaigns. We have been in the forefront of the ceaseless struggle to make America realize that Negroes, too, are Americans.

"Love of country burns deep in our hearts. We have fought against bigotry, insults, and injustice. We have fought for one-ness, unity, and brotherhood.

"We have fought to make our nation a better place for all Americans. We glory in the changing climate we helped to create.

"We have helped chart the course of our nation during the most dramatic and challenging 50 years of its history.

"Join hands and hearts with us in celebration of our 50th in '60!"

THE COURIER has been a pioneering newspaper. It is perhaps as widely read or more widely read than any of the journals owned and published by Negroes. Its war correspondents have covered major events of the last decades, such as the Italo-Ethiopian war and the events at the beginning of the Japanese war in 1941. It was The Courier that had the first Negro accredited to a Negro newspaper as a war correspondent. The Courier was among the first to break the Dorie Miller story and the Rosa Lee Ingram case, and also the Sallie Nixon case.

Back in 1925 The Courier started a campaign for Negroes in the major sports. It may be that it was that campaign that led to the doors opening to Jackie Robinson 21 years later. Sometime before the May 17, 1954 decision of the United State Supreme Court, The Courier launched a campaign for educational equality. In that first effort The Courier raised $17,000 with pennies, nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars. Believing that leadership carries great responsibility, The Courier launched the Better Conduct Campaign.

The Courier's Home Service Fairs, designed to make better homes, attracted more than a million homemakers.

We salute The Courier and wish for it a glorious future and trust that the next 50 years will be more distinguished than the first 50.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

And They Say We Are Immoral

ONE OF THE arguments that many white people give for opposing the desegregated society, especially in the public schools, is that Negroes are immoral. Of course, morality deals with many things and it is not merely confined to sex misbehavior. And yet, one of the arguments used against Negroes is that we are sexually immoral. This is a generalization and all generalizations have an element of error in them. Individuals are immoral, but I doubt if you can accuse a whole people of being immoral.

Dr. Mays

WHEN WHITE people do immoral things, it is not racial. But when Negroes do, it is publicized as immorality. And yet, a series of articles have been running recently in the Atlanta Constitution about sin and vice in the Classic City, Athens, Ga. On the front page of the April 29 issue of the Atlanta Constitution is the headline "Prostitution Bribe Offered to Mayor." Mayor Ralph Snow was reported as disclosing that he was once offered "a $400 weekly payoff to allow four Athens houses of prostitution to operate." The bribe was reported to have been offered by a prominent businessman and the mayor is reported to have rejected it. I quote from the article by Jack Nelson in the April 29 issue of the Atlanta Constitution.

"The Classic City of the South is the home of some 6,300 university students. Athens has the largest concentration of young people of any city its size in Georgia. The conditions of vice are hardly hidden from even the most casual view.

"The Athens prostitution racket, which feeds off University of Georgia students, is so open that primary contacts leading to the brothels are made within a block of the Athens police department."

The man who offered the bribe to the mayor is supposed to have invited the mayor to drop in by his office. The mayor states that he began counting out money in $20 bills and claimed to be representing the busines agent of four houses of prostitution.

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IT IS AMAZING that the article states frankly that the prostitution racket feeds off University of Georgia students. It seems that this has been going on for years. Perhaps this is the way human nature often behaves and there is no point in writing about this except to say that this will never be used, and it should never be used, to smear the white race. No fair-minded person would want to smear the white race because of what is going on in Athens, Ga. And yet, this is exactly what would happen if the situation was reversed and if these articles appeared about Negro students, vice and prostitution

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

What a Paradox!

I WAS not surprised when Governor Vandiver of Georgia said in essence that the statement, "An Appeal for Human Rights," which the Negro students in Atlanta carried in the three Atlanta papers was Communist inspired. Governor Vandiver is so uninformed as to the thinking and activities of Negroes that he is hardly in a position to know that Negroes in all walks of life are bitterly opposed to segregation and discrimination based on race. But, when Harry Truman comes out supporting the position of Governor Vandiver, that is paradoxical.

Dr. Mays

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WHEN MR. TRUMAN was accused of protecting Communists in high places during his administration, he cried aloud to high heavens denying the accusations. The tactics which Mr. Truman denounced when directed at him, he now uses in saying that he believes that the "sit-in" protests are Communist inspired. Oddly enough, Mr. Truman didn't give one iota of evidence in support of his charge. I have high regard for the former President of the United States and admire the courageous stand he took on many important issues during his years in the White House. But this does show that even a former President of the United States can make harmful statements without having any evidence to back up his charges.

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HERE IS ANOTHER paradox. People in high office, Governors, Attorneys General, Solicitors General, Senators and Representatives, can defy the highest law of the land, scheme to circumvent the implementation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and stay out of jail.

Everybody knows that Faubus should have gone to jail for what he did. The people high up can do pretty much as they please, stay out of jail and remain respectable. But when students quietly, non-violently and with dignity, protest segregation and discrimination based on race by sit-down demonstrations they are arrested, fined and some of them may have to serve time. In order to be sure that you take advantage of the "fellow farthest down" State Assemblies enact new laws in order to make it impossible for people to protest in an orderly manner. This is what the legislators of the state of Georgia did. There was no law against Negroes eating in restaurants serving only white; but the Georgia Legislature passed a trespass law just before the Legislature closed in February.

Another paradox is, legislators are quick to pass discriminatory laws and they place great disabilities on the weak, but they will not voluntarily change those laws without vigorous protests and sometimes it takes hundreds of years to get unjust laws changed.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

What Will the Georgia Legislature Do?

THE ATLANTA Board of Education, acting under Federal court orders, presented a plan to Judge Hooper on Dec. 1, designed to desegregate the Atlanta public schools. Judge Hooper has not yet approved the plan presented to him by the Atlanta Board of Education. If he does not approve it, the Atlanta School Board will be ordered to present another plan. If he does approve it, it will be up to the Georgia Legislature to abolish laws it recently enacted to safeguard segregation in the public schools. As the laws stand now, public schools will be closed if a Negro enters a white school.

Dr. Mays

Judge Hooper may approve the plan in order to give the Georgia Legislature an opportunity when it meets in January. The judge says he will make a ruling on it on or before Jan. 4, 1960. If Judge Hooper rejects the school board plan, the Georgia Legislature may not be able to act on segregation in this session.

WHAT WILL the Georgia Legislature do? The Atlanta newspapers, WSB radio and TV Stations, HOPE (Help Our Public Schools), a few ministers, and the League of Women Voters of Georgia are urging the Governor and the Legislature to enact laws of local option, thus giving each locality the right to decide if the schools are to be desegregated. It is all strange because the Georgia Legislature nor a local school board cannot make the final decision about desegregating the schools. Only the Federal courts can do that.

If the Georgia Legislature is wise, it will pass a local option law. The plan which the Atlanta School Board has presented is so drawn that something could be found to keep any Negro from transferring to a white school even though the Negro student might be a genius, well-balanced, poised, and well adjusted in himself and to others. If any Negro is transferred to a white school, there will always be the possibility of threat of violence. If the Georgia Legislature amends its laws and if Judge Hooper accepts the Atlanta Board's plans, it will be a long time we will have any integration in the public schools of Atlanta.

THE LAWYER who drew up the plan for the Atlanta School Board gives the Georgia Legislature the opportunity to get off the hook, save face and get a bit of favorable publicity which it would hardly deserve. It could amend its laws and permit Atlanta to begin desegregation in the 12th grade according to the plan submitted to the judge. If the Legislature did this, it would be hailed as a change of heart in the Georgia Legislature.

January will tell the story. Certainly, it should be clear that closing schools in Little Rock did not succeed; the private school plan failed, and massive resistance in Virginia failed. All these methods, if tried, will fail in Georgia. I hope the Georgia Legislature will be wise and give the Atlanta Board of Education a free hand.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

Better Late Than Never

THE PRESS carried the news recently that the Krupp Industrial combine has agreed to pay $2,380,000 for former Jewish slave laborers who were forced to work in Krupp factories under the Nazi regime. Eligible claimants are estimated at 1,200. The agreement calls for the payment of $1,190 to every person who can prove that he or she was forced to work in a Krupp factory, irrespective of the length of time he or she worked. Krupp officials estimated there would be about 1,200 valid claimants. The Jewish Claims Conference put the estimate at 2,000. Who is right is not important. The Krupp officials have agreed on $2,380,000 as the maximum. In 1957, the I. G. Farben Chemical Trust did something similar. This company (now in process of liquidation) has made available 6,000 slave laborers. The Farben Company operated near the Auschwitz Camp in Poland.

Dr. Mays

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THESE COMPANIES are doing a most commendable thing. It is better to atone late for a great wrong than not to do it at all. At a late date, our own Government did something to repair the damage we did in forcing Japanese American citizens to leave their homes in California during World War II. We may seek to make amends for a great sin committed but complete restoration is never possible. Many of those forced slave laborers are dead. They cannot and their offsprings can hardly establish the validity of their claims.

But forced Jewish labor is a minor ill when compared to the fact that 6,000,000 Jews were reputed to have been killed by the Nazi regime. This is far worse than slave labor. The German Government has not compensated the families of these 6,000,000. Even if billions of dollars were given to Jews or to good causes to atone for these atrocities, the atonement could never be adequate and the damage done to humanity can never be repaired.

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THIS IS TRUE with all great wrongs and sins. The damage is often so great that not even God can undo what has been done. The fact that 6,000,000 Jews were killed is a historical fact and God cannot erase that fact. Even if Hitler and his colleagues who were responsible for the Jewish tragedy had repented and God forgave them, that will not return the lives of the 6,000,000 Jews nor would it blot out the sin committed against Jews and against humanity.

And yet it is just and right to do as much as we can to make amends for the damages done in the past. This is why individual confession is good and forgiveness plays such a great part in all religions. Both the nation and the individual have consciences. And certainly it is important for the individual to feel that the wrongs of the past have been forgiven. The officials of the Krupp Company will feel better that they are doing a little bit to right a great wrong.

My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Passing of Walter W. Williams

THE LAST of four million men who fought in the Civil War is dead. Walter W. Williams died at 117 years. A mighty long life. He fought on the Confederate side believing, I am sure, that the cause for which he fought was right and just. He perhaps believed that it was right to hold Negroes in bondage. It would be interesting to know what the passing of time did to his thinking. Did he, like many Southerners, fight the Civil War over and over again in his life-time? If he did, he fought many Civil Wars. If he had his life to live again, would he do the same thing? Was he a segregationist when he died or was he an integrationist? Did he place state laws above Federal laws? It would be a revelation if some one could answer these questions. The answer would make interesting reading indeed.

Dr. Mays

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IT IS WORTHY, that a Yankee fife and drum corps led the funeral procession playing "Dixie," "Old Reb," and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." The press recorded that the 26 men leading the procession were from Mount Vernon, Ohio, and were dressed in Union Blue. Noteworthy again is the fact that the honorary pall bearers were the Governors of the 11 Confederate states or their representatives. The President of the United States proclaimed national mourning for Williams and was represented by Major General C. Stanton Babcock, Commanding General of the Eighth Corps Fourth Army.

Williams was the last living link between the Blue and the Gray. How wonderful it would be if with the death of Williams the strife between North and South would also die. The nation forgot the side Williams fought on and mourned his passing. Both North and South paid homage to the man.

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BUT THE WAR between the States will not end with the death of Williams. The South lost the Civil War. As a result, the South has the inferiority complex. It seeks to win every contest it has with the North where the Negro is involved. The North won one victory over the South on the battlefield. The South has won many victories over the North in Congress. If the Negro is the issue, the Southerners in Congress seldom debate the issue on its merit. They seek to win a victory over the North. It is not a matter of right, nor a matter of democracy. They want to keep control of the Negro and boost their inferior feeling by lording it over the Yankees who won the Civil War.

Yet there is reason to believe that this tension between North and South is decreasing and in another 50 years the wound will have been healed and the South will have become so prosperous that it will no longer need to feel inferior to the North. Southern historians are writing now with more objectivity.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Is Integration a Challenge?

DR. OMER CARMICHAEL appeared on a panel in Atlanta in September of 1959. There are people in Atlanta who want our public schools to remain open. So people are brought here from Washington and Louisville to discuss how desegregation has worked in these two cities. The Charlotte, North Carolina Story has also been shown here on TV. In both Washington and Louisville desegregation has worked well despite what the segregationists say. The Georgia Council on Human Relations sponsored the Louisville telecast. Three things stand out in the questions asked Superintendent Carmichael.

Dr. Mays

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IN THE first place the academic standard in the Louisville school system has not been lowered. Mr. Carmichael pointed out that the school officials in Louisville pledged that regardless of how difficult it would be for Negroes who entered a white school there would be no lowering of academic standards. When asked if this pledge had been kept, Mr. Carmichael replied, "Yes, Sir, if anything, it has been improved." This confirms my conviction that all this opposition to desegregation on the ground that standards would be lowered has no basis in fact.

The second point made clear in the panel is the fact that on the whole, sixth graders in Negro schools at the beginning of integration in Louisville were about one and one-half years behind sixth graders in white schools. But data after ... years of integration show that Negro children have improved substantially in all schools, whether integrated or segregated; whereas white students have improved, but not substantially. This is a most significant revelation because it proves that work in the public schools can be greatly improved even in segregated Negro schools. This is good, for were this not so, it would be terrible in Negro schools in the deep South where segregation will continue for a long time.

■

THE THIRD observation gained from the panel on Louisville is also important. Mr. Carmichael admits that there are some excellent Negro teachers and some excellent white teachers, but he stubbornly insists that the average Negro teacher is not as good as the average white teacher. When asked to harmonize that statement with the fact that Negro students in segregated schools had improved substantially as well as those in integrated schools, Mr. Carmichael attributes this to the determination on the part of Negro teachers to prove that they are as good as white teachers. Mr. Carmichael said in essence of the Negro teachers: And they have worked as I have never seen teachers work. The result was they have carried the Negro children, in the all-Negro schools, right up with all the other Negro children.

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

A Great Speech by a Great Man

NOT ONLY had they come from all Africa, but they had come from the four corners of the earth, 60 odd nations strong, to witness the Fourth Inauguration of William V. S. Tubman. For 16 years he has been President of this Republic and will serve another four years. This is more than politics. The people trust, believe in and love Tubman.

Dr. Mays

The inaugural address touched upon important issues of our times. Tubman pointed out early in his address that the Liberians are concerned for a just and lasting peace in the world and that they are contributing to the fullest extent of their ability to establish such a peace. He declared that self-determination and independence of all people are necessary prerequisites for world peace. He continued: "We consider as one of the most important and burning issues of the world today, the achievement of self-determination and independence for all of the peoples of Africa and of the world and this should be conceded and stimulated by all world leaders and nations as a **sine qua non** for peace." On this issue he expresses the mind of all African leaders.

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SPEAKING ON the internal conditions of the country, President Tubman said: "The security, safety and preservation of the state is the first duty of any Government. Consistent with this, the highest purpose of any economic or fiscal policy in the securing and providing of equal opportunity, for all alike; and the promotion of the happiness and prosperity of the citizens of the country in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility.

"But economic security, prosperity and happiness can never be only the result of casual reaction or sensitivity to the developmental measures of Government. In a country such as ours which has had to devote all of its energies to the supreme struggle for survival against encroachments, intrigues and other basic assaults on the sovereignty of the nation from its inception for almost a hundred years, progress is a most pressing demand if we're to catch up with the advanced nations of the world."

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THE PRESIDENT announced an expansion program which would include international flights for passengers and freight to other parts of Africa, Europe, and possibly America. This program will be undertaken in cooperation with other air lines and in cooperation with private, foreign and domestic capital.

He made this significant remark in his address: "This country can no longer afford the luxury of able-bodied men loafing from one center to another and living off their brothers who are gainfully employed. We shall strictly enforce the proposition that he who is able to work and can find work, but will not work, should not eat."

My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

A Frustrated Georgia Legislature

A FEDERAL court has ordered Atlanta schools to desegregate. There is a law passed by the Legislature, sometime back, to the effect that integration in any school means that that school will be closed and the school that sent the pupil to the white school will also be closed. The more rationally minded people have been working to get the Legislature to repeal its segregation laws, so that the token integration approved by the Board of Education would be permitted to be implemented. The plan is somewhat similar to the Nashville plan except the Atlanta plan provides for desegregation to begin in the 12th grade and go down.

Dr. Mays

■

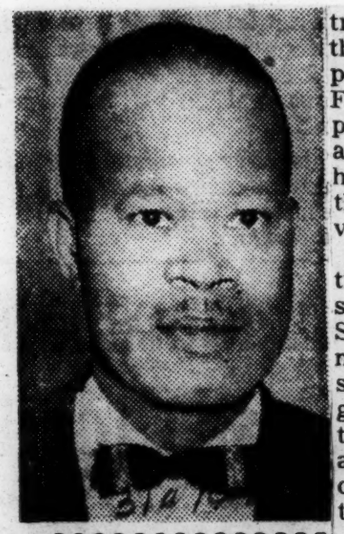
THE GEORGIA Legislature has just approved a bill to set up a Study Commission to hold hearings in the 10 districts of Georgia to find out if the people want segregated schools or desegregated schools. It is all silly because when the Supreme Court of the United States speaks and when a district Federal court orders the implementation of a Supreme Court order, it is not up to the people whether they will or will not obey the Supreme Court. Either the Georgia Legislature does anything and if not they should ask the Federal court to void the state's segregation laws.

To quote Judge Alverson, he says: "I think they should wait until the Legislature adjourns; then if the Legislature takes no action with reference to the schools, the school board could file a petition for declaratory judgment and say to the court you have ordered us to implement the (desegregation) plan we have submitted to you. We have certain state laws that prevent our implementation of it. We are in a dilemma. What must we do? Are these state's laws constitutional or not?" Judge Alversor is a former member of the Legislature and I think his statement is a part of the pressure that HOPE Help Our Public Education) and other organizations are using to get the Legislature to relieve the school crisis. The judge went on to state, "The question before the citizens of this state today is not public schools versus private schools. The real question is public schools or no schools at all."

The Need For Changing

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a Negro Pittsburgh Pa

By JOHN H. McCRAY



Something Worth Watching

Out of what is considered the last major depression, some 30 years ago, came what was called the Gary, Ind., Cooperative. It was nothing more than the getting together of hard-pressed men and women who pooled their money and purchased at wholesale prices foodstuffs, clothing etc.

Participants in the Gary Plan thusly benefitted financially and in varying degrees the plan has been copied and advocated elsewhere. A similar plan of cooperative buying was developed many years later at St. Helena, an island off Beaufort, S. C., which is still in operation, and is known as the St. Helena Cooperative. Participating members are able to buy food, clothing, etc. at prices below those charged for normal retail price operations.

A modification of the Gary and St. Helena plans cropped up in various Southern communities the last five years as counter-action in the wake of economic squeezes by the White Citizens Council. In Ellorre and Clarendon Counties, S. C., such cooperative buying not only meant lower prices for farmers needing seed, fertilizer, farm implements and living necessities, but it also emancipated them from local whites pledged to the support of the White Citizens Council.

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AT TUSKEGEE, Ala., this economic instrument went even further. With all but 10 Negro voters pushed out of the town of Tuskegee itself, Negroes—and they provided some 75 per cent of the town's business—by cooperative action, went further than at Gary and St. Helena. They organized an entire community of new business services, and vastly improved others the race already had. Today, the Negro at Tuskegee is not only the biggest business in the community, but he's doing business with and for himself, and is succeeding.

This summer, another significant step in interest of Negro independence and economic strength began to rise in South Carolina. It is the First American Corporation, a holding company whose declared purpose is to own, operate and staff, mainly with Negroes, such ventures as a life insurance company, a lending company, a fire and casualty company, and to invest in residential and business developments.

A major difference between First American Corporation and the Gary and St. Helena, and the Tuskegee projects is that First American Corporation is interracial in its conception and present operations. Restricted to South Carolina by state charter, FAC may expand before long into other states, and when and if this occurs, will become the most powerful instrument for racial real freedom the South has seen.

■

IN THE strife-torn South, no Negro secretaries can find work outside offices of schools, insurance companies owned by Negroes and a few other categories. Such persons must flag a bus or train and hunt work outside of the South. They, executives, sales people, etc., would, under the First American Corporation's plan, find hundreds of jobs available in each state right at home and, jobs which monies they and others of the race invest make possible.

The First American Corporation plan is already fretting scores of business concerns in South Carolina, all of whom are making sizeable profits out of servicing Negroes but who are giving the jobs to whites. Should they lose the Negro business—and they would lose a large percent to FAC or its counterpart—they'd be in terrible shape.

The next few weeks should provide an interesting picture, one certainly worth keeping in mind. One FAC stockholder puts it this way: "It's too good to believe true. It (First American Corporation) is the perfect answer to Southern Negroes."

The Need For Changing

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa

By JOHN H. McCRAY

OPPORTUNITY IN THE SOUTH

I have a great many friends and able acquaintances who through the years have packed up and journeyed out of the Deep South. In some cases, I don't blame them. In others, I regret that they did.

It isn't being egotistic—I hope—to say that I have myself had opportunities to live outside of the South, the place I was born, grew up and have lived. Thus far, I do not regret the decision to stay there.

There's no question but that a Negro who lives South finds himself plagued constantly by customs, practices and situations based on race and color. But so does a Negro living anywhere in the United States. I've seen evidences of racial discrimination in many non-Southern places I've visited. On one trip to Chicago I had a young woman, born in Mississippi and holding a white collar job, to ask if she might find employment in her field in my state of South Carolina.

She wanted to get away from high rents and high costs of living. She didn't feel that if she went back home she could maintain "face" and prestige.

I remember her saying something like: "Back home you know where these other folk stand. You have to guess, be shrewd and shudder around here."

BE THAT AS IT MAY, there is little question but that outside of the South the biased non-colored people are more astute and maybe even kinder in their racial prejudice, which eases the pain perhaps a little.

In our South, one is able to see bias in the raw, to evaluate it easily. In the South, too, one is able to enjoy greater satisfaction and is able to measure progress much more quickly in this category. The Negro-hating South of 25 years ago is a thing of the past. A nicer place exists now—thanks to the NAACP, and those Negroes who have had guts to fight for constitutional rights. And thanks, too, to a degree of labor union efforts and the rising tide of newer generations.

Inasmuch as the race problem is anchored in the Deep South, it seems logical that there is where it ought to be tackled. One certainly doesn't solve a problem by running from it. Too, left unchecked and to run wild in the South, this same race problem is taken out of the South by whites who haven't been taught to mind their manners and possibly explains why today a Negro—if it can be done without attracting too much attention—finds himself treated like a Southern Negro, East, North and West.

SOME MONTHS AGO a friend said this to me: "If I were you I'd pack up and get out of that d——d place." He'd just leave the South and the race problem to the white people. I didn't have the courage to tell him that one of the reasons I love the South is that down here one gets the frequent chance to fight biased white people—even literally. For example, I've seen a strapping colored man flatten a show-off white man right on the Main St. of my city. When an officer dashed up, club drawn and grabbed the colored man, the embarrassed white man lifted himself from the concrete and told the officer that he wasn't going to prefer charges. "This guy was right," he told the amazed officer. "I started it. He'd been less than a man if he hadn't knocked hell out of me."

Another night some 15 or 20 next day to testify in behalf of white college students arrested a the colored man. white police officer who was Incidents like this, Isolated had blackjacking a Negro who course, suggest to me hope and been staggering along Main St. progress. And East, West, North not more than two blocks away or South, it's the kind of progress from where this other incident we want occurred. The colored man was on the empty side of the street and wasn't molesting anyone. These white boys called for the squad car and were in court the

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BEHIND THE CHARLESTON STORY

Those familiar with Charleston, S. C., perhaps lapsed into a bit of nostalgia this week upon reading stories about the efforts of some 4,000 Negro parents to break up what is called "double sessions" in the city schools for their children.

10-22-60

Charleston schools have operated double sessions for colored children the last 20 or 25 years. All that time Negroes have been petitioning for more classroom space and getting promises that the condition would be remedied. At one time some colored children were put in make-shift rooms even for double sessions. A new plant built for whites in upper King St. didn't have enough students to fill half the rooms.

Recently, Negro parents, themselves products of the double-session classes and children of parents who begged, but never got anything done, tackled the problem anew. After several contacts with school officials, getting what is now well-oiled stock promises and answers, struck hard at the issue. They pulled their children out of classes Wednesday. The fact that only 500 of slightly more than 9,000 children came to school indicates how effectively the parents are operating. And although they say desegregation is not their basic objective, some of them are now saying that such a course is "the honorable" solution.

■

IN CHARLESTON, always bragging about its history, about being the site of the signing of the Ordnance of Secession in 1860, in Charleston, citadel of the race-baiting white supremacy screaming "News and Courier" and springboard of the "separate but equal" fallacy, little colored boys and girls have had to get up at daybreak in winter and dash off to classes; others have to sit in classes until dark, all because Charleston swears by racial separation. Pointedly, there are no double sessions in white schools. White parents just won't stand for this. Uniquely, no other city in South Carolina uses this method of shortchanging Negro children.

It is likely that plans to add to the Courtney Elementary School and construction of a second Negro high school will relieve some of the congestion in Negro schools. However, this approach has been tried before, only to be overtaken by a growing student population, now better than 60 per cent of Charleston's total, and a return to multiple sessions.

The clear solution is adoption of a single school system for Charleston. Under the single system—called variously integration or desegregation—all students are treated alike. None get assigned to school with more than one scheduled school day each 24 hours, or all get assigned to such schedules.

The Need For Changing

By JOHN H. McCRAY

IT'S THERE FOR WHOM?

The ominous heading topped a story in the Columbia, S. C. Morning paper, The State, last Sunday.

"Resolution Dies on Same Day As Negro."

The Resolutior was one which had been introduced in the State Legislature calling for a study with a view to abolishing capital punishment in South Carolina.

The "Negro," first such incident in three years, had been electrocuted on Friday, May 13, of attempted assault on a white woman. The resolution had died in the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives.

There has been growing sentiment against capital punishment in South Carolina, as well as in other areas, but the excuse for retaining it has always seemed to be tainted by race and color.

■

FOR EXAMPLE, several years ago, after the electric chair had claimed a white woman, the issue of capital punishment was strongly discussed. Legislation aimed at discontinuing it came before the State Legislature. At the climax of arguments against the electric chair, a legislator arose and announced, in substance, "The electric chair isn't for white people. We keep it for Negroes and to protect white womanhood."

The question was settled immediately; not that other lawmakers agreed necessarily with what the speaker had put into public records. Rather, being white, they could not afford to speak against white womanhood.

The Friday 13th victim was No. 234 for the South Carolina electric chair. The last available figures indicate that a majority of the chair's victims have been colored. Ii the long history of capital punishment in South Carolina, there never has been a single white man electrocuted for criminally assaulting a colored woman, not to speak of attempted criminal assault. Last year, one white man—a non-native—was convicted and sentenced to death for assaulting a colored woman. His case is on appeal. But one speculates on what would have been the court's inclination had not a colored man in the same community gone on trial at the same time for a crime on a white woman.

Crime should not, of course, go unpunished; yet, crime ought not be assessed in terms of race and color. Under race and color practice, it is not being untruthful to say that perhaps many colored men in South Carolina and other Southern states have forfeited their lives—for nothing.

■

THERE IS, for example, the case of a young colored man from Jasper County who had been put on death row at the state penitentiary several times. He'd been "convicted" of rape on white woman. His employer and white attorney eventually proved him innocent, and by the woman's own admission. Meanwhile, the man could have been dead. His release was never announced in newspapers. His accuser, therefore, was never subjected to public shame.

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By JOHN H. McCRAY

There have not yet been shown legal means by which the issue can be resolved in court.

A FORMULA FOR DESEGREGATING

Several North Carolina cities appear to have come up with effective devices for desegregating lunch counters at variety stores.

A citizens group at Winston Salem, for example, reported during the week that it has been able to get agreements and cooperation from merchants and others which permit reopening of lunch counters very soon on a non-discriminatory basis.

Progress along this line has been noted at Charlotte, Greensboro, Durham and Raleigh. In all of these, and in other North Carolina communities, biracial groups of leaders have been working towards local settlement of the issue.

■

IN SOME other Southern areas similar movements have either effected integrated services at lunch counters, or made progress in that direction.

The Winston Salem announcement came about one week after national officers of the Kresage (Kress), and the F. W. Woolworth companies announced they would continue to operate lunch counters in compliance with community customs. It appears that the store owners got together on this common policy. The solution, then, was tossed back into the laps of the community.

There have not yet been shown legal means by which the issue can be resolved in court.

But even were there legal resorts, much faster and more lasting solution is gained when the community itself gets together and resolves the issue. And, this approach is much less expensive, much more pleasant and much more decisive.

About the South, generally, many racial problems and situations have been resolved or can be solved through honest, sincere (not pussy-footers, "Uncle Toms," etc.) and forthright citizens, who get together and work out the answers. Negroes, as a general rule around the South, have been too indifferent to, and afraid of, talk with white citizens. Perhaps the same is true among whites.

■

BUT THERE CAN be no real peace between the races in the South until they learn to get together for constructive discussions of their common problems. Both races want peace; neither should seek or have it on its own terms. Racial peace requires interest and the cooperation of both groups.

The Winston Salem example, the similar examples elsewhere in North Carolina and the South, provide a good formula with which to effect justice and relieve tensions in this area. In fact, these examples are good beginning techniques at solving what has to be solved. It is clear that the technique of officeholders, the Government and courts are not as productive, decisive and swift. Nor do they leave the community with much of which to be proud.

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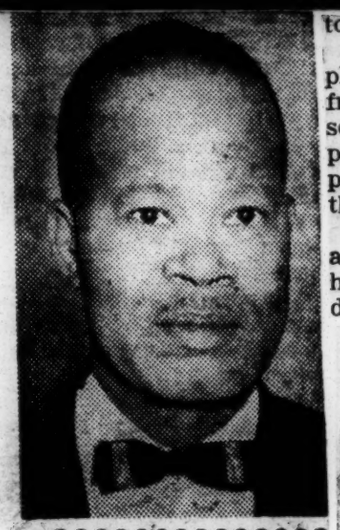

HURTS THE RACE WHERE "SIT-DOWN

A visiting minister announced this as his subject one Sunday not long ago, at Mullins, S. C.: "And Lena sat down on it."

The congregation giggled. When the sermon was ended, the same congregation was sober-faced and silent. The minister had given his congregation a mental clobbering for sitting down on—not for—their rights.

It is rumored, persistently, that a score or more of those students at South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, who were prominent in sit-in and other protest demonstrations against racial segregation may be expelled during the summer.

■

THE RUMORS developed before some 388 S. C. State College and Claflin College students were arrested while parading, last March, in Orangeburg.

Then, not more than 50 or 75 State College students had joined in the sit-ins. Hundreds of others joined the movement after the first demonstrations.

S. C. State College's all-white trustees board developed this underhand and despicable punitive action back in 1956. That was the year that State College students, led by Fred Moore, protested state White-Citizens Council campaigns against persons in Orangeburg and on the campus, suspected of having sympathies for effectuation of the Supreme Court's ruling on school segregation or integration.

■

THE TRUSTEES bounced Moore, then a senior, with less than one month of his final semester left. His principal "guilt" was, he had been elected president of the student body, something which had occurred long before the 1956 controversy arose. Trustees dared not make further expulsions. Angry student body members, at the first rumor of Moore's expulsion, had begun packing belongings, preparing to march away behind him. It was Fred's own pleading, "You can help the cause better by remaining here to fight," which controlled them.

Long after school had closed, some 18 to 25 other students received, over the summer, letters instructing them not to return for the fall session. No reasons were given, but the reason was obvious.

■

THIS SUMMER, four years later, similar letters of expulsion may be, and are expected to be, sent to other students at the college the last semester.

These kids would be expelled and punished for just "wishing, praying and hoping" that rights the law says belongs to all citizens might be theirs, also. They would be "sacked" for upholding the dignity of mankind.

When and should the expulsions occur, adult Negroes in South Carolina, or whereever else they live, ought to hang their heads in rebuke and shame. Some of them have been beaming proudly about the sit-ins these kids made. But they, themselves, have nothing of which to be proud in their own sit-downs to do nothing.

■

SOME MIGHT want to blame S. C. State College President Benner C. Turner, as they did four years ago. Dr. Turner isn't the fault.

He's only an employe of the all-white trustees board, who is given orders, and subject to being fired where and when he fails to obey orders of his boss.

Were he dismissed, he'd be replaced, quickly, by somebody from perhaps 100 ambitious persons liking his pay. They'd pledge allegiance to white supremacy, and the white folk for the job.

By their sit-down, accepting all-white rule, these adults have hurt the sit-ins of their own children.

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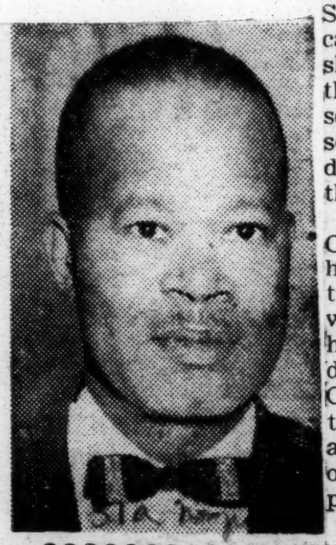


WANTING FOR LEADERSHIP

Some 20 years ago, an editorial bearing this heading appeared in the newspaper we edited: "Hating for the Want of Knowledge."

A simple discourse and analysis of race relations in our city of that time, and with attention on both the intra-racial and inter-racial aspects of the topic, the article attracted considerable attention, was reprinted numerous times by other periodicals, and discussed by students in sociology, etc.

After reviewing results of Democratic Primaries in South Carolina of last Tuesday, a sequence to that 20-year-old item comes to mind: "Lagging for the Want of Leadership."

■

THERE WERE at least three colored candidates in South Carolina's biennial Democratic primaries last week, two of whom sought seats in the state legislature. These two, one from Orangeburg County, the other in Richland County, were hopelessly defeated. In fact, the Richland County minister ran 21 in a field of 22 persons.

The third candidate, running for a minor office in Beaufort County, whipped his two white opponents by 344 to 293 votes. He won in a district predominantly colored, but was the first elected colored officeholder in the county since back in the days of the illustrious Robert Smalls, W. J. Whipper, et al.

By 1950 Census count, Beaufort had roughly 15,000 colored and 11,000 white residents, a 60 per cent majority on the colored side. In 1958 approximately 31 per cent of its voters were colored, highest percentage countywise in the state.

Orangeburg had 43,000 colored and 23,000 white citizens in 1950, or about 65 per cent colored majority. About 18 per cent of its 1958 voters were colored.

Richland had 50,000 colored and 91,000 whites in 1950, and 32 per cent of its residents colored. In 1958, last official report, 17.1 per cent of its voters were colored.

■

ALLOWING FOR additional registrations on both sides, it is guessed that the percentages of colored and white voters have changed slightly since 1958, but hardly appreciably so. So, it is clear that colored citizens in both Beaufort and Orangeburg Counties, by sheer numbers alone, have potentials for dominating elections—if they register and vote.

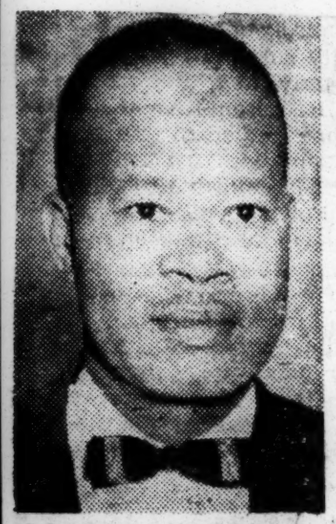
In counties such as Richland—where whites are the more numerous—the success of a colored candidate must depend on support from white voters, which was the case several years ago in the town of Sellers, in Marion County. There, a colored business man was elected to town council, mostly with votes from whites who felt that at least one of the four seats should be held by a colored person.

The Beaufort County candidate, from the proud and historic St. Helena Island, succeeded because the little people had leadership and information. In fact, they've been getting it the last several years, bestirred themselves, registered and on election day, they went out and voted for the man they wanted.

In Orangeburg and Richland Counties, the little people haven't had the leadership, the information or organization they've wanted and needed. They would have elected their race's candidate if they had known how in Orangeburg County; in Richland, they would have donel ikewise also, inasmuch as only a fraction of white voters turned out at the polls.

If the Negro in the South is to make good use of voting rights, he is going to have to provide honest leadership for his people.

—1910-GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY-1960—



The Need For Changing

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa
31a Negro

By JOHN H. McCRAY

OLD MAN, TAKE A SEAT

Man for man, Negroes in Rock Hill, S. C., are by far the outstanding citizens—civic-wise—in South Carolina and Georgia.

No other community in this three-state area has put over so consistent and persistent a job in behalf of human rights as has been done in Rock Hill, a city with 24,502 residents (1950 census), less than 10 per cent of whom, or exactly 2,344 are colored.

Rock Hill has the only racially integrated school in South Carolina. It's an elementary school, operated by Catholics. Rock Hill put literal meaning to integrated city buses about five years ago when most Southern communities were bristling against rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court on such matters. When owners of the local bus franchise refused to toss out jim crow signs, Negroes stayed off the buses, set up a volunteer pool-ride of their own. The city bus operators collapsed with amazing speed. It is still dead.

YOUNGSTERS at Friendship Junior College, privately operated by S. C. Negro Baptists opened student sit-ins in the state last March 12. Rock Hill Youngsters are still at it, even though schools and classes at the two colleges are supended until next fall.

In York County, Rock Hill, a textile center being the largest community (York is the other key town, Negroes placed fifth in total number of registered voters in 1958, and were 14th in percentage wise ratings against whites in the state's 46 counties. There are about 22,000 Negroes in the county, or the 11th highest in the state per county.

What is the formula, the secret of these people who have fared so well? There may be some explanation in the stock and trade declarations about liberal whites in labor and the Catholic Church, but any explanation in this category, the Catholics excepted, is more polite, theoretical, than apparent in the details.

THE MORE logical explanations appear to come from Negroes themselves. They have achieved a modest—not complete or yet satisfactory—degree of unity and cooperation among themselves. They have rallied around and behind such persons as the wheelchair-bound lanky, affable, sharp-witted and genial Presbyterian minister, Rev. C. A. Ivory, who was given an honorary doctorate degree last month by Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte for his civic work.

"For a man who has to sit in a chair, and who is helpless at standing, he has shown more guts and grit in all things than the rest of us men put together," one citizen told us. Mr. Ivory himself, modest and retiring, explains that it all is to the credit of such men as Dr. Hogan, Mr. Murdock, etc., all of whom point back to him.

Personalities may be incidental but the approach isn't. The Rock Hill leaders hold weekly meetings on civic matters, just as one discovery occurred at Tuskegee, Montgomery, Birmingham, Tallahassee. In Rock Hill, civic matters are just as important to Negroes as meetings of the Lions, Kiwanians, etc. are to community social-conscious Southern whites.

They don't always see eye to eye in these weekly meetings, but after the meetings are over, the leaders stand together before their people, and the community.

One other thing, the old-timers who like to tread easy on it are pushed to rear seats, where Rev. Ivory says they should sit.

The Pittsburgh Courier

CITIZENS ARE MADE NOT BORN

SUMMERTON, S. C.—For sheer civic guts, determination and patience, my vote goes to Clarendon County's 23,000 Negroes as displaying more of these characteristics than any other people I've come across the last 25 years.

Pittsburgh, Pa
Sat. 7-30-60

For 14 long and embittered years, Clarendon's folk have been battling for integrated public schools. It didn't start that way. Back in 1946 when they organized their first NAACP chapter, the issue was "separate but equal" and they pitched their court fight on that tune. Four years later, or exactly 10 years ago this coming October, the "separate but equal" theory was dumped by the NAACP, then led by the late Walter White. The new approach was total integration.

The Clarendon "separate but equal" suit came before now retired U. S. District Judge J. Waites Waring in January of 1951 at Charleston. With court permission, the suit was amended so as to make segregation, and the absence of it, the issue before the bar. Clarendon's suit was then the criterion around which four others were built and ended in the historic 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court rulings and orders.

The Need For Changing

By JOHN H. McCRAY

Thus, segregated schools were wiped out.

SUCH SCHOOLS were wiped out completely or in some degree in every place among the five counties and school districts involved in the historic suits excepting in Clarendon County. Clarendon folk were promised in 1955 that by the fall term of 1956 their schools would be integrated. ered what was happening, they panicked and came crawling back for friendship and business.

The non-farmer doesn't know what it means to be unable to have one's cotton ginned, one's tobacco cured, one's farm harvested by combines or to have credit in the commissary or country store. Normally one's fight would dwindle under concern for the children and family. It hasn't happened in Clarendon County. There, colored children and the young folk tell you quickly what they want; what they are determined and prepared to work and wait for.

The promise came from person who had been directing the cause and case.

Something went amiss. Clarendon, once the battering rod used to open schoolroom classes to all races, was trapped out on a limb important enough to have its issue the driving rod for ending a phase of racism, but unimportant enough to be shunted to a siding while others outside of the Deep South, a district or two excepted reaped a harvest from the seed which Clarendon county had sown.

To a most proud and diligent people, this kind of thing can cause considerable hurt in pride and even the loss of faith and confidence. To less sincere people, it could mean desertion and disintegration from and of a dedicated cause. Neither has happened in Clarendon County.

Perhaps the people stick by the course charted some 14 years ago because they understood every facet and phase of what they were undertaking. Perhaps it is because they have learned now how to become independent of the white man—as they've had to do—and how it feels to be able to look a white man in the eye and tell him where to go and what to do if one has the mind to do this.

■

CLARENDON COUNTY'S Negroes have, in truth, discovered they can get along without the white man's credit, his banks, and even work on his farm. Two years ago, for example, by cooperative action they discovered they could save up to 40 per cent on seed, fertilizer and farm implements, even on living necessities. They bought wholesale in bulk and when whites discov-

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By JOHN H. McCRAY

WE'RE PREJUDICED, TOO

One of the paradoxes among Negro Americans is that in some categories they harbor prejudices which are as deeply imbedded, and make as much nonsense, as the prejudices among other racial groups against which Negroes protest.

For example: A gentleman of color, holding an earned doctorate in his field, joined a group of us on a certain college campus and a conversation on political prospects next November. He singled me out: "Well, ever since I've known you, you've been with the Democrats, but you've got to vote Republican this time."

As a Negro, I've always considered the race above party lines in my area, but there wasn't any sense in saying this to him. I simply asked why. Here's his reason:

■

"YOU CAN'T vote for a Catholic for any reason." Inside, I smoldered. I controlled myself enough to ask without a quiver of voice, "What's wrong with Catholics?" He replied with a spiel which didn't make sense. Inside, I suspected, he had some sort of stupid notion that Catholics do a better job in their educational efforts than he's been able to do with his and this left him biased and determined to get even with Catholics in his own little way.

Interestingly, the others in the caucus group drowned him down when he began ridiculing the quality of training Catholic schools provide for students. Eventually, we said to him—and this we mean and believe—in substance: "The American Negro is the last person on earth who can afford the luxury of prejudice and hate on grounds of religion, color, thinking, or any reason.

A couple of nights later, the telephone rang. It was a young woman with a news tip (common experiences with reporters) about another woman, member of a prominent family, who had been seen by her and some of her friends heading off on a date with some white fellow. She had been designated by the group to inform me so I could tell the world about this woman's dating some white man.

After she gave assurance that there was no apparent duress or pressure behind the woman, I assured her that it's time for Negroes to become realistic and to realize they must practice what they preach, or stop preaching.

■

THERE IS nothing ugly, unnatural or even immoral about men and women of different races carrying on love affairs. If each likes and wants the other, they are entitled to this happiness by nature, and God, laws and persecutions of bigoted-minded men to the contrary notwithstanding.

"I've never thought of it like that," she said. "And I don't think any of us saw it that way. But you're right. After all if a white man's what she wants, that's her business and his business. I read where colored and white do get married now, I'm sorry, but I just hadn't thought that way," she said.

We cannot preach equality of human beings, as God meant it, and at the same time adhere to those prejudices which have been drilled into us for such a long time.

ARE YOU STUPID, TOO.

At first, when I read where Roy Wilkins and A. Phillip Randolph, plus Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. were saying they were not taking sides in the presidential campaign and in Mr. Randolph's case—that there was little to choose between the two parties for those Negroes gravely concerned about civil rights, I shook my mental head, wondering "What goes now?"

Right now, I shake my head no longer. It seems that these gentlemen know or knew more about what is going on than this smallfry reporter who likes frequently to pat himself on the back for having put in some 22 years in the business.

■

THE ANSWER to this purely personal question came from some southern whites in my adopted state of South Carolina. and came perhaps unwittingly.

South Carolina newspapers have been copiously heralding exchanges between a Democratic presidential elector and the chairman of the South Carolina Republican party. The Democrat has been yelling (for the benefit of his fellow prejudiced white associates) that Republican Richard Nixon was a member of the NAACP. The Republican chairman in South Carolina has been furiously digging up facts to prove that Nixon has only an "honorary membership" in NAACP.

After soaking up all of this kind of trash, the reporter wishes he had some significant third party to turn to in November because it is clear that, insofar as South Carolina is concerned, it is still the same old, old story of "N····r, N····r," in elections.

■

FRANKLY, if both Dick Nixon and John Kennedy (Democratic presidential hopeful) are not bonafide NAACP members, then so far as I'm concerned, both are fork-tongued, double-talking two-timers, neither worth trusting by Negroes.

Take that grand, smug and lovable fellow Harry S. Truman. Truman was and is the only U. S. President to come before a meeting of NAACP delegates and address them. That was back in 1949 and I have candid and other pictures of the event which were taken by the late George A. Elmore, himself something of a monument to the cause of Negro rights in South Carolina and in the South.

President Truman made it clear that he was on the side of those who worked for rights of all Americans. Do both Messrs. Kennedy and Nixon do likewise? If either is "on the record"—and this means more than mere words and campaign speeches—then, the platforms both parties adopted don't mean a d····d thing. We Negroes are made the golden suckers—and once again.

■

WHILE THE TWO South Carolina gentlemen exchanged "n····r" verbiage, others in their respective camps were slipping around to back doors of South Carolina Negroes (a Southern white gentleman is a helluva a scamp when night falls) with fistfuls of money and words and promises, none of which, of course, the South Carolina whites are supposed to hear about.

The Need For Changing

The Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By JOHN H. McCRAY

All in all, somebody is a fool. Is it the Southern whites? Is it their leadership? Is it the ···o? Is it you?

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Politics in The South

31a White
Atlanta Da

Southern Notes: There was some confusion, on Reformation Sunday, in the more rural areas of the South, because of all the praise heaped on Martin Luther. Certain Klan and Kleagle were outraged because the only Martin Luther they have heard about is Martin Luther King, and they didn't understand the favorable pulpit references. Only time will tell whether Reformation Day will prove helpful to Mr. Nixon or Martin Luther King.

Mon, 10-31-60

Still standing, unshaken, is Sen. Jack Kennedy's solemn pledge to uphold the Constitution of his country and to resist any and all pressures. He is a man of honor and deserves to have his pledged word receive full acceptance. We will all be ashamed of the excesses of this period when election day has come and gone. The Constitution remains and will endure. And no American believes in it more honestly than Jack Kennedy.

P. 1

There is in the South a great effort being made by the political leadership to bring the Democratic party pot to a boil. There is at least a chance Kennedy will win. And while the South's political strength is less than it was, it still is very considerable when measured in terms of committee chairmanships in the Congress. This is an asset which Southerners would do well to keep, for reasons pragmatic. And it is a reason which belatedly is causing some Southern businessmen who need help, or "favors," in Washington to support Kennedy.

Question Mark

A question mark hangs over much of the South. And religion, unhappily, is that question mark. It is difficult to comprehend, in the light of the 20th Century and American history, that so much false information, so much confused thinking, and irresponsible statements, should be in circulation. But the question remains.

The situation in Texas has improved for Kennedy. But he still is believed to be behind. Those who 10 days ago thought he had no chance now say that if he continues to gain he might win the state. But majority opinion is that he can't.

Florida has shown a surprising improvement. There, too, the Democrats are working and believe they have an opportunity to overcome the early Nixon edge. One-fifth of all Florida's votes are in Dade County. Now, for the first time, the old Claude Pepper faction is at work with the regular state committee. Governor-nominate Farris Bryant is cautiously supporting the ticket. But here again, most observers believe Nixon has not yet been overhauled.

Byrnes Hostile

South Carolina—with the former Governor Jimmie Byrnes, embittered and hostile toward the party which so greatly honored him, at work for the Republicans—is believed lost. This is no new thing. Much of the power structure of that state was at Chicago backing Sen. Barry Goldwater.

North Carolina and Tennessee report Kennedy edges, but the question mark is there. Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama are expected to be Democratic. But if the race should be close, some of their electors might bolt.

Meanwhile, the great issue remains our country and its survival, and a leadership which can move boldly and with decision. Every American knows that our prestige has deteriorated. Those who say this should not be mentioned surely are not naive enough to believe the Russians and our enemies in Asia do not know the truth.

We 180,000,000 Americans make up one-sixth of the world's population. But we are one of the two great world powers. We cannot stand and wait. We must be on the move. We cannot afford another recession. We cannot delude ourselves with the misconception that we do enjoy as much prestige as we did a decade ago.

Prestige is how we look to the world.

We will not, incidentally, look very good to that world if we say that a man's Christian faith bars him from the Presidency. This, too, is a part of prestige.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Look Away, Dixieland

Atlanta Da

It was good for the South, the nation, and both political parties to have GOP Chairman Thruston Morton speak with sanity in the heat of Mississippi's continuous performance of flight from political reality.

Meeting in the capital city of Jackson with party officials from 12 Southern states, Mr. Morton said:

Thurs 9-1-60

"Southerners must make their choice in the November election on issues other than civil rights. . . . The South cannot expect concessions from either the Republicans or Democrats on school desegregation and voting. . . . If elected the Republican administration will vigorously administer the law of the land. . . . There is no choice here. . . the voters must look to other areas. . . . That is where we believe the Republican party offers more. . . ."

This was honest talk. It follows equally plain words spoken by Sen. Lyndon Johnson at Nashville a few days after the Democratic convention.

In former years it has been the custom to assure the South that the platform meant nothing. There was private understanding. Indeed, so routine was this policy that in 1953, then Governor of South Carolina, James M. Byrnes, became peevish about President Eisenhower. The South Carolinans somehow got the idea that during candidate Eisenhower's speaking appearance in the Palmetto State he privately had promised to recognize states rights. What the President had done was to say he hoped to leave as much decision to the states as possible. The leaders, used to the cynical practices of former years, read too much into this. Some of them went around saying they had been double crossed.

No Crossed Fingers

But in the good year 1960 there are no fingers crossed. This is important to the Republican party. It cannot hope to establish itself in the South on anything save an honest basis. It cannot be one thing in the East and West and something else in the South. Southern Democratic leadership, because it is trapped in a power structure of its own making, tries desperately to keep the South out of the mainstream of national life. This it can do for a time. But not for long.

The Republican party, which is telling the Southern voters there will be no concessions on civil rights or voting rights, will show gains in all states South of the Messrs. Mason and Dixon's line. They will not this time establish a two-party system. But they will show that it can be done. They will give hope to those who are weary of being governed by demagoguery and inflamed prejudice. They will demonstrate that it will be possible to elect an independent governor in the general elections and overturn the one-party grip.

A Campaign

Indeed, we may expect a great many political leaders, civic organizations, and newspapers to begin a campaign to have voters stay out of the Democratic primaries and wait for the general elections when they will have a choice.

The position by the two parties is perhaps more important to corporate business and the industrial future of the South than to political parties. Since America can do nothing else than firmly administer the civil and voting rights of all its citizens, corporate business leaders in the great Eastern centers where decisions are made cannot ignore this high level political decision without doing long-range harm to the American system of competitive enterprise. There must be a public philosophy. The power pattern of corporate business cannot afford to do less on a national basis than the two political power systems where the law of the land is concerned.

The future of this country, spiritual, political and economic, demands that law have the full support, not merely of newspapers and all media of information, but also the business and religious groups. Where this cooperation exists, the experience of cities which managed to obtain such cooperation indicate the tragedies such as Little Rock's and Jacksonville's may be avoided.

McGill and Folsom On Education Panel

The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta Ga

By A STAFF WRITER

HOT SPRINGS, Ark.—Two Georgians were named Tuesday to a five-man special commission to probe goals for higher education in the South.

The appointment of Atlanta Constitution Publisher Ralph McGill and Marion B. Folsom, director of Eastman Kodak Co. and a former U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, were announced here Tuesday by Gov. Cecil Underwood of West Virginia and Gov. Bufford Ellington of Tennessee. Folsom is a native of McRae.

Wed 9-28-60

Gov. Underwood is retiring chairman and Gov. Ellington is chairman of the Southern Regional Education Board, which met here in connection with the Southern Governors' Conference.

The commission is charged with finding ways over the next 10 years for providing for increased college enrollments, how to raise as much as two and one-quarter billion extra dollars for construction of new college facilities and to make plans for raising some $1.9 billion in annual operating costs.

Other members are Dr. O. C. Carmichael, Asheville, N.C., retired chancellor of Vanderbilt University and president of the University of Alabama; Dr. Colgate W. Darden Jr., former gov Virginia; H. H. Dewar, San Antonio, an investment banker and ernor of Virginia and former education. president of the University of former vice president of the

RALPH
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The Atlanta Constitution

An Essay on Dr. M. L. King

Sat 11-5-60

Nothing so dismays those who hold the South in affection and its future in hope as the intransigence of many of those in positions of public office and leadership. Nor does anything so well illustrate this as the case of Dr. Martin Luther King.

Dr. King is the latest symbol of opposition for the intractable elements. Not too long ago the symbol was the NAACP. Then, for a time, it was Thurgood Marshall, chief attorney for the NAACP. He had filed the school suits and his name had become thereby known. These symbols have faded. Dr. King is the newest. Atlanta, Ga.

These persons might well ask themselves just why it is that Dr. Martin Luther King, until a short time ago a relatively obscure minister in Montgomery, Ala., has become the best-known leader of Negro opinion in the United States? By what steps did he ascend to this position?

Simple Answer

The answer, while it may be painful to some, none the less is a simple one. Dr. King has attained his present position of influence because of the vulnerable acts of those who have most bitterly opposed him. He must be very thankful for them. They alone provided him with the opportunity to exert and reveal his undenied courage. As the late Mahatma Gandhi demonstrated, neither jail nor physical assaults are an answer when the moral force is on the other side.

The latest episode illustrates this point. It is extremely unlikely that any person with a driver's license from another state would have been sentenced to four months in jail for not having obtained a license in the present state of residence. And certainly none other would have been handcuffed and removed from a county jail to the state prison at 4 o'clock in the morning. This was so obvious a discrimination that the conscience of the nation was outraged against the South. Editorials, sermons, radio and television criticism, and condemnation by many organizations have followed and the end is not yet.

In their determination to get at Dr. King, his enemies have, in their frustration and anger, presented to the nation the very worst stereotype of the South. The sort of action taken against him in Georgia and Alabama confirmed all that the most false and extreme critics of the South have said.

The Result

Those whose seeming witlessness in recent years have made Dr. King a national figure apparently do not care about the result of their actions. We can only presume, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that they wish the rest of the nation to believe that injustice and discrimination in law does, in fact, exist in the South. The Ku Klux elements may not understand it, but they are not a good advertisement for a region which wishes to attract industry, to educate its children, and to move into the future with the rest of the nation. These persons can make one, and only one contribution. They can, by violence, delay, but at the same time guarantee Dr. King his victory.

For a long time now the would-be King Canutes of the KKK mentality have been standing on the beaches demanding that the tides of history and events retreat. But the tides have not, and will not, turn back.

Across a span of more than three years Dr. King's extremist opposition has succeeded in making him an international symbol of a persecuted man, and a national leader most influential with his own people. If this is what the opposition set out to do, then it has succeeded.

Finally, Georgians who profess to be upset by Bob Kennedy's telephone call about the case should cast the first stone at those who made Georgia vulnerable to a charge of injustice. Without them, there would have been no call.

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Kennedy, Son Of 20th Century

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs 11-10-60

There is a certain symbolism in the fact that Sen. Jack Kennedy is the first son of the 20th Century to become President of a nation which for 60 years has been contending with the never-ending complexity of the problems which that century has presented.

That the Deep South should have come strongly along with him has puzzled many, including some Southerners themselves. A few have concluded that an era has ended for the South since both platforms included strong civil rights planks, and the old cotton states did not bolt. Superficially this would seem to be true. But it isn't.

There is a loyalty to the Democratic Party in the Southern states. The coming of industry has been, and is, a force for transition. It is reflected most clearly in Tennessee, Florida and Virginia. In those states, conservative interests have been able to provide majorities for the Republican national ticket in the past three elections.

But at the local level the same conservative powers remain strongly Democratic because there is no Republican Party outside the Democrats. This is the trend of the new protectionist conservatism in an area long dedicated to free trade because it was agricultural and needed world markets. The economic power structure wants a Republican president, but holds tightly to the hand of the Democrats for local representation.

Deep South

Those Deep South states, such as Georgia, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Alabama, which went Democratic despite a strong Republican campaign in each, did reveal a traditional reluctance to let go the hand of the old party. There is an affection for it. And the Republican Party, no matter how hard and intelligently it tries, never quite manages to convince a dirt farmer. It remains to him a party of big business and of special interests.

But what really was at work was the powerful motivation of reality. A majority of voters in these states knew very well their interests would be better handled if their senators and congressmen held their important congressional committee assignments and chairmanships. The powerful force of self-interest opposed GOP efforts as well as old traditions which were a secondary motivation.

Slow Transition

So, while the South is in slow transition, and the Republican drive to establish a two-party system happily gains ground, the results stem from realistic self-interest and from the old political verities. And they perhaps have learned some humility. Kennedy received electoral votes sufficient to give him a margin, and the Mississippi effort to withhold electors is meaningless. The political immorality of the Dixiecrats and the withheld electors movement as weapons of reaction proved absurd in one of our closest elections.

Without any promise from the Democratic nominee for more ease and comfort in the next four years, the South accepted his call for sacrifice and his challenge to move forward to new frontiers. it will continue to move slowly into the 20th Century with its nominee.

All of it adds up to a demonstration of the political genius of the young son of the 20th Century. He had in great quantity that unknown quality which the professionals call "magic." When all is said and done, he won a victory because his personality enabled him to put together in unity the old quarreling, antagonistic elements of the Democratic Party.

This was an election Kennedy had real expectation of winning. Yet all the odds were against him. And now we must all proceed to the business of the demanding years which dangerously confront us.

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Kennedy Sees It Clear

Atlanta, Ga.

It is comforting how often some of the sayings of President-elect Kennedy stick in the mind. He is not like too many of our public figures, who, after they have done with a speech or conference, have left nothing for the memory.

In his meeting with newsmen before departure on vacation, Mr. Kennedy spoke to a question about the closeness of the popular vote and the effect it might have on his program.

"The margin," he said, "is narrow but the responsibility is clear."

Mon, 11-14-60

The mind sees that image and retains it. It creates understanding as did so many of the things he said during the long exhausting days and nights of the campaign. He will push on. But there will be nothing of impetuousness in it. There was none of this quality in his search for the office.

At the outset he often was referred to as brash. As weeks passed and the nation saw him in competition with the vice president, it was necessary to revise this and other judgments of the man. Confident he was, but not brash. It is very likely, indeed, it is sure, that he grew with the autumn days as he traveled up and down, back and forth, across the nation.

Maturity

There is something about the sight of America which matures one. It is probable that even Jack Kennedy, traveled, educated, and sophisticated as he is, had never really seen his country. But the campaign required new eyes. He saw and understood the small farmer such as those from Georgia in the Deep South who thronged before the Little White House at Warm Springs where broods eternally the mood and spell of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He saw and comprehended the vast prairies of the Midwest and the men and women of many backgrounds who lived and worked there. He visited the industrial cities of the East and West and learned by visual evidence the important fact of the ethnic pluralism of American society and its labor force.

He met, too, all the pressures and cultural differences. His eyes saw the slums of the great cities and their curious paradox of decay and rebuilding. He now knows more about the almost desperate need for low cost urban housing. He learned about people, their needs, and aspirations.

So, what may we expect?

The responsibility, as he said, is clear. The narrowness of the margin does not alter that. Indeed, the responsibility would have remained the same had he lost or won by a great deluge of votes.

Ideas Implemented

So, we may expect Mr. Kennedy to move to have his philosophy and ideas implemented. There will be no great "100 days." There would not have been had he won 40 or more states. He had never planned a precipitous program of legislation.

We may be sure that from early January there will be in the White House a man who will seek to

...mel the resources of this coun-
...into measures which will gird
...whole nation. There will be no
...rome-slick slogans, repetition of
...platitudes, or the sonorous flow of
...tranquilizing generalities.

America's schools are starving. America's great cities are decayed at the heart. America's workers are now unemployed in a total near four million persons.

These demands, and more, have been with us all the while leaders have talked glibly of the gross national product and its record peak, of the largest number of jobs in history.

As president we may expect Mr. Kennedy also to move quickly toward reorganization of the State Department. It still is modeled along lines established in earlier centuries. It will in time become a service of career specialists. He will understand that the international policy need of the future is not to swap Billingsgate or slogans with Khrushchev, Castro and Nasser, but rather to grapple in the arena of ideas and action with problems these names symbolize.

"The margin was narrow, but the responsibility is clear."

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Tradition and A Cannon

Traditions can be different. Especially when small cannons are involved. Around our shop there is a tradition dating to the election of 1884 when Grover Cleveland was elected in one of the closest races in history.

The change of a few hundred votes in New York would have reversed the result.

Sat. 11-12-60

By 1884 the Democratic party had been wandering in the desert of defeat and disunion for more than a quarter of a century. Not, indeed, since the victory of the inept and bumbling Buchanan in 1854 had a Democrat been able to enter the White House with an electoral majority. But in 1884 Cleveland had a chance. In Atlanta a young editor named Henry Woodfin Grady, sure of his dream that for the first time since the Civil War a Democratic president would be elected, went to a friend who had a foundry for making castings and besought him to cast a small cannon.

The friend fell in with the idea. The result was a handsome brass weapon, mounted on a frame, and supplied with polished steel wheels. By election eve a supply of black powder had been put by, and all was in readiness. Grover Cleveland did come through. It was not until the next day, however, that the returns were available. Editor Grady and his friends, described by a reporter as being happy as small boys, pulled the cannon about the streets, firing a few rounds at the city's Five Points, at the State Capitol, and here and there about town.

Text Books

Since that time the cannon, which is honored with a paragraph in history and text books in the state, has had a prominent place in the editorial office of The Atlanta Constitution. In 1932 it was brought forth to boom out the news of Franklin D. Roosevelt's triumph, which ended yet another long absence of Democrats in the White House.

Early last Wednesday morning, when it became apparent that Jack Kennedy was the victor it was determined to fire the cannon.

The site chosen was the base of Grady's towering bronze figure, which looks toward the city's Five Points, where once the citizens went by paths to fill their water buckets at an artesian well. The paths later became roads and then streets. They make a traffic problem which is so impossible of solution as to give the site real distinction. The story that Grady's statue was placed so that he faced it and would forever be required to look at the traffic mess about which he did nothing while editor is not true. Horses and buggies rarely congested there in Grady's time. The site, it should be noted, because of a certain relevance, is in the center of the city's financial district. Banks, including the Federal Reserve Building, cluster about it.

Black Powder

Black powder, in generous supply, well-tamped down and wadded, will sound like roaring thunder and a clap of lightning on an all but deserted street in the early morning darkness.

This fact was impressed upon those members of the staff, who, with a cheer for Grady and the victor, signaled the person designated to apply the torch. The result was not merely such a billowing flame boom as to cause those present to retreat. The fire flared back through the aperture for fuse or torch, and singed the eyebrows and face of the gunner. Nor was this all. The cannon itself recoiled with such velocity as to remove a large strip of skin from the cannoneer's nearest leg and to bruise one foot.

Hardly had the echoes ceased to roll when three police cars arrived, the officers with guns at the ready prepared to halt the looting of one of the nearby bank vaults.

There being no city ordinance about firing cannons on the street on election night, the brass artillery piece was again loaded, more discreetly, and a second round contributed to tradition.

At any rate, the tradition of 1884 was not neglected. I am told that eyebrows do not take long to return to normal growth. And even the deepest of bruises will heal. And, anyhow, it may be years before another observance will be again in order.

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Greek Tragedy In New Orleans

Atlanta Dec.

In the autumn of 1960 a tragedy along the classic lines of the Greek dramatist Aeschylus is being played in New Orleans. It follows similar stagings of such tragedies in Little Rock and other Southern cities.

Grief and sorrow are in them all. So is the folly of man—even as was written and enacted in ancient Greece half a century and more before Christ.

Sun. 11-15-60

It is from these plays that we have our common phrase of today—a Greek Tragedy. In such a tragedy the characters move irresistibly toward a disastrous conclusion. They are fated to such unhappy ending by moral weakness, psychological maladjustment or social pressures.

The essential fact of such tragedies is that the end is known before the play begins. Every person in the Greek amphitheater knew the fated end. This, therefore, was the tragedy of it—that all the suffering brought on self and others by the struggles of the central character were unnecessary save that the gods decreed it.

So it was in Little Rock. The end was known before the central character, Gov. Faubus, was impelled by God knows what motives to bring suffering and sorrow to many persons, including hundreds of children, by his futile struggles.

Players' Lines

So it is now in Louisiana. The players are going through their lines. The central character is Gov. Davis. The end of the play is known. The time for the final curtain remains unrevealed. The end is sure. The actions of the central character already have brought a certain chaos and suffering. It will bring more. He has disrupted the lives of several thousand children. He will do the same for others as lesser players imitate him.

Since these tragedies are Southern, one chooses a Southern comparison. It is one which has been used before. It concerns Gen. Robert E. Lee. At Appomattox there were those on his staff, and in the ranks, who wanted to fight it out. The end was inevitable. Gen. Lee knew that the minds and the personalities of those still living would be of value to the South. He refused to be driven by pressures to destroy in battle the remnants of his army. There was no moral weakness in him. He obtained generous terms of surrender.

The Constitution

Today in the South every person of even the slightest sensitivity knows that the Constitution of this country will be enforced. In public schooling and in all public aspects of life we cannot any longer discriminate. Those who talk of not surrendering know that such a position can only harm business in their communities and handicap an entire generation of school children. Yet, they blindly, callously and cruelly insist on playing out the tragedy. After all, they will not suffer. Only the children will be hurt, not they.

The school issue is one of children. Unhappily, the school people are not permitted to handle it. There are those who, in efforts to further their re-election to office, will sacrifice the future of children. They will condemn them to being less prepared than children in other states. They will, even though they know what the end will be, destroy schools. They, the central characters, are impelled by various pressures. The ancient Greeks believed the gods intervened. But those were pagan gods. Americans worship another sort of God. It is a God of compassion. No governor, destroying schools to help himself politically, can claim to be directed by Divine Guidance. Nor can any extremist.

So, the tragedies go on. In Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama, the stage is being made ready. It may be, if their people have the will to see it, they can avoid playing out the tragedy to its inevitable conclusion. But in New Orleans, the play is begun. It follows the same old lines which were inadequate at Little Rock and will be in the Crescent City.

The nation—and the world—are watching.

RALPH MCGILL

'—To Humiliate Sen. Johnson'

"To understand Texas," said a citizen in Dallas, "it is necessary to comprehend that of the 50 states it is the only one which may truly be said to possess a power structure. There are economic groups which are influential in cities. But, in Texas, the ultra-conservative interests of all that we include in the words "oil" and "cotton" are usually able to dominate on a statewide basis.

"There are many varied, but associated, industries bound up in those two words. But they include also, because of need which each has for frequent supply of capital, most of the financial structure in the state.

"It is this power group which has made up its mind to humiliate Lyndon Johnson. It plans to return him to the Senate but at a greatly reduced majority. It also is determined to defeat him and the Kennedy ticket. The most vindictive members of this unit talk about this at their daily luncheon meetings. They savor it each evening in social gatherings. They slap their thighs and laugh about Lyndon's waking up to find he is still just a Texas senator. Their whole desire is to humiliate the man who has, after all, served them so well, but who, at Los Angeles, didn't consult them about joining with Kennedy.

Cruel Thing

"This will be a cruel thing to do. They mean it to be. The situation in Texas is one which illustrates there is no sentiment in politics. The power structure of Texas has given many testimonials of its gratitude to Sen. Johnson and Speaker Sam Rayburn. But once these two men failed to obey the unwritten and unspoken, well-understood rules, they became targets of a vindictive objective. They aim, as they say, 'to teach Lyndon a lesson'."

"This same power structure has ramifications in Oklahoma," said the gentleman from "Big D." "It is powerful there, too. It, too, has turned against Lyndon. But the top Oakie interests can't consistently exert as much power as the same ones in Texas."

This summary may not be without flaw, but any error in it is slight. That so many influential Texans should be so angry with Sen. Johnson reveals that arrogance which long exercise of power often creates. There is no valid reason for being vindictively angry. Dissent, disagreement, and regret are legitimate reactions. But that the economic leadership in the state should be in a state of almost livid fury with Sen. Johnson because he took the vice presidential nomination reveals something about that leadership which may do it little good in the years ahead.

Second Highest

After all, the vice presidency is the second highest office within the gift of the people. And, while the odds favor Mr. Nixon, a Kennedy victory is not impossible. It is just possible the group now arrogantly determined to humiliate Sen. Johnson might find itself waiting outside his door with hat in hand. This, of course, would not be the first time and to do so would not greatly disturb those so waiting.

The Texas situation, like that in South Carolina where another power structure is determined to deny Sen. Kennedy a traditional Democratic state, reveals the political change taking place in the cotton states of the old South. This present political-economic concept is to try and elect a Republican president but retain the one-party system control at the local level. In time, this may become a Republican party foundation. But presently, it is not that at all.

But nevertheless we see former Gov. Allen Shivers of Texas and former Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, both nominal Democrats and representatives of the old power structure, teaming up for a national television hookup to boost the Nixon-Lodge ticket. Shivers described Nixon's way as "the way true Southern Democrats have always believed government should be run."

Johnson's sin in the eyes of Texas' ultraconservatives is his attempt to bridge the gap between the state's power structure and national party interests. It is for this sin the hierarchy seeks to punish him.

RALPH MCGILL

Kennedy and Happiness

In a talk with reporters early in the campaign Jack Kennedy was encouraged to talk of himself. In the course of it he gave a definition of happiness. It was, he said, one that appealed to him and was from Greek philosophy.

"Happiness is the full use of your powers along lines of excellence in a life affording scope."

That this philosophy should have a meaning for him is revealing. That he learned it years ago is apparent. That it made him see politics as a life affording scope is understandable. That he has proceeded along lines of excellence is public knowledge.

The war, too, was like politics in that it provided opportunity for use of one's powers along lines of excellence. Assuredly, the war afforded scope. He was a successful combat man. That is to say, he met danger and emergency capably, showing both courage and intelligence, and survived, saving in one disaster the lives of others.

Intellectual

He will be the first political intellectual in the White House since Franklin Roosevelt. Both by education which, happily, was not in any sense parochial, by nature and experience, he is at home with scholarship and scholars. Throughout the campaign he often discarded the carefully prepared speeches and extemporized. In these talks he frequently used some quotation from historians, philosophers, poets, and novelists. These were plucked from his own mind. They were not nuggets inserted by ghost-writers. They were never belabored. They came forth naturally as in a conversation where the issue at hand might have come up. They were merely part of the flow of argument.

If noted at all in press or television they appeared in garbled or misquoted form. But it was significant that never once did these literary and philosophic fragments offend. They did not give any suggestion of talking down to the crowd. They were used because the candidate, caught up with his idea, was developing it out of his own thoughts. The illustrations he used made his thoughts clear in his own mind.

Intellectuals in the White House have been rare. But John Kennedy, despite his 43 years and the lack of any of the stereotype qualities, is an intellectual. Indeed, throughout the campaign the opposition sought to capitalize on our traditional anti-intellectualism by repeatedly pointing out that Kennedy's closest advisers were professors from Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This was not strictly true, but some of the nation's more important faculty minds were high among those in his confidence.

Definition

Kennedy's definition of happiness also has brought from him the comment that politics is easily the more rewarding profession. It offers a large scope of activity and, of course, the presidency, as he has said, is the "ultimate place of action."

As an observer of Kennedy, and recalling his book, "Profiles in Courage," it is possible to venture a prediction.

He will strive to fit politics to his ideas, and not tailor ideas to fit politics. There is an important difference. The danger of the latter method, which is that of the opinion polls, is to find what the people want, or think they want, and then fit policy to that finding. This guarantees a dying, static state which will decline with mounting celerity.

Kennedy will endeavor to bring political support to his ideas. The narrowness of his popular vote margin may prove a handicap. But he will not abandon his policies. He will have the strength of boldness. He will not hesitate to use his powers along lines of excellence. He will be in an office which affords the ultimate in scope.

For the rest of us, the philosophy of ancient Greeks remains to nag accusingly at our minds.

RALPH MCGILL

Dr. Peale and Dr. Burchard

It may be well that for American Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, the results of the Presidential election will prove a milestone in the process of further escape from the remaining influences of the 17th Century.

Professional political managers privately believe, for example, that next to the television debates, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale provided the most tangible impetus to the Kennedy victory. "Dr. Peale," said one member of the Democratic committee, "will go down in history as the Rev. Dr. Burchard of our time."

The story of Dr. Burchard dates from the historic campaign of 1884 when Grover Cleveland was the Democratic nominee against James G. Blaine. The Republican candidate early in the campaign received a delegation of ministers. The Rev. Samuel D. Burchard was their spokesman.

The minister's statement was not unlike some of those made in the just-concluded campaign. He said, for the group: "We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have higher expectations, which are that you will be President of the United States. . . . We are Republicans and don't propose to identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents are rum, Romanism and rebellion. We are loyal to our flag. . . ."

The Pronouncement

This pronouncement was immediately interpreted as an unworthy, uncalled-for insult to the Roman Catholic faith. Without question, Dr. Burchard's impetuousness defeated Blaine. A change of less

...00 votes in New York would have reversed the election. Many Republican members of the Catholic communion, outraged by Dr. Burchard's gratuitous insult, voted Democratic. Had this switch not occurred, Blaine would have carried New York and won.

In early September a so-called National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom, which included well-known conservative Protestant ministers and laymen, was held in Washington, D.C. Dr. Peale presided. The conference issued a statement in which it expressed a unanimous fear that Sen. Kennedy, if elected, might be under such great pressure from the Catholic Hierarchy that he could not resist.

This was immediately interpreted, there being no other meaning possible, as a declaration of a lack of faith in Sen. Kennedy's integrity and as an insult to his faith. Sen. Kennedy previously had declared his belief in separation of church and state and his intent, if elected, to uphold every detail of the Constitution of this country.

No Apology

Dr. Burchard, in 1884, never recanted or made apologies.

Dr. Peale, however, announced on September 15 he had severed all connections with the group which had held the convention.

On September 16 Dr. Daniel H. Poling, who for a year or more had been expressing alarm about Sen. Kennedy's Catholic faith and its possible consequences in the event of the senator's election, announced that despite this, neither he nor Dr. Peale repudiated the statement.

But on Sunday, September 17, Dr. Peale told his congregation that while he had no sense of wrongdoing, he did believe he had acted unwisely.

Despite Dr. Peale's withdrawal there is no doubt but what his temporary association with the anti-Catholic forces tended to encourage and inspire the more rabid and extreme anti-Catholic groups. They used the cloak of Dr. Peale's stature as a cover of respectability.

The net effect should be constructive. A Roman Catholic has been elected. The heavens have not fallen. It is realistically apparent that so long as we have our Constitution we are in no danger from encroachment of any church on the state.

We have grown up—a little.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Mr. Nixon Can Wait—

"I have made almost a fetish of disciplining myself."

The statement is by Vice President Nixon.

That is precisely what he now is doing—disciplining himself. In time he will apply that to his party.

This is the mushy period of speculation as to what sort of china Jackie will select; whether or not she will be a fashion leader, and much else that is typical of the worst in mass media reporting.

Mixed in with it are guesses as to what the Vice President will do. Will he become the active head of his party, and not merely the titular? Will he practice law and abandon politics? Will he run for governor of California in 1962 and the presidency in 1964?

By Ear

For the man who has made almost a fetish of disciplining himself the questions must seem naive. He already knows what he will do about politics. He will play it by ear until next January. He can't do anything else. A somewhat nettled White House has said, through its spokesman, that President Eisenhower will remain head of the party until his term ends. This was in response to a question as to whether Mr. Nixon would not now become the party leader.

Here we have another example of Mr. Nixon being politically trapped at a time when the party needs him to be free. The President cannot well proclaim that Mr. Nixon from now on is the party leader. Sen. Goldwater and perhaps Gov. Rockefeller might object.

But, the party assuredly needs Mr. Nixon to be in charge for the months ahead. He is the one force which will prevent quick civil war from breaking out between the two forces symbolized by Sen. Goldwater and the governor of New York.

Mr. Nixon understands what Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce has put into words in her native state of Connecticut. She has said that unless the party puts up more attractive candidates Connecticut will become a "sinecure for the Democrats." She noted that wherever such candidates were put up they did well. She named Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey as an example.

Sound

Mrs. Luce may have erred in other judgments, but here she certainly is on sound ground. There is no national future for Sen. Goldwater. The sort of political conservatism he espouses died out in England about 1905. American political conservatism has never progressed, as in England, because it has lacked the quality of innovation necessary in the development of industrial populations, not merely in America, but in the world. It is true that Sen. Goldwater has caught the fancy of many conservatives in his party, but they will persist with him to the detriment of its future.

Vice President Nixon, therefore, will be required to remain as the party's anchor until the Goldwater-Rockefeller factions have huffed and puffed until they can do so no more. We may expect to see Sen. Case slowly emerge in the years ahead as the man most able to become a rallying point.

Mr. Nixon does not now have to make up his mind. He is one who knows the importance of opinion at the time of campaigning and voting. He has a good two years in which to wait for conditions and decision.

Unless conditions are then favorable, he almost certainly will quietly and soundly base himself in private life and practice of law. He lost, but he almost won. His was not the fate of Landon or Dewey. But he will hardly want to plan a political future. A person very close to him, the estimable Mrs. Nixon, has long wanted him out of it.

That he will serve his party and save it, if he can, from committing folly, is sure. As for himself, he can wait.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

'Speaking the Same Language'

Throughout the campaign John Kennedy insisted that, if elected, he definitely intends to name to every major ambassadorial position men who speak the language of the country. This would apply to such nations as Germany, Italy, France, Russia, and the larger Latin American capitals.

Furthermore, he said, he will recruit specialists from private life who have served, or are prepared to serve, in underdeveloped lands. America must send missionaries to live and work with the people—without benefit of PX shopping or life in a small American colony. They must live and demonstrate the meaning of our country.

Thirdly, he will seek to persuade the Congress to make appropriations for foreign aid, economic especially, across a period of years, three or four. The present system of annual allotments has, he believes, been one of the basic weaknesses in our assistance programs.

The first two proposals will mean a substantial reorganization in the State department. It will be greeted with enthusiasm by the younger career men and many of the older ones. It is no secret at all that too many men of talent and ability have quit federal service in the last six years and that too often their replacements were men whose only qualification was a campaign contribution or availability.

Appointments

Without question, some of these appointments seriously depreciated our prestige and position. The Congress almost certainly will go along with the new president in this reorganization. It, too, has long entertained the idea that "State" needed overhauling. Domestically, too, there must be change.

Republican candidate for the vice presidency, Henry Cabot Lodge, disturbed Mr. Nixon by pledging to name a Negro to the cabinet if the GOP was elected. He had to retract, saying he could not make any such pledge. The national committee was annoyed.

However, if Mr. Lodge had made his approach from a more logical background, he might have helped. The next president, and those who follow, will most certainly be wise to call on as much Negro talent as is available to assist this country domestically and internationally. In a sense, some of our chickens have come home to roost. The fact that we have not provided education and opportunity for Negroes has deprived us of what would have been a great weapon in the new nations of Africa—trained Negro specialists.

Illustration

Ralph Bunche comes always to mind. But the fact that he does merely serves to illustrate the lamentable lack of others like him. The need goes deep. We rather desperately need American Negro teachers, home economists, nurses, and technicians of all kinds to represent us abroad. That they can also be of assistance nationally is equally true.

The suggestion that Puerto Rico's able Luis Munoz Marin be used in Latin American discussions was made four or more years ago. He is but another example of the talent which this country, rich in ethnic variety, can call upon.

Mr. Kennedy is known to be disturbed about the number of outstanding military men who resigned in conflict with the administration's policies. NATO has been ably administered by General Norstad, but he soon is to retire, probably within weeks. The President-elect is known to believe that NATO has economic and political potentials which, under new leadership and vision, might be useful.

Meanwhile, the nation surely has noted that Southeast Asia is in ferment; that Latin America shows new revolutionary outbreaks; that the Asian and African nations have won an important U.N. victory, and that the administration policy is again revealed to have been inadequate. Where the blame lies is not important. The fact of its inadequacy is.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Hatred Reaps Its Harvest

P-1
Mon 12-13-60

On a dark, cloudy night, symbolic of the callous, hate-filled minds involved, a Negro school in Atlanta senselessly was bombed early Monday morning.

It is too bad the nation could not see the wrecked rooms where the colored Christmas drawings of children, lovingly done, were scattered in such pitiful disorder. These childish doings cry out accusingly with a mute but trumpet-like eloquence.

The big brave men who tossed the explosive in the darkness of the night, and in the deeper darkness of their own minds and souls, have not stopped the processes of education. Their kind have appeared often in history. They were among those who cried, "Crucify Him." Their kind were among those who offered Him vinegar on the cross when He said, "I thirst." Their soul-kin were among those who tended Hitler's gas furnaces. Their kind are among the Communist terror groups. Their kind are related to those who scream filth in the New Orleans demonstrations.

In a time like this, it is fashionable for leaders of those who preach, teach and organize for defiance of law and court decisions to deplore violence and say, "We are not responsible. We do not endorse violence."

But, of course, they do.

In High Places

Men and women in high places who organize groups to resist court orders, those who urge pledges of never surrendering, and who encourage those of the Klan mentality, did not toss the explosive at the school. But in a very real sense, their hands were there just the same, because, if those who are willing to commit bombings, physical assaults and other crimes of violence were not encouraged by those in established positions who curse the court, who say that American judges are Communists, who reveal their own state of mind to be that of law violators, the lawless would not become so emboldened.

But, as always, when the fruits of their planting are harvested, they recoil and say, "We deplore this. We never meant such things to happen."

And there are always those who try to suggest that perhaps it was done "by the others," by those who want to bring discredit on organizations publicly preaching defiance of law and no surrender to the orders of the government of the United States.

There are always excuses for not doing what is right, for not obeying law and the processes of courts.

So, once again, as in the bombing of the Atlanta Temple—and of schools and churches in other cities—we have a harvest of things sown. It was but a few days ago an Atlanta Klan leader publicly advocated destroying schools.

Leadership Tested

Once again Southern leadership is put to the test.

Here again we have the essence of the Greek tragedy. In the end the decent, civilized people will prevail. In the end there will be education for all children. Bombers prove nothing by bombing, or destroying a school or church. God still lives. Learning remains.

The tragedy is that even though the end of the play is known, there must be needless suffering, violence and ugly lawlessness on the loose.

It isn't always easy to be an American. There are times when we must surrender our own personal wishes, emotions, and preferences for the common good. We have had waves of prejudice move across our country at different periods in its history. They have all broken against the common sense and decency of the American who knows that his country must offer the same great asset to all of its citizens—freedom, liberty, dignity and opportunity. This must be within the reach of all citizens.

The childish drawings of Christmas—of Peace on Earth to Men of Good Will—on the floors of the bombed classrooms have a message for all whose hearts are not ruled by darkness and evil.

RALPH
The
McGILL
Atlanta Constitution
Religion—p 4-
Atlanta, Ga.
Platoon System
Wed 12-7-60

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, a man who, in 1928, was a student at Princeton and guard on the varsity football team, has, in effect, proposed a four-platoon system which has the possibility of giving to religion a dynamic momentum in contemporary life.

A recognized leader in the Presbyterian church, he has proposed, as a deeply concerned individual, that four of this country's major churches unite to form one. They are the Protestant Episcopal, the Methodist, the United Presbyterian and the United Church of Christ. Dr. Blake spoke before the triennial session of the National Council of Churches. In attendance were Protestant and Eastern Orthodox (Greek rite) delegates.

His detailed plan, meeting many of the objections which both laymen and clergy might raise, has been warmly received as a beginning in what an increasing number of Christians believe necessary — a greater unity in Christendom.

Never before have the divisions within Christianity been so underscored as in our time. Nor is it merely the fact of division which is so increasingly damaging. The world is made to see there is much of petty competition and straining at gnats of dogmatic differences to the detriment of all. The recent national election is a painful illustration. All Christianity was damaged — the Roman and Protestant churches alike.

Dr. Blake

None can deny Dr. Blake's conclusions:

"I recall the issue," he said, "to remind you that one result is clear. Every Christian church, Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican and Roman Catholic, has been weakened by it. Never before have so many Christian churches, divided as Americans agreed that they are, cannot be trusted to bring to the American people an objective and authentic word of God on a political issue. Americans more than ever see the churches of Jesus Christ as competing social groups pulling and hauling, propagandizing and pressuring for their own organizational advantages . . .

"Our culture, our civilization, our world leadership are under the materialistic threat of Marxist communism. But our culture becomes increasingly secular, our civilization becomes increasingly decadent, and our world leadership becomes increasingly confused precisely because their Christian foundations are undermined and eroded. And our divided churches all more and more sectarian in fact, are all therefore less and less Christian in influence."

Proposal

Dr. Blake's proposal came just a few hours after the Archbishop of Canterbury had met for more than an hour in Rome with Pope John XXIII. Theirs was a meeting of two Christians. It was hedged about by protocol. But it was a major fact.

It should not be overlooked that this historic meeting, and Dr. Blake's compelling recommendation, took place at a time when the Communist powers of the world were concluding their meeting in Moscow.

They, too, had differences. That these were difficult is obvious from the earlier news releases and from the open disagreement expressed in the Chinese and Soviet newspapers.

The Communists, however, reached a decision of unity.

It is a gargantuan piece of irony that an ideology based on materialism and a rejection of spiritual qualities and the existence of God, should be able to attain such a powerful unity while the Christian world remains splintered.

This is especially true when one considers that the major Protestant, Orthodox and Roman churches have a common basic catholic bond in the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. The Roman Church has its own universal or catholic ritual. So do the Eastern and major Protestant churches. They are all catholic in Christian belief. That there cannot be greater Christian unity is a growing rebuke.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Farm Cellars
And Machines
Atlanta Ga.

As writers on agricultural life know, the cellar gleaming with its shelves of multi-colored glass jars of vegetables, fruits and soup stocks is the real pride of the up-and-doing farm wife. Whatever her accomplishments in housekeeping, sewing and decoration, the array of home-prepared foods is the major symbol of her abilities.

Every man with farm background recalls the busy, steamy time of canning. The heat and the toil of it fade in the memory and one recalls the beauty of the finished product. It has the deeper atavistic symbolism of providing against lean years.

It is a bit startling to turn from the image of the farm cellar to precision machines in a large processing plant which fill more than 600 jars per minute. There is a fascination, too, in watching a never-ending row of square crackers, or round, approach machines which endlessly place a dab of peanut butter on one and gently tap a lid on—all in the split part of a second. Other machines count and package them.

The potato chip is watched by electronic eyes which removes the one not perfectly colored. Once rows of elderly women did this job. Automation also determines the roasted, salted destiny of the lowly peanut and of the myriad candy bars.

Automation

Automation today is an increasing part of our lives. It should not be thought of as confined to autos, steel ingots and items heavy and gross.

One of the failures of the Eisenhower administration is in this field. Automation already has done enough human harm to create very real fear. Reporters traveling with the presidential candidates encountered this fear in tangible form in depressed areas where plants were shut down. New machines were being installed and reports current were that only the younger workers would be rehired to run them.

The Kennedy administration cannot do other than hold a thorough study of American automation. Somehow the fear must be removed. The national economic growth, now around 2½ per cent, cannot increase without more automation.

The John Diebold Management Consultant Agency of New York is in the financial page news by predicting that such a study will be one of the first economic research moves by the Kennedy administration. It can hardly be otherwise.

Economic Growth

The fact that a large management consulting agency is at work indicates it has been engaged by concerned corporations who are moving toward more automation and who have encountered growing fear. The national economic growth must have automation to advance. Mr. Diebold is merely factual, and not prophetic, when he says:

"Fear—fear of job dislocation and human debasement—has obscured the necessity to automate. The basis of this fear must be removed. That can only happen through an honest effort to prevent human harm. Such an effort depends on a gathering of facts."

He recommends a program where unemployment does result from introduction of automation. It is:

1. Federal stimulation of new business through fiscal policy.
2. State and local government provision for worker training and retraining facilities for distressed area redevelopment.
3. Business initiation of programs to assist employees in adapting to changed situations.
4. Labor-sponsored retraining programs and intelligent collective bargaining.

It is good to know Mr. Diebold has these new clients and that they want a national study. It is interesting, and significant, that they turn to the federal government to do it.

Advises Dixie To Shun Rabble Rousing Racists

Chicago Defender, Chicago, Ill.
Nov. 26-Dec. 2, 1960

GREENSBORO, N. C.—(UPI)—Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, urges southerners to "turn a deaf ear" to those who would favor resistance to integration decrees.

Speaking at a forum at the woman's college of the University of North Carolina, McGill said the South should use its energies to improving its schools instead of fighting classroom desegregation.

"The advocates of racial and economic reaction — the ones who have held us back — have been allowed to become the stereotype of southernism merely because they were the most vulgar and loud," McGill said.

PATHOS

The current strife at New Orleans, McGill declared, points up "another of the death struggles of a barrier between us nd full and equal participation the future of our country.

"These struggles have in them the pathos of a true Greek tragedy — it is the more tragic because the end is known before the play begins."

The Georgia publisher noted that before the Civil War the South boasted nine of the 13 wealthiest states in the U. S.

By 1938, he said, former president Franklin D. Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Conditions reported the people of the South "are the poorest in the country."

Since that time, McGill said, the South has moved forward. By 1975, he noted, southerners will be earning incomes equal to the national average.

McGill praised Governors Luther Hodges of North Carolina and Florida's Leroy Collins as "two of the South's best governors."

"... (They) have said that the greatest danger to the South is that our people will fail to understand the change taking place all around them," McGill declared.

"They must not forget that the first law of nature is change and that the second is the survival of those who put themselves in accord with this change. This ... is what Southern leadership must recognize if it expects to be listened to on the national scene."

McGill told the forum, in conclusion:

"What is the face of the South? The jeering mobs of New Orleans? What is the voice of the South? The fanatics demanding that federal judges be jailed or lynched?

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

Calhoun Could Tell Them

Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 12-2-60

A Federal Court in Louisiana dismissed the theory of interposition raised by the State Legislature. The justices were properly quite brief about it.

It is clear, the court said, that interposition of a state's authority as superior to that of the federal is "not a constitutional doctrine." If taken seriously it is illegal defiance of constitutional authority.

"Otherwise," said the court, with great wisdom, "it amounts to no more than a protest, an escape valve through which the legislatures blow off steam to relieve their tensions."

So endeth the theory of interposition of "state sovereignty."

If the legislature of Louisiana now wants to interpose with force, it may get the same answer which John C. Calhoun received from Andrew Jackson.

The South Carolinian, in 1832, defied the government with interposition and said he would raise 10,000 troops to defend his theory. Old Hickory said that was all right. He would raise 30,000 to put down interposition and, if necessary, hang Mr. Calhoun as one seeking to overturn the government. Mr. Calhoun then and there abandoned the theory of interposition. It has not been raised since until certain wooly-minded extremists, who believe states rights to mean the right to ignore the Constitution of the United States when, and if, the state wishes, started urging it.

Disservice

Those persons who deceived so many disturbed Southerners into believing their country had done an improper thing, and that the Supreme Court had acted illegally, have done us all a great disservice. Those who so cynically betrayed the people into believing that a state is sovereign and has the right to interpose its authority against the federal Constitution are responsible for most of the mob violence and misunderstanding of the processes of Constitutional law.

The Louisiana Legislature knew better. It was, as one of its members said, making a fool of itself before the eyes of the world.

If we had sovereign states we could not have a United States with a central government. After the Revolution, the 13 colonies tried a confederation in which each was sovereign. It was immediately paralyzed. It was saved from disaster by the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. The governing section hasn't been changed since it was adopted, almost 200 years ago. It says:

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

Court Order

That is why, once a Constitutional interpretation has been made a part of a court order, it is the law of the land. No legislature or state court can change it or set it aside.

A great many Southern people did not approve the court's school decision. But they were willing to put their country, its laws and its courts first. But there came voices from men in rather high positions, saying the states were sovereign and would interpose to prevent. There came the Klans and the Citizens Councils telling them the court had acted illegally, that the Communists were behind it, that they must resist.

All this was a tragedy. It has produced the mobs because the people have been deceived.

If people know the truth they will reason things out.

The truth is worth repeating—in the light of the federal decision in Louisiana—there are no states rights which can defy Constitutional rights. The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of learned, patriotic Americans. There is no Communist influence in their decision. It said that under the Constitution no American citizen has more rights, or less, than any other citizen.

The Constitution, as interpreted by the court, is literally, and without argument, the law of the land.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

A Story of Leadership

Atlanta, Ga.

Behind the narrow margin of United Nations votes to seat Congo's Joseph Kasavubu and his delegation in the General Assembly instead of Patrice Lumumba is the story of a man—Charles Rene Guy Okala.

As foreign minister of the Cameroons he led the debate against the African nations supporting Lumumba—Ghana, Guinea, and other delegations from India. It was a diplomatic defeat for the U.S.S.R.

Sat. 12-3-60

He is the image of the new African leader.

Those Americans who have not yet learned how to face up to, much less cope with, the irrevocable demands of human relationships in this last half of the 20th Century will do well to study him . . . and others in the U.N. The people of Louisiana, and of all other states which face a decision in this field, could learn much that will help them in their desperate and melancholy attempt to avoid reality, if they will consider the meaning of history being made there on the bank of the East River, at the foot of 42nd Street.

Ancestors

Minister Okala's father, grandfather and other ancestors were tribal chiefs. There are many like him in the new Africa states . . . not nearly enough—but many in the relative sense. He was born in 1910. He was trained in a Roman Catholic school. Until he was 19 he studied to be a priest. He changed his mind and became a teacher. Later he went to work with an exporting company.

His political career began as a young man when he organized opposition to the return of the Cameroons to Germany at the end of the first great war. In 1945 he was elected to the Assembly for the Cameroons, then under French control. He speaks nine of the 80 languages spoken in his country. This small detail of multi-languages helps explain some of the difficulty of bringing the new tribal countries to stable, representative government. The foreign minister also is fluent in French. In politics he is a Socialist.

There is wisdom in him which has enabled the Cameroons to begin with some success. In 1952 he appeared before the U.N. to urge independence by stages. If we look at the Congo today, where the Belgians erred in favor of haste, we can see what a prophet the Foreign Minister was when he, eight years ago, argued that immediate independence for a country that is not prepared for it helps only a few leaders. When, he said, the people are not prepared to play their part, it throws them back into a tribal state instead of improving their condition.

In Debate

When taunted by the Soviet-supporting members from Africa, Foreign Minister Okala replied in kind. "I am a lackey," he told them, in debate, "but at least I know who my masters are. I am the lackey of my people, but not of any outside policy." He has not hesitated to oppose those who try to organize an all-Africa bloc.

"I am not a racist," he told the General Assembly. "I have never been that and I never shall be. I have no complexes. So far as I am concerned, the value of a man has no relation to the color of his epidermis."

It was due chiefly to his skill and intelligence that the General Assembly voted with them. Almost all the African members of the French community joined him with their ballot. Thus, the United States' position was sustained.

Here is a page of history which the Southern people cannot fail to read. Those in state capitols will neglect it to their own and their people's loss.

The stimulus of men like Charles Rene Guy Okala is one reason why new leadership is rising in the ranks of American Negroes. It has given them a sense of ethnic identity. The attitudes long imposed in a country of which they are citizens are no longer acceptable. The N.A.A.C.P still handles legal matters. The new leadership works in the human areas. Here is the crux of the problem, and those who think the mobs of New Orleans can delay or solve it are blind indeed.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

Texas Joke and The Budget

Atlanta, Ga.

The text for this essay might be the story of the Texas Democrat who won so much money betting on Kennedy that he turned Republican.

There must be a certain morbid fascination for progressive Republicans in watching the Goldwater - Dirksen faction at work preparing a so-called "bare-bones" balanced budget for the next fiscal year, which begins in July. It is a shabby piece of political business to begin with. It frankly is aimed at embarrassing the Kennedy administration.

Mon. 12-5-60

It is so plainly political that it will, if pursued, boomerang against the Republican Party. It will once again depict the party as interested not in the troubles of the unemployed, the aged, and of education, but as one dedicated to, first of all, business and special interests. The story from Texas is a jest. But the fact it was invented and told with so much glee is not without meaning.

The President is reported deeply piqued by his party's defeat. Even so, it is difficult to understand giving an ear to those who would express their resentment in a "bare-bones" budget which ignores the next administration's approach to six million persons out of jobs and at least two million on a short week basis, the gold crisis, shortage of school rooms, and other needs.

Responsibility

If there is human hurt it is the responsibility of the government to be concerned.

The truth is, as the failure of the Eisenhower financial mission to our European allies revealed, that this administration has demonstrated no great genius in the matter of finance or budgets.

If we go back to 1952 when there was a great deal of talk about balancing the national budget, reducing the number of federal employees, cutting the debt, and lowering taxes, and look at the present figures, we can all learn a lesson.

In the eight Eisenhower years we have:

1. Raised the federal payroll to an all-time high.

2. Incurred the highest peacetime budget in the nation's history.

3. Created a budget deficit for the period of more than $18 billion.

4. Raised the national debt limit five times.

5. Watched our gold reserves drop to the critical low of less than $18 billion.

Now, it would be unreasonable to "blame" the President for all this. A great many persons, however, insist, with reason, that the administration has lacked boldness and innovation. It has tended to wait until the fat was in the fire before trying to prevent its being placed there. Again, the hurried mission of Secretary Anderson is an example. Bankers and financial houses know something should have been attempted at least three years ago.

No Wizardry

The Eisenhower administration certainly revealed no wizardry in meeting and anticipating problems. For it now to present an austere, "balanced" budget for a fiscal year which does not begin until seven months after Mr. Kennedy is inaugurated, is so palpably dishonest in fact and intent as to be unworthy of an administration which has many excellent achievements to its credit.

Innovation will be required. Bankers in convention have heard that a system of larger write-offs in depreciation may evolve. There is hope of saving money in the farm administration which, at present, is more expensive than ever before in history.

None knows what the economic and human situations will be in 1961. Nor can we estimate what emergencies may arise in international affairs requiring spending.

In view of this, it is discouraging to see admittedly punitive planning in the preparation of the fiscal budget. The people are in need of understanding, not deception.

And the GOP needs to cease making the Texas joke look good.

Publisher Ralph McGill:

South Must 'Answer Up'

GREENSBORO (UPI) — Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, urged Southerners Thursday night to "turn a deaf ear" to those who would favor resistance to integration decrees.

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"What is the face of the South? The jeering mobs of New Orleans? What is the voice of the South? The fanatics demanding that federal judges be jailed or lynched?

"We must give answer—you and I. We must all answer up."

RALPH McGILL

Face and Voice Of the South?

What is the face the South turns toward the nation—and a world which sees through the mirror of press, radio and television?

Is it that face of the teen-age adult mob as it raged against police lines in New Orleans?

What is the voice of the South?

Is it the obscenities and curses flung by the mob trying to prevent the processes of education? Is it the illiterate, incorrectly spelled words on placards of hate and vulgarity? Is it the furious, saliva-flecked words of the more irresponsible legislators in Baton Rouge demanding that federal judges be thrown into jail? Is it the voices of those who cry for schools to be closed and teaching ended?

This face, and this voice, are like those we heard at Little Rock, Clinton, Nashville and Norfolk before sanity was permitted to return and reason allowed to replace folly. How often must we see and hear them? Is it necessary to have them over and over again, like the re-run of a horror film?

But New Orleans offered yet another voice. And this, when all is said and done, was one of the most humiliating and melancholy of these troubled days. One can feel a deep compassion for the man who felt compelled to speak as he did. He will be haunted by it all the rest of his career.

Dilemma

Sen. Russell Long, whose record as a senator is far above the average, appeared before the furiously angry Louisiana legislature. It had discovered that the national goals and the Constitution of the United States take precedent over contravening state law.

The senator's dilemma was clear. The generation - enduring Long dynasty is now insecurely based. Uncle Earl Long had lost his grip on this same legislature which, in its present frustrated fury, speaks with such dismaying irresponsibility. Sen. Long knew that before him were men who controlled counties. He will be a candidate two years hence. It was not a comfortable moment. Sen. Long knew the legislature was helpless to defy federal law. Its members were the more angry because they, too, knew but would not admit, that the federal Constitution is supreme. He and they knew it cannot be otherwise. Without it we would not be, and could not be, a nation.

But, he could not tell them this, even though both knew. So, he did a thing which will always make him uncomfortable. He told them that he, too, thought the U.S. Supreme Court should be impeached, even as some of the more reckless legislators had been demanding. But, he reminded them, "we do not have the votes."

He did not stop there. He felt, because of the uneasy head wearing the crown of the shaky Long dynasty, he ought to go one step further.

Abolish

He urged the abolition of the public school system.

No other senator anywhere has recommended so shocking a course. Nor is it sure he helped himself with votes when he runs again.

That a responsible Southern voice, a United States Senator, should recommend condemning a generation of the children of Louisiana to less education than others will have, is a melancholy commentary on what some of the Southern political leadership will do for survival.

Once again we have seen that a few Southern voices proclaim that the children and their future do not matter. Only votes and re-election are important. A generation of children less well prepared to get into college, to obtain and hold jobs, is unimportant.

We must think what are the face and the voice of the South. A nation, and a world, is looking and listening.

RALPH McGILL

Kennedy Would Use Rockefeller

The presidential vote was narrow, and Sen. Kennedy has moved with the awareness of a man both intelligent and politically aware to exploit that fact.

Those persons who are obsessed with a feeling of their own importance would do well to note it was Kennedy, the winner, who called and asked the defeated vice president if he might come to see him, the loser. It was Kennedy, the victor, who chartered a plane and went to see his second-in-command, the vice president-elect.

Both Mr. Nixon and Sen. Johnson had suggested they come to the Kennedy headquarters. He went to them.

None knows all he and the vice president discussed. It is almost certain, however, that the President-elect asked if there would be any Nixon objection to a Kennedy request to Gov. Rockefeller of New York to serve as an under-secretary-of-state, or special representative in charge of Latin - American affairs. Gov. Rockefeller admirably filled such a position under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. We desperately need the services of such a specialist. The governor of New York is, in a very factual sense, without a peer in this field. To have the use of him would be of incalculable benefit to the national welfare.

Mixed Reaction

Mr. Nixon's reaction must have been mixed. He likely would prefer personally, and as a party leader, to have the governor removed from future considerations. The mood of the GOP professionals presently is one of sullen disenchantment with Mr. Rockefeller. He campaigned hard for the nominee. But he was not convincing. The overall reaction to his efforts was perhaps best revealed by a woman who shouted, during one of the pleas for Mr. Nixon: "We'll vote for you but not for him."

A paradox remains. Despite the fact the governor now is low man on the GOP totem poll, he may well be re-elected governor of New York State in 1962. If this should happen he will again assume a dominant role in party affairs. The professionals will not then be able to plow around him as they did last year, forcing him out of the primaries. If, however, he fails of re-election, he will be finished as a party force.

So, the Republicans must ask themselves whether it is better to hold fast to a man who may become governor of New York and a potentially popular candidate in 1964, or give him so much of a cold shoulder he will accept a bi-partisan role in Latin America. The decision, of course, is not theirs to make. Nelson Rockefeller also is intelligent and independent. He will dance to his own tune.

No Pressure

Whatever Mr. Nixon's plans for 1962 or 1964, he is under no pressure. He can wait, and busy himself with both calling the tune and playing it by ear. He is not now compelled to make a decision. He must await events. The best guess is that he will want to remain in private life. But he assuredly will wish to remake the party and save it from the conflict between the Goldwater and Eastern wings.

There is something of a mystery about the quick request of the President that Sen. Thruston Morton continue as national chairman. If this is temporary, it is one thing. If permanent, it is quite another. In either case, it is not good professionally.

The Republicans badly need a full-time chairman. Sen. Morton cannot be either a good senator or a good chairman because he must divide his time. Mr. Nixon is believed to want a chairman who can devote all his energies to rebuilding the party. There is great and sincere affection for Mr. Eisenhower on the part of the vice president. But he almost certainly feels that one of the major party failures was in failure to proceed with the crusade of modern Republicanism.

In fact, the very best national chairman the Republicans could have for the next two years, or more, would be Richard M. Nixon—if he will make the sacrifice.

RALPH

The Atlanta

McGILL

Constitution

GOP Advance In the South

Atlanta, Ga.

Discouragement sits ravenlike above the door of Southern Republicans these days, and some of them seem to hear the words "Never More, Never More." This is because they are tired and disappointed.

Despite the bitter disappointment which followed the collapse of high hopes, the facts are that Republican efforts to establish a competitive situation in the South were quite successful.

Those who had labored so hard and set carrying several states as their goal should not be allowed to conceal the advances made. It was never possible to have the Dixie wing of the GOP spring full-born from the forehead of some fortuitous Zeus. The unhappy fact is that, until the coming of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican party in the South was, with painfully few exceptions, made up of some second-rate hacks who had not the slightest interest in establishing a genuine competition.

The state of the party in the South can best be illustrated by a conversation held with Alfred Landon in early 1937. He had been shocked by his meeting with the Southern delegations at the 1936 GOP convention. He said, and allowed quotation, that Republican state committees outside the South would not permit such generally disreputable delegations to represent their states. He said further that most of them had been openly for sale to the highest bidder. He was right.

Evaluation

So, in evaluating GOP progress in the South we must begin with 1952. It also is necessary to consider a fact which blurs the picture. Political scientists already are beginning to say that the statistics of the Eisenhower campaigns cannot be tossed into the computers or human calculations along with all others before and since. They were something special. As the 1960 election demonstrated, a substantial portion of the vote which went for Eisenhower in his two campaigns swung back to the Democrats. The GOP vote in the Eisenhower years must be considered separately.

It is the fact which makes the GOP Dixie results in 1960 the more remarkable. Without the magic of Eisenhower the states of Florida, Virginia and Tennessee again were carried. The party increased organizational and voting strength in Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina without the momentum of "I Like Ike." Despite the independent electors in Mississippi, there was a good GOP turnout.

There was much more Southern daily newspaper support for the Republican party than ever before.

In all states there were more persons at work, a larger total of local organizations.

This is the substance of organization. It costs money to accomplish this. It will continue to demand financial support. But especially in the urban areas, the Republican party is nearer establishment than at any previous time. And, if in net result of states carried the 1960 campaign was not as successful as before, it was overall a superior advance and it was made the hard way without the glamor and magic of Mr. Eisenhower.

Wrong Reasons

Southern newspapers which supported the Republicans, with but few exceptions, did so for what might be called the wrong reasons. That is to say, they were angry with the Democrats over the civil rights and labor planks. Or, they had a liking not for Mr. Nixon, but for Sen. Goldwater. Not a one of them which came to my desk candidly declared themselves to believe in the GOP platform or its principles. It was a business of finding that platform "less worse" than the Democratic.

But all this is the stuff of political progress. Perhaps, having supported the Republicans once, they will do so again, more forthrightly. And those persons who are in the transition period, having cut loose from the Democratic moorings, may tie up permanently at the GOP dock.

The GOP is some time yet away from a genuine two-party system, but the foundations are laid and construction is well along.

RALPH
McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution
Political Economics

Notes on Political Science: In Elizabeth, N.J., a young postal worker, married, and a father, offered to drive two reporters into Newark. He is a well-educated young man, with two years of college to his credit.

He had a story to tell which is relevant to political speculation.

"In our area," he said, "which they call 'Industrial New Jersey,' things aren't too good. I know, being a letter carrier, that the merchants are giving away a lot of stuff through leaders. I can tell pretty quick when things aren't good in business and when people are behind with their bills. It began to get this way in July.

"There is unemployment, and a lot of companies, where there is no work contract, have reduced the starting wage for new employes. I know people who are holding two jobs, one at night and one in the day. Neither is a very good job. It takes two to make out. One of these days Uncle Sam will get some of them. One fellow I know lost his day job. He is drawing unemployment insurance for that and working at night.

Women Shopping

"My wife tells me that now the women who go shopping will walk around from store to store, buying the leaders. As jobs get scarce people cut corners.

"Why are jobs down? Well, a number of small companies, tool and die makers, have gone out of business or moved away. Some of the big companies are moving where taxes are better. And then production is down. I don't know all about it. But I know, as a letter carrier, things are getting worse. You can always tell."

This feeling was reflected in some of Mr. Nixon's talks and it was a lesson in political science and campaigning to follow the minor modifications of the basic speech. In the South he declared that civil rights were a matter for the South, East, North and West. It was not just a Southern problem. And states rights were important. He thought states should have responsibilities, he said.

In the East, he did not mention states or civil rights. In the industrial cities the appeal was embroidered with homey touches calculated to touch moral emotions. In Paterson, N.J., for example, there is a large population of Italian ancestry. Most of it is industrially employed. There is a great ambition to give children advantages.

"I remember my father, who had only six or seven years of schooling," said the vice president to fathers and mothers who, for the most part, had had no more than that. "He never looked back," said Mr. Nixon. "He always said 'this is America. We have got to go forward. You must get an education.'"

Build Schools

He then talked about the Republican plan to build schools.

In other cities where employment was off, he took the wives on an imaginary shopping tour. The Democratic farm plan, he said, would increase the price of milk, bread, meat and vegetables. The Democrats hotly deny this but Mr. Nixon insists on it.

He has one line which never fails to get a laugh and a cheer. It fits either a very rich audience or one of working people. In charging the Democratic plans would cost more money, he says "Remember, this is not Jack's money. It's yours." Nixon's strategists think this conjures up the image of a rich young man, careless about money. They do not believe many Americans know the New England passion for frugality and the motto, "Wear it out. Use it up. Make it do."

Kennedy's surging attack reportedly gets under his skin. Recently, in depressed areas, Mr. Nixon has begun to talk like Sen. Kennedy and say we must do more. But, in general, he believes his quiet, folksy approach, which gives reassurance that everything is all right and a happy ending is assured for all of us, is a vote-getter. The crowds all seem to like it. True, they do not become greatly stirred, but the feeling is they are hearing what they want to hear. Still, there are signs Mr. Nixon is worried. He may be forced to change.

RALPH
McGILL
The Atlanta Journal Constitution
A Referee Of the Debates

WASHINGTON, D.C.—There is no referee in the great debates. Each partisan serves in that capacity and will not lightly accept any question of judgment.

Hence, it is necessary to put the second debate in the proper perspective of its day and time.

Sen. Kennedy wanted the people, he said, to understand there was a great difference between him and Mr. Nixon. The United States, he said, needed to become stronger, domestically and internationally. The country, he said, must move forward.

The senator needed no nudge from prophets to say that 1961 and the years immediately following will bring us face to face with grim and implacable decisions. Therefore, he argued, we must recover lost prestige and substantially increase our strength. Mr. Nixon differed.

But on the very day they appeared in debate, these items were in the news:

Items in News

1. Ghana announced it would nationalize some 200 industries. Thus, one of the new and more stable of the African nations served notice it had initiated a socialist system. It previously had supported the Lumumba government.

2. Nikita Khrushchev, speaking with obvious confidence derived from a feeling of strength, said flatly that even if 99 per cent of the U.N. voted against his plan to reorganize the U.N. secretariat so that the U.S.S.R. would have a third of the power, the Soviet Union would defy it and act outside the U.N.

3. The government of the United States decided that to meet an adverse trade balance it would institute a system of purchases of American goods rather than major reliance on overseas procurement.

4. Five American cities were added to the list of distressed areas by White House action.

5. The Soviets announced that the status of Berlin would depend upon an agreement for an early 1961 summit meeting.

6. Washington revealed that aid to Laos had been held up because, despite years of liberal U.S. aid, the small, strategically important country seemed about to go Communist.

There were other straws in the domestic and international winds, but the list is unhappily eloquent. Even the most partisan cannot well avoid facing up to the conclusion that Sen. Kennedy is more nearly on the mark than is Mr. Nixon. Things are not going well in the U.N. or out of it. There will be need of greater U.S. strength.

Distress Cities

The addition of five cities to those already classified as distressed is perhaps not alarming, but it is not reassuring. And, while the debators talked of aid for them and the suffering people, the thoughtful listener knew that aid in such situations, while important from the humane viewpoint, nonetheless was like putting a poultice on a boil. It helps, but it does not eliminate what is causing the boils. The national economy is caught in a technological and trade squeeze which is not going to be cured with surplus food and relief money. Someone must act, and in the long run, or short, it cannot be anyone but the federal government.

In the international field it was perhaps politically effective for Mr. Nixon to flog former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. But it sounded unrealistic and evasive of the facts of life when one knew of the Khrushchev policy which was made from an assurance of strength and which, if carried out, will cripple or destroy the U.N.

Mr. Nixon has the job of defending the administration of which he is a part. But in the perspective of the news of the day on which the debate was held, even the partisan must admit that Sen. Kennedy's eyes look more realistically into the present and future.

RALPH
31a White
McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution
Christianity On Trial

No person who is ever meagerly sensitive to the clamorous calamity of events, both at home and abroad, can avoid noting that the Christian church is on trial.

It also is quite plain that organized Christianity presently is on the defensive. Its enemies in Africa are insisting that it is, and has been, a white man's church. The Communists long have rejoiced over the predicament of the Christian churches. They have happily and earnestly told by radio, the printed word, and by television, the many stories of segregation in South African churches, and, of late, the turning away of Negro students by some churches in the American Southeast.

The World Council of Churches, through its central committee, meeting in historic St. Andrews, Scotland, formally has declared segregation based on race or color contrary to the Gospels. At the same time the council announced seven new church groups as members, five from Africa. They represent a new membership of 1,650,000.

Five Groups

The five were L'Eglise Evangelique de Madagascar, the London Missionary Society Synod in Madagascar, L'Eglise Evangelique du Togoland, the Methodist Church of Ghana and the Anglican Church of the Province of East Africa.

The others were the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (where the followers of Christ were first called Christians), and the Sudanese Christian Church of West Java, whose 9,000 members are converted Moslems.

The new churches bring the council's membership to 178 church groups of the Orthodox, Protestant and Anglican faiths in more than 50 countries.

The kneel-ins in the Southeastern United States have, of course, attracted international attention. They are a part of the testing. Many persons who accept the fact that church doors should be open to any person who comes to participate in the service of worship object to the probing kneel-ins as semi-vaudeville stunts designed to attract attention. In a sense they are theatrical in effect. But without question, they do attract attention and identify those churches which have a screening policy of admission.

All these incidents are grist in the mills of Communist and Moslem propaganda. This is especially true in Africa where the Moslem church is making great gains in competition with Christianity, a fact documented by the Rev. Billy Graham, to mention perhaps the best known observer of this dilemma of the church. Missionairies have reported it over and over again.

Untenable Position

Whatever the motives of the kneel-ins, they have placed the Southern Christian church in a position of choosing. Many of its leaders are deeply disturbed by the arrival of a time of decision. They are painfully aware that those churches which have ushers at the entrances, like doorkeepers at a secret lodge, instructed to make arbitrary decisions as to who is coming sincerely to worship and who isn't, are in an untenable position bordering dangerously on the ridiculous. They know it is not wise for organized Christianity anywhere to make itself appear ridiculous.

Unless a church wishes, as it may, to become a private club with a private membership list, it cannot continue in the preposterous posture of having a committee at the doors which will pass judgment on who is sincere and who isn't.

Meanwhile, there is no blinking the fact that the Christian church is being hurt in the testing time to which it is being subjected. America, with its freedom, does not realize that in other parts of the world, there are aggressively competitive religions, especially Moslem and Buddhist, and they are gaining.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta Ga.
31a White
Soviets Drive For the Heart
Sat. 9-3-60

NEW YORK CITY—Before the news broke that Khrushchev was coming it was by no means quiet along the Potomac or here by the East River where the tall, green-cool serenity of the United Nations building masks the uneasiness within.

The U.N. team in the Congo has done a magnificent job. No Americans returning home from some job well done have more merited a Broadway ticker tape reception than Ralph Bunche, who comes home after heading the U.N. group in the first desperate days when it was all but overwhelmed by chaos, violence, and the constant sabotage by the Russians. But for him there can be only more hard work against heavy odds.

There is fear here, not merely in U.S. circles, but in those African delegations which wish their countries to be free of direction or domination by either the West or the East. The U.N. future in the Congo is not reassuring. The next two weeks will reveal which way the Congo will go. And there is a feeling the Soviets, who, though members of the U.N., have privately betrayed its mission, will be the winners.

Soviet trucks are transporting Lumumba's troops. Soviet technicians are bringing some order to the chaotic government's attempt to function. Soviet planes arrive daily and in the making is a Soviet commercial airline to replace that of the Belgians. How many passengers it will carry remains for the future. But that it will transport huge amounts of copper and other metals, as well as uranium ores, is sure. The rich Katanga mining area is the big prize. And the Soviets are making sure it does not fall into European hands.

Meager Schooling

Lumumba, his head filled with but three meager years of schooling and much Marxist dialectic, already is making speeches about replacing the old tribal ways with peasant cooperatives under the direction of communes. He speaks loosely of great reforms.

And the Soviets, of course, smile at their newest parrot. They know as well as anyone else that Lumumba is temporary. They have in the wings a more educated, more able man also long committed to Russian Marxism. A Soviet base in central Africa will, as the other nations know, be a source of infection, infiltration, and agitation. It is a big prize, much more than is Cuba. It will, if they bring it off, give them a fixed place in the heartland of Africa.

The times remind us, in a sense, of the tremendous days when Adolf Hitler's monolithic power was on the march as that psychopathic genius moved to consolidate both geography and sources of material. The whole world seemed powerless against its efficiency. It had regimented all its people and could, and did, use them as part of the plan.

Export of Agents

In the Congo the Soviets have been arriving almost every day. They began this steady export of agents and technicians, of arms and supplies, well before the break-up began. There are few Russians involved. They are, reports here say, mostly Czechs. Czechoslovakia has an exportable supply of skilled workers, managers, pilots and military experts.

The Congolese are a tribal people, uneducated, enormously unsophisticated, easily swept by rumors. They believe, for example, stories about the Belgians throwing Lumumba out of a plane and his being caught and brought to earth by a great bird. They accept as true myths that Lumumba is, like a comic-strip superman, impervious to bullets and blades.

It is easy for the Soviet agents to spread reports that U.N. troops are really Belgians in U.N. uniforms. They have even provided counterfeit U.N. armbands for the purposes of trickery, violence and discrediting the U.N.

And the problem is the greater because this monolithic state is not, like Hitler's, directed by one man, sickened of his own psychotic vanity.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Journal
Constitution

Beware of Boomerang

From Washington Notes: The average Southerner is convinced the NAACP had a hand in writing the Democratic Party platform. Their politicians have told them so. They have created the image of craven Yankees seeking Negro votes.

The truth is most of official NAACP is for Nixon and has been all along for a very simple reason. They trust him on civil rights more than they do the Democrats. They don't believe he would, as they say, hold hands with Sen. Eastland under the table.

There are Negro leaders who think of the Democratic Party in terms of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They see it as the party in which the humble citizen is more likely to be heard. There is a possibility a nationally known name or so will speak out in this fashion. But as for the NAACP, its officers are by no means unanimously in Kennedy's corner.

The South is producing most of the spoken anti-Catholic-in-the-White-House comment, while the most virulent and false published material comes from New Jersey, Massachusetts and California. This issue cannot be avoided. To abandon any comment would be to surrender the field to the rabid and inflammatory.

Misunderstanding

Here, too, there is Southern misunderstanding.

The Republicans emphatically want no part of it. They do not believe they can benefit from prejudice. They are aware that if the promoters of anti-Catholic sentiment are allowed to go unanswered, there could be a backlash which could be extremely dangerous. Southern Republicans who welcome rabid anti-civil rights and religious extremists to their ranks are not helping Mr. Nixon. This trend worries the GOP.

There is a solid reason for this concern.

In 1952 and 1956 the big city and suburban Catholic population centers showed a swing to the Republican Party. Previously, Democrats had held the loyalty of the vast majority of Catholic voters.

About 65 per cent of the nation's Catholic population is located in 11 states. Among them are: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, Ohio. The electoral total of these states is 237. To win, a nominee must receive 269.

If the anti-Catholic propaganda is left to the professional purveyors of hate such as the more extreme citizens councils, it is entirely possible and understandable the Catholic voter would react in the only manner left to him — he would vote for Kennedy.

Regional Comparison

The possibilities and the potential are further illustrated by a regional comparison. The Census Bureau puts the Roman Catholic communicant population at about 25 per cent of the total. Its proportions by regions are: Northeast, 45.1 per cent; North Central, 24.7 per cent; West, 22.3 per cent, and the South, 11.6 per cent.

There are already more registered Democrats than Republicans. One of the Nixon jobs is to win the independent and uncommitted voters. The GOP, which sincerely wants the anti-Catholic issue to go away and steadfastly refuses to do other than deplore it, is aware of what it would mean to have the substantial total of Catholics who left the Democrats in 1952 and 1956 return to them in 1960.

The Democrats have proved on a number of occasions they can win without the South. New York and California remain the two most important pivotal states. In them, and the other nine, the religious issue, if left in the hands of the irresponsible, would boomerang into a Kennedy majority which is not presently believed to exist. All this concerns the Republicans.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Talented 10th And Suburbia

The urban Negro has a phrase to describe those of his race who are lawyers, doctors, and members of other professions. They are called the "Talented Tenth" for the obvious reason that about that percentage of their population holds that status.

This Talented Tenth is largely for Nixon. Estimates put it as high as 75 per cent, not lower than 60.

But what makes this interesting beyond its own significance is that it is applicable all the way across America. It is a feature of what is called "suburbia." The children of foreign born parents; those of minority groups, and those of parents classified as "labor," tend to identify themselves with Republicans as they grow up, get jobs, marry and have their own suburban homes.

Hence, the fact that the Talented Tenth among Negroes "identify with" Nixon is no phenomenon. It fits the over-all pattern. What is important to both Kennedy and Nixon is what happens to the small business people, white and Negro.

Six Cities

A recent poll, no more and no less reliable than dozens of others, has been taken in six cities by Nixon staff workers. The cities are New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland and Los Angeles. It reveals, to their great satisfaction, that in addition to the aforementioned Talented Tenth, the small Negro businessman or woman, the barbers, beauticians, grocers, et cetera, are tending to "identify with" Nixon. Their reason is taxes. They will be no better off under a Republican president, but they are heeding the oldest political instinct, the pocketbook squeeze.

Also, in these same cities most of the Protestant Negro ministers are fearful of a Catholic in the White House. In this they follow their opposite numbers in the South. Between them they may cause a considerable shift of votes which were for Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956.

But the point of all this is that early polls show that suburbia still finds the Republican label a more satisfactory status symbol. In some cities where ancestor worship and status seeking are more pronounced, there are suburban clubs which are difficult to get into if one is not a Republican. This is true, for example, in Richmond.

All of this, if sustained by the election returns in November, would indicate that it was not so much that Mr. Eisenhower was popular with suburbanites, but that he represented the status most desirable to "identify with."

The pollsters also are busy on the effect of the postponed congressional session on the much examined mind of the voter. The Nixon experts do not think it produced much of anything of a direct nature. The people didn't pay too much attention to it.

Certain Assets

It did, however, deprive the Democrats of certain assets. It proved that Kennedy and Johnson could not control their own majority. The collapse of the session destroyed the image of Kennedy as a dynamic, forceful young man who could exact loyalty and fervor from his followers.

Because Democrats did contribute to the legislative disaster, Kennedy is deprived of an argument that a Democratic majority will carry out the party wishes. None of this directly assists the GOP, but indirectly it is of considerable value because it limits the Kennedy attack.

Nixon's staff sees Sen. Johnson's failure to win the South as the greatest single unexpected dividend thus far. They felt all along his presence on the ticket would make for difficulty in liberal and labor groups. But they, like most Democratic observers, thought when the Texan was persuaded to accept, that he would bring the South whooping in his wake. That he may not be able to deliver his own state is totally unanticipated, and further, to find that Virginia, Florida, Tennessee and North Carolina are touch and go, with Nixon favored, is like finding the bank has made a large error and one's balance is fat beyond belief.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Journal
Constitution

Confused, Uncommitted—

Pennsylvania Notes: "Tag me as confused and uncommitted," said a college professor at University Park, "and say that my name is legion."

The phrase is brief, but it likely is, as the teacher indicated, a label which fits a great many millions of voters.

Nor is it one which is applicable only to intellectuals, although they now seem to be suffering the most agony. It already is plain that in the farm belt, as in the large cities of the industrial East and Midwest, there is confusion and lack of commitment. The phrase fits also the large ethnic groups, which once were almost wholly Democratic. It can be used to describe the Negro and Jewish groups in New York.

"I feel," said one of the latter, "that my hand would wither away if I marked a Republican ballot, but I don't really know."

No Enthusiasm

A sound observer of Harlem says there is much interest in both candidates but no enthusiasm. This may clear up once the Labor Day holidays are well behind and the political mills begin to grind. To date, the Harlem leaders have not been able to make any agreement with Kennedy. Adam Clayton Powell, whose name causes party intellectuals to wince, is off writing a book about himself. The Lehman-Finletter-Mrs. Roosevelt group is all out for Kennedy. But beneath the surface it is unhappy that something hasn't been done about what part, if any, Adlai Stevenson will have in the event of a Kennedy victory. But this rebel group can't do anything but give all it has to the nominee. It wants to continue in politics. Therefore, it will be regular.

But it is no secret that many stalwarts of the NAACP are for Nixon. This includes at least two of their officers. Jackie Robinson, the stormy petrel of economics and politics, is also in the GOP rooting section.

An odd thing is that anti-Catholic sentiment crops up in Harlem. This is, on second thought, normal in that most of the people in that area are from the South. They are, for the most part, Baptist and Methodist. They reflect the same sentiments being said out loud south of Mr. Mason and Dixon's line.

The thinking is that Kennedy has an edge but it is small. It can change if Kennedy can come to terms with Harlem's political leaders. But these terms will not at all bind the Negro intellectuals and there are many of these. Here again, the confused and uncommitted phrase applies.

Bloc Vote

What we are seeing is that unless there is some direct interest involved, there is no such thing as a bloc vote. This is true of the Negro vote in the South. Politicians who have attacked the Negro and denied his legitimate rights, always cry bloc vote when the votes go against them. But there is no such organized, disciplined vote which can be wholly delivered.

In 1952 and 1956 the Negro vote gave a majority to Adlai Stevenson. But it decreased in the second election. The same thing was true of the various ethnic groups. There was no "Jewish vote" as there was no "labor vote."

The most nagging problem of the Democratic party is the flood of anti-Catholic, and of late, anti-Joe Kennedy literature flooding the country.

"It reminds one of the old Biblical saying about the political sins of the father being visited on

Anyhow, the label is "Confused and Uncommitted."

31a 1960 WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

Nikita Presses His Advantage

31a White Atlanta Ga.

A familiar axiom, "A burned child fears the fire," and the dead hand of Joe McCarthy are influences which make it difficult for a waning national administration to cope with Nikita Khrushchev.

We have drawn back a burned hand in most of our attempts to deal with the Soviet Union. We were dangerously seared when Joe Stalin, after declaring intentions of peace and cooperation to Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, among others, turned instead to the ruthless excesses of cold war.

Sun. 9-20-60

We were blistered by the fall of the U2 which enabled Khrushchev to humiliate President Eisenhower at Paris. He used the wreck of the U2 and the capture of pilot Powers to club the summit meeting to death and load the blame, with some success, on the President's back. Communist agitation was responsible, in undetermined measure, for the further humiliation of Japan where disorders became so great the Eisenhower invitation was canceled.

We have suffered second degree burns in Cuba.

P.1

The dead, deterring hand of Joe McCarthy is heavily upon us, too. Fear yet remains that if we give ear to Russian proposals for further talks, those officials responsible will be accused of being soft on communism.

National Wells

This fear poisons many of our national wells.

"We ought," said a U.N. representative, "to be able to say to Nikita. 'Look, old man, you have deceived and tricked us badly twice. We can't have confidence in you. Don't take us for fools. But talk on. We'll listen.'

"But," he said, "because of the old McCarthy fears and the fact this is a political autumn, we may make the mistake of saying we won't listen to anything. Nikita is confident he can come preaching peace which, as he said, even the most thick-skulled can understand, and that we will entirely rebuff him. He wants it that way. If we do, he will score his propaganda victory."

There is no question but that Nikita, as usual, presents us with a dilemma.

The dangers of communism are no longer merely military power and subversion. It was political influence which enabled Latin American Communists to turn Vice President Nixon's visit into a gantlet of insults and dangers. It was economic and political measures which threw us off balance in Cuba. The Castro revolution will continue in Cuba only so long as Russian oil, supplies, food and weapons are delivered by Communist ships.

African Debates

Communism, as we have seen in the U.N. African debates, is no longer the dynamic ideology it was a few years ago. The revolutions now in progress, or in their beginnings, are not committed politically. They are a driving nationalism, a great zeal for social reform and economic progress. They are neither pro-West nor pro-Kremlin. They earnestly desire to follow a neutral course. In the past we have frowned on this as undesirable neutralism and urged the choosing of sides. We no longer make this error, but the damage done by it has not yet been obliterated.

The Soviets know this. They are geared to act. Until a few days ago they were pouring into the Congo. They now are out. But they will wait. They will plot to get back in. They do not, at first, try to set up anything like a Communist government. They try to ride the tiger of nationalism and to channel it into their camp by providing technical and material assistance. It is only when the new nations become dependent on them for economic assistance that the trap is sprung.

We need to be organized to meet this sort of Communist army. And we aren't.

It would be, without question, a great decision if both Kennedy and Nixon could jointly say to Khrushchev, and the world, that no matter who wins, the next President will not be burned by the fires of deceit, but will listen to any honest talk about peace.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

Castro's Play to Puerto Ricans

31a White Atlanta Ga.

U.N. Reflections: Chicken bones, empty soup bowls, and the partially gnawed pieces of fowl left in the suite made filthy by the Cuban premier and his staff have little humor in the telling.

Nor is Castro likely to appeal aesthetically, at least, to the Russians, however much they may treasure him politically. The Soviet delegations in trade and economics loose in the world today are a crew-cut, immaculate set. They know the right fork. They speak several languages. They are an urbane, sophisticated lot, and they frown, as do all Russians, on anything "nye kulturno." And God in his heaven knows that Castro, among all heads of government, is the ultimate in "nye kulturno."

Sun. 9-22-60

One may be reasonably sure that even that tough old self-designated sparrow, Nikita himself, a man used to harsh reality, must have recoiled momentarily before the "kulturno" of Castro. But they will play up to him because he is a very present thorn in the flesh of Uncle Sam. He is, also, a symbol of revolution to some students and many peasants in Latin lands. So, they will appraise Fidel as a possible jewel in the diadem of hoped-for satellites in Latin America.

Grandstand Move

Castro's grandstand move to a Harlem hotel was not, as some surmised, a play to the Negro population of that area. It was done with an eye to attracting Puerto Ricans. Its major objective was to stimulate the small group of Puerto Rican nationalists who not too long ago gave their own government trouble and attempted an abortive plot of assassination against former President Truman.

We, and Puerto Rico, may expect the money-hungry remnant of that discredited group in New York to be well financed by Castro. They will need to be watched. But Castro almost certainly hit no propaganda home run.

One never knows, but the best guess is that the people of Puerto Rico, and the citizens from that country now in New York, are too intelligent and too politically sophisticated to be taken in by Fidel. The state of affairs in Cuba is well known to the Puerto Ricans of this country and of the islands. There is almost certainly less sympathy there for Fidel than anywhere else in the Spanish-speaking countries.

This may be a good time, incidentally, to note how fast and solid is the progress of the Puerto Ricans in New York and other cities of this country in becoming what is called "American." They have had the problems of all minorities arriving in this country—the Italians, Irish, and others. Their success is pleasing.

Small Business

Puerto Ricans are well based in small businesses, in trades, and in the professions. There are lawyers, doctors, dentists. Leaders of their community organizations are responsible men and women with an appropriate pride in themselves and their accomplishments. In the field of services it is the Puerto Ricans who enable the economy of New York to function.

About a year ago the less responsible elements of the city's mass media, and that of the nation as well, did Puerto Ricans an injustice in the period when an outbreak of juvenile delinquency got out of hand. The delinquents of Puerto Rican ancestry were merely a part of the over-all problem. It was over emphasized. Once proper methods were applied the outbreak was contained. Real progress has been made in this field.

As the newest of groups to come to this country, the Puerto Ricans have had the further handicap of a language barrier. Schools and social agencies have not yet been able fully to cope with it, but tremendous advances have been made.

Meanwhile, every day sees the Puerto Ricans more and more solidly established in the life of this country which, also, is their country.

They will hardly be excited by Fidel Castro's move to Harlem.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

A Real U.S. Revolution p.1

31a White

Before we examine the revolutionary and historic commitments of President Eisenhower, let us look for a moment at the Russian premier.

Ahead of Nikita Khrushchev is an October meeting with the North Korean Communists.

This shrewd and resourceful man, a perfect political example of a Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest in the Communist jungles, will carefully examine his Korean fences. He wants them hog-tight against any Red Chinese encroachments.

He came to New York with two objectives. One was to show himself as the leader of the Communist world and thereby to reassure any doubter who may have been listening to the Chinese.

Peiping has been saying the interests of a Communist revolution come first and must be advanced. Khrushchev has been insisting, and still does, that peace and disarmament come first.

The other was to establish himself as the most influential force in Africa.

Sun. 9-25-60

Despite Khrushchev's admitted ire over a diplomatic defeat in the Congo, he managed to keep them listening and applauding. He stepped up his demands for an end to weapons, and coexistence on his terms. It is wrong to think his appeal, obviously cynical to us, failed to find ears.

The real story of the U.N. begins when all the speeches are done, when the ill-assorted leaders have departed. Africa, complex and unstable, will remain an opened Pandora's box. Nigeria is to join up in October. The months ahead are the ones which count.

But, how many fanatic nationalists in the remaining colonial areas of French West Africa, the Equatorial regions, and the Portugese holdings were stirred by the Khrushchev demand for an immediate end to all colonialism?

What happens when the new African nations are confronted with problems of technological and financial needs beyond their ability to produce? That moment will come early. The Soviets had poured perhaps 3,000 technicians and specialists into the Congo in a matter of a few days. They were French-speaking and ready to take over.

The West can't do that. The U.N. can't match it numerically. But they can provide some.

Guinea is the one Communist-oriented African nation. It largely is being run, in its major administrative departments, by Czech experts. It will be the base for political infiltration and attrition against the new nations.

Meanwhile, let us be sure we understand the tremendous reversal and revolutionary meaning of Mr. Eisenhower's speech.

He has committed the U.S. foreign policy as an arm of the

Nations.

The declaration was a historic repudiation of any last remnant of traditional Republican isolationism. The Goldwaters, the Bridges, and other GOP leaders who entertain semi-isolationist leanings are so dazed they have not, as of this writing, replied.

Also accepted by the administration is the "third force" of neutralism. It was not too long ago that the late Secretary Dulles was excoriating all neutralism as weakness. He berated Mr. Nehru, for example, and angered the Indian by saying one couldn't be neutral. One had to be for us or against us.

If we carry the President's pledge to its ultimate it would mean, in time, giving up our bases in Africa. We may expect the French to be concerned, if not openly angry. Algeria's rebels will be pleased.

We cannot now, if we wish, contain neutralism. If France, Belgium and the Dutch, for example, quit NATO for neutralism, what then?

There is nothing of the cliche in now saying that history is being made. We have moved far and boldly in an attempt to counter Russian designs. The speeches have been made. Now comes the long, tedious job of winning votes and holding them.

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3 1 a White
The Year
Constitution
Of Africa—

U.N. Soliloquy: If we wish a dramatization of how fast the power structure of our world is changing, the illustration is available.

Just a little more than 70 years ago no one thought it at all unusual that the King of Belgium was given, as a personal gift, by a commission which had no authority, title to almost one-fourth of the whole continent of Africa. (This included the special rights given him in 1896.)

Leopold II left a reputation as the most cruel administrator in modern history. Vachel Lindsay sang of him:

"Listen to the yell of Leopold's ghost
Burning in hell for his hand-maimed host,
Hear how the demons chuckle and yell
Cutting his hands off, down in hell."

Leopold, who grew immensely wealthy out of the Congo, never set foot there. When he died, in 1908, he left it, as one wills a house and lot, to Belgium.

Until two years ago this area, 77 times as large as Belgium, was looked upon as a model, paternalistic colony. The Belgians had brought hospitals, schools and roads.

Nationalism Loose

But almost suddenly, it crumbled. The intoxicating force of nationalism was loose. It already had wrought change in Africa and brought independence to some colonies of the British. And neither guns nor police can keep a new idea from stealing into the minds of men.

From 70 years ago until the 13 African nations were admitted to U.N. membership, with Nigeria scheduled for admission in October, is but a brief span of years. As history measures it, it is but a pulse beat in time. There are thousands of persons still living who remember the Sunday supplement stories of Leopold and the Congo.

But one wonders if the meaning of it is plain. It means, among other things, that the Second World War was the last one to be fought on a plan of the European power system.

Both Russia and the United States are aware that the United Nations balance of power will now be held by the neutralist nations of Asia and Africa.

The cold war, both know, cannot be won in Europe. It can only be won in Africa and Asia. And the new nations will be acting through their own governments, and in concert with others.

One wonders, too, about those persons who make up membership in the Citizens Councils, the various Klan groups, and like organizations of similar mentality and blindness. One thinks, too, about the closed minds of isolationists and those who think bombs and armies are the whole answer. Were they reading and looking when the African nations came marching in?

Cryptic Phrase

A quote attributed to Louis Armstrong came to mind: "There is some folks that if they don't know, you can't tell 'em."

It will be too bad if our leadership, particularly that of the South, continues to fit that phrase.

For emphasis, let us look again at the swift progress of change. We do not have to go back 52 years to Leopold.

We can return merely to 1940. In that year there were but two free states in what is called Black Africa.

The British were the first to move, establishing in 1946 the principle of independence for almost all its vast territory. In 1958 France set the feet of 12 states made from French Equatorial Africa on the path of autonomy.

What we see is that Western civilization has been at work. All educated African leaders were taught by teachers of Western nations. What judicial institutions there are came from the Western countries, as did existing technology and medical standards.

And, so did the idea of freedom. It came from Jefferson, Lincoln, and the American revolution—not Marx.

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3 1 a White
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Constitution
To Machines

U.N. Reminiscences: Americans, trying to understand the seemingly sudden transformation of Africa from an image of foreign missions to violence and intense nationalism are puzzled.

"What," they ask, "is the driving force behind them? What has happened?"

The answer is that today's events have been a long, weary way on the road.

A good two years before the impressive massive entry of new, untested African states into the United Nations, African U.N. delegates said in conversations in the lounge:

"You in America," they said, "do not understand your own revolutionary power. There is no excitement for an underdeveloped country like that of contemplating its own industrial development. Americans and America are more revolutionary than Karl Marx. To see Americans striding along, well-clothed, generously fed, medically supervised, educated, and confident, seems to others an example of what industrial power means. Your huge machines seem to be an extension of you.

"And, of course, we want to gain all this quickly. We are impatient, unreasonable, but determined. This will be the way all of us will come, demanding, unprepared, but of fixed purpose. We will make mistakes. We will do bad things and good. But we will not stop."

Huge Gap

The gap they seek so quickly to close is a huge one. Peter F. Drucker, one of the more distinguished economists, describes it in "Landmarks of Tomorrow" as "Up to Poverty."

The increasing inequality of development in the world is the danger. Class war threatens. The Soviets shrewdly harp on this theme. They present communism as the mechanism which enabled Russia, an underdeveloped nation, quickly to make the enormous industrial progress.

But this is a falsehood—as are so many Soviet arguments. The economic level in Czarist Russia, at the outbreak of the first world war, was much higher than that of today's underdeveloped countries. It was, says Drucker in his study, as high in 1913, as was northern Italy.

Today's wide gulf of industrial inequality is so formidable it drives many leaders of new nations into excesses of frustration and hopelessness. They try short cuts and desperate diplomatic adventures.

The figures starkly illustrate that inequality.

The people of the United States and Canada are about 10 per cent of the world's population. But we have about 75 per cent of the world's income.

But 75 per cent of the world's population whose annual income averages less than $125 per year, receive about 10 per cent of the world's income.

Raw Materials

The 20 largest underdeveloped countries, all "colored" save Brazil, produce more than half the raw materials used by free world nations.

But they industrially consume less than five per cent of what they produce.

Average income per person in 15 countries with the most advanced industrial development and highest living standards (all white save Japan) was, in 1955, eight times that of the income per person in the 20 largest underdeveloped countries.

Economic development is possible. Mexico, Brazil, and Columbia, our Southern neighbors, in the past 25 years have made tremendous industrial progress. Mexico has no large military force. She has put all her income into industrial development. The story of Japan is another example superior to Russia's. All these have succeeded without totalitarianism.

Africans can do so only if America, and other free world nations, invest in the underdeveloped nations. Under U.N. direction this can be done to avoid charges of exploitation. If we do not do it, then our own survival, in the years ahead, will be in jeopardy. The cold war cannot be won in Europe.

RALPH McGILL

The Republican Platform Gamble

Leaders Must Decide Whether Voters Will Prefer a Play-It-Safe Program

CHICAGO. — Republican platform makers must make a calculated gamble. A platform is like a roll of the dice. It may produce a seven or a snakes-eyes.

The Democrats have already made their throw. They have bet their political stakes on the conclusion that most of the Nation wants some form of medical insurance for elderly people; that there is a demand for low-cost housing; that the gross national product must increase; that the people are willing to pay for more schools and the education of all those who want college and lack money, because the American future demands all these things, especially the latter. None will deny that an educated Nation is a necessity in the age already here and the expansion of it which we see before us. "But," ask the Republicans, "are the people willing to pay for it?"

Will the American people view the Democratic platform as "a socialistic give-away" which must be paid for in new taxes and inflation by American business and wage earners? Or will they buy it as a natural, necessary development in a nation with growing concentrations of urban populations creating special problems?

The G. O. P. thinkers have been wrinkling their brows. They want to believe that a platform more generally conservative than that of the Democrats will have greater vote appeal.

The past two elections, on the surface at least, seem to say to politicians that there is no longer a "working class." Has our fantastic standard of living, of which installment purchasing is so vital a part, made us all one great middle class? Indeed, the pinched ones of our Nation are not "workers," in the old sense of the word, but elderly persons on pensions and the "white collar" employes at medium wage levels.

For all these the word taxes has become a sensitive one. They wince at the sound of it.

This explains why school bond issues and admittedly needed municipal and State improvements have been so frequently nullified by voters.

The G. O. P. strategists are about convinced that the Democratic platform can be turned into a new tax threat with which to clobber the makers of it.

This is precisely where the Democrats declare there is a wide gulf in public responsibility. The Nation must educate its children, at whatever the cost. It cannot fail in its obligation to the old, nor can it deprive its growing population and its young married couples of housing.

Republicans, the Democrats charge, are willing to frighten the Nation and thus defeat and delay measures vitally necessary to the health of the country and its future security. We may expect Democrats to stand on their platform and fight it through —the Democrats say we can, and must, afford it. The G.O.P. says we can't and don't need to do so.

There is some basis for this indictment of the G. O. P. But this is politics. Politics is a struggle for power. It can be ruthless, reckless, and, sometimes, brutal.

The Los Angeles platform does put the Republicans on the defensive. They must argue against its objectives. To win, they must convince the voters the Democrats are dangerous persons, likely to increase taxes if they win control of Government. The G. O. P. platform, then, will almost certainly be one of generalities which seem to say something, but don't really. This, too, is "politics." There is just one exception. The G. O. P. civil rights platform will not likely set any date for desegregation of schools as did the Democratic. But it will not leave any doubt but that it supports fully the Supreme Court decision that there can be no discrimination in education on the basis of color.

So, the Republicans must decide whether we are, as they are inclined to believe, a politically conservative, "middle class," comfortable Nation which doesn't want a daring program but prefers to play it safe.

The Democrats say no.

RALPH McGILL

If There Were No Communism

If communism were to disappear overnight, the problems produced by Africa, Latin America and the Middle East and Europe would remain.

They would, to be sure, be easier of solution. Efforts to resolve them would not be complicated and frustrated by Soviet sabotage in and out of the United Nations.

But every single problem growing out of nationalism, release from colonialism, escape from feudal governments, dictatorship, the pressure of landless peoples and the wretched ones of earth searching for a way out of their plight, would remain.

These difficulties are the more dangerous and complex because of Soviet skill in exploiting them.

We, the United States and the Western countries, suffer from the fact the Russians can send in, as they offer to do, technicians and "teams" of managers and experts. We cannot. It is one of the deplorable facts of our national life that we do not have an exportable surplus of doctors, technicians, teachers and agricultural experts.

National Shortage

In most of these fields we have a national shortage. The result has been that many of those whom we have sent abroad in government work have not been adequately prepared. This explains many of the failures and crack-ups of foreign personnel and provides material for books such as "The Ugly American." This novel, while it unjustly indicted much of our foreign representation, was truly based on the history of some few of the worst who have turned up in U.S. embassies and in technical groups sent abroad.

But what neither this and other books like it, nor investigating congressional committees have done is to be honest and point the accusing finger at the fundamental guilt. And that is our system which has not trained or educated enough persons to represent us in this peaceful, vital capacity.

The United Nations has provided a tremendous amount of assistance in public health, child care, engineering, management and construction.

But in late years the manpower supply has thinned.

Now, with the new African nations independent, and others on the way, there is a vast, largely uncomprehended need for experts in every field. Those newly come to national sovereignty are not ready for it. They readily admit being dangerously short of trained personnel. The Belgians, like the Dutch, had not built up, in their colonial possessions, a basic bureaucracy such as the British did in their Asian and African colonies. The Belgians, even more than the Dutch in Indonesia, made the tragic error of a quick pull-out.

Chaos in Congo

The United Nations is confronted with a defiant Katanga in trying to bring order out of the chaos in the Congo.

The United States is there trying to provide most of the immediate needs. We have done better than usual. The African states in general approve U.S. and U.N. policy in the Congo. But the Soviets, as usual, prowl and interfere, threatening and promising armed interference. They also offer to replace the U.N. with their own teams of technicians and industrialists. The U.S.S.R., with cynical hypocrisy, has refused to help through the U.N.

The United States owes a very considerable debt to U.N. representative Ralph Bunche. He has carried a load probably not fully understood or appreciated by his own countrymen. Because he is an American Negro, and hence a colored man, he has been able to win hearings and the confidence of colored peoples in the Middle East, and now in Africa, that could not have been done by any other American.

A measure of his success may be had from the fact that the Soviet Union, irked by Ralph Bunche's successes, has publicly attacked and smeared him.

The next president of the United States might do well to fill the vacancy to be caused by Ambassador Lodge's anticipated resignation by appointing Ralph Bunche.

But who would then do the trouble-shooting?

RALPH McGILL

Simple Arithmetic

Political questionnaires ask: Will Lyndon Johnson help the Democratic ticket?

The answer is "yes."

But what really helps Kennedy-Johnson in the South and makes more difficult the task of Nixon-Lodge is arithmetic. Despite the will of some states to abandon public schools and the embarrassing statistics of school expenditure per pupil and per teacher, all but the fanatics are good at arithmetic.

But most of them also had done two or three sums in simple arithmetic, to wit:

Six states, responding to the prodding of extremists, enacted laws providing for the abolishing of their school systems in the event of a court order calling on them to permit a handful of Negro children to attend school. Gov. Faubus added his state. He made seven.

These states have a total of 72 electoral votes. (The census reapportionment will reduce this.)

The South

But let us stretch the South to include Delaware, Kentucky, West Virginia and Texas. This takes in, of course, the seven states which want to abandon public education. All these have a total of 150 electoral votes out of 539. (Of the four states above the first three have about completed full compliance with the school order as have several Tevas cities and towns.)

The political arithmetic of that does not encourage defiance.

And one should not fail to note that even in Alabama there is a strong stirring on behalf of the Kennedy ticket.

It took a while to sink in, but Southern politicians now know that the greatest damage done Southern political prestige and power was by the Dixiecrat walk-out folly of 1948. Just how the serious, practicing politicians who, in anger, conceived and directed it made so damaging an error is yet a mystery.

When it was undone its leaders had taught the Democratic Party outside the South that a presidential candidate can ignore the South; can, indeed, lose much of it, and still win the presidency. Since 1948 Southern political power steadily has waned. And

If any accusing fingers are to be pointed, they should be directed toward the leadership in South Carolina and Alabama which spearheaded the Dixiecrat Party.

Certainly few states in that South expanded from Delaware to Texas will go for a third party or commit the folly of withholding their electors.

Third-Partying

But let us assume that the six states which actually passed laws making it possible to close the schools do go third-partying, or withhold electors. Their hope would be to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Put pencil to paper again.

These six states have a total of 58 votes in the House of Representatives. This will be even lower after the 1960 reapportionment.

In 1950 the House had, of course, the legally established total of 435 members. Since then Alaska and Hawaii have become states. But reapportionment will subtract from states losing population. The less than 60 House of Representatives votes in six states will hardly sway any pre-vote test. In a House election each state has one vote. Is six against 44 good odds?

How unrealistic can such dreamers be? After the election of 1948, 1952-56 and the national conventions of 1960, does anyone in a sound state of mind think a bargain would be struck which could in any sense reverse the courts, eliminate the civil rights laws already enacted, and turn back the clock?

Every day more and more Southerners understand they have been deceived by the extremists who said we could defy courts and the Constitution and successfully withdraw from the national stream of life. Those who truly love the South know we must affirm and not always deny.

RALPH
the Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Mississippi
For Nixon?
Atlanta, Ga.

While the vice president would, as the presidential nominee of his party, welcome any and all electoral votes, it is very dubious indeed that he will be helped by any more Mississippi newspaper editorials such as the one which recently endorsed him.

The editorial concluded that Mr. Nixon had supported labor legislation much less enthusiastically and frequently than Sen. Kennedy, and that he also was running on a platform much less offensive than the one produced by the Democrats at Los Angeles. The latter inference is that the Mississippi editor views Mr. Nixon as less in support of civil rights programs than Sen. Kennedy.

The endorsing editorial was a coherent, if strange, piece of logic until the last several paragraphs. Here it seemed the writer somehow lost his grip. His conclusion was that if the grandfathers and, even, the great-grandfathers of present day Mississippians were alive they would desert the ranks of the butternut gray and demonstrate in Mr. Nixon's parades.

This causes one to reach nervously for the bottle labeled "Cum Grano Salis." But, still, perhaps the editorialist is right. He may know the mind of Mississippi equally as well as Governor Ross Barnett, who is crying a plague on both houses, or the loyalists who want President Truman to speak in Mississippi on behalf of Sen. Kennedy. But all will pardon me, I am sure, if I doubt that rows of ghostly Confederate troops in Mississippi have broken ranks and joined the GOP parade.

Clarification

Two clarifying comments are necessary. It is hardly fair now to attack Mr. Nixon's vote on legislation in any field. For eight years he has been presiding over the Senate. He is permitted to vote only when there is a tie. He has thereby been excluded from casting votes in the general controversial legislative debates which have occupied the Senate in that extensive span of years.

The vice president was in there trying when he had constitutional permission. It was he who made the original parliamentary ruling against the Southern bloc which permitted the first reform of Senate rules. This made the filibuster less absolute. He was never believed to be personally in agreement with the President's moderate position on civil rights. Certainly his close associate, the attorney general of the United States, was not. And, at Chicago, Mr. Nixon himself sought out and seemingly welcomed the meeting with Gov. Rockefeller which enabled him, out of political necessity, to break with the White House and, in effect, become his own man.

It Is Unfair

So, it is inaccurate and politically unfair for Mississippi, or anyone else, to picture the vice president as in an anti-position on labor or civil rights in any comparison of votes cast or platforms accepted.

The ultimate objective of the editorialist in supporting Mr. Nixon is described in realistic terms. It is not really to assist the vice president. The announced purpose is "to safeguard America and at the same time restore the prestige and dignity of Mississippi within the Democratic Party."

If this contradiction in terms can be solved, then perhaps the objective may be obtained. But doubt is strong. If the civil rights legislation is eliminated from the statute books, if the Supreme Court is to be reversed on schools, if the indigent elderly are not to be helped with federal medical subsidies as are the unemployed and the aged drawing Social Security pensions, if education is not to be aided, then it is very doubtful America will be safeguarded. And if doing all these things is the price of restoring dignity to the Democratic Party in Mississippi, then the cost properly may be regarded as just a mite too high.

Also, if these newcomers to the Republican Party wish to assist Mr. Nixon, they might tone down their endorsements just a little bit. By the time they are republished in Eastern and Western industrial states they are likely to become like clouds of gnats to those seeking there to help the vice president. Could that be the subtle purpose of it?

RALPH
Atlanta, Ga.
McGILL
Atlanta 3/9
Unfair to
Constitution
Dixie's Children
Wed. 8-17-60

At the recently concluded convention of the American Federation of Teachers, research statistics were published which repeated an oft told tale. It is that children in the public schools of the South are not being given an equal chance to compete educationally or economically with those of other regions. This is true because their states spend less to give them good teachers, textbooks and materials.

That there is a wide difference in school expenditure has long been recognized. But the variety of it is startling and demonstrates once again that only by federal aid will the discriminations be even approximately smoothed out. State incomes vary too greatly to permit any other solution.

The national average per-pupil expenditures are $301.15 in elementary schools, $354.68 in junior high schools and $372.16 in senior high schools.

The nation's western region has the highest average per-pupil allocation for elementary schools, while the northwestern United States is highest on the average for junior and senior high schools.

The South spends the least per pupil in all its public school divisions, an average of $230.93 per pupil in elementary schools, $266.40 in junior high schools and $259.87 in senior highs. Simple subtraction from the national average will reveal the melancholy disparity.

Highest Average

New York had the highest national average for elementary, junior and senior high schools in per-pupil expenditures with $507.12 for elementary, $588.85 for junior high, and $626.90 for senior high school. On the other hand, the lowest averages were $158.22 per pupil in elementary schools in South Carolina and $173.04 and $187.51 for junior and senior highs in Alabama.

The survey which produced these figures was a thorough one. It included 527 cities of more than 10,000 population. Money received from state aid was figured in. The results are undisputable.

Only a nation that cares deeply about its children could have spent as much on education as have the people of this country.

But there is no doubt whatever that if the United States is to catch up, and keep up, with its steadily mounting educational needs, we must — as a nation — invest even larger sums of money in our schools and colleges.

Outlays were tripled — on a national average — in the past decade.

We cannot do less than double them in the decade ahead. We must raise teachers' salaries. We must have more buildings and equipment. We must do the known, obvious things.

And we can afford it. We may have to borrow from luxuries to pay for necessities. But we can pay the bill. It is a matter of decision.

Lowest Income

The Deep South, which has the lowest regional income, surely cannot proceed with the insanity of closing its school systems and reducing education to chaos. The cost to deprive qualified Negro children of equal educational advantages is too great. It will handicap a whole generation of children by putting on their backs an unnecessary burden of educational inadequacy; of being unable to compete with children of other regions. There are persons who would do this wicked thing. Somehow, they must be prevented.

What we are concerned with is children—their present and their future.

But we have allowed education now to become a matter for lawyers, judges and courts to decide. If we will leave it to educators they can, and will, make a go of things. As it now is, too many politicians are making a career of the school issue. Children, not adults or political office, are the real issue.

Richmond's schools are moving to begin compliance with the court decision in September. If the capital of the Confederacy and the state of Robert E. Lee can do so what excuse remains for others to practice defiance?

RALPH
the Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Republican
Atlanta Ga.
Accountability
Wed. 3-23-60

It is the Republican party which must bear responsibility for the fact there is today a bitterly controversial civil rights issue in the nation and the even more grave onus for the presence of a blurred image of the Negro's citizenship status.

We are a nation confronted with acrimonious division over this problem because, in 1876-77 the Republican party, in order to confirm the fraudulent election of Rutherford B. Hayes, agreed to abandon implementation of the relatively new constitutional provisions in exchange for Democratic acceptance of the electoral commission's decision.

Hayes, greeted by critics as "His Fraudulency," brazenly rewarded those who had helped the steal in Louisiana and Florida. The South was turned over to those eager to exploit its resources and to profit from the bonds which could be profitably floated on rail and water lines.

There were threats of more civil war and instance of violence, but the administration was on the side of the vested interests. Hayes, for example, used federal troops to break a strike of railway employes and took pride in the fact he had restored "order."

Part of Deal

Newspapers, some gleefully, and some angrily, noted and charged that the rights of the newly made Negro citizens were hypocritically abandoned as part of the deal. They were. And since they were, the issue has been remindful of the legend of the sown dragons teeth. But meanwhile, the South could, as it did, find reason to believe that the nation, despite the Constitution, officially and permanently had relegated the Negro to a position where he was a citizen in theory, but not in fact.

There is explanation, if not justification, for some of the bewilderment and anger over what seems to many Southerners a reversal and a revival of an issue settled long ago by the Republican administrations which for so long dominated the government and appointed carefully screened men to the courts.

It was, of course, inevitable, as civilization progressed and two world wars dramatized freedom and human rights, that the cynical sell - out of 1877 would be disinterred. There is no way for the Republican party to escape accountability for this dilemma and if the Deep South Democrats claim they were assured in 1877 and the years thereafter that the issue was settled, they are right. They were so assured.

But that does not remove the accountability then, or now.

Long Story

It is, if one knows the long story of the years which followed the Hayes-Tilden steal and the price paid, not too difficult to understand why the South has for so long failed to comprehend that under the Constitution of the United States the Negro is as fully entitled to all the rights accorded a citizen as any other person.

It was not until Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the White House that actions were begun in this field. The approach was begun in the courts. And there it has largely remained.

Since all peoples everywhere do much of their thinking in terms of images, this bit of the past helps explain the present. The average Southerner of today, and his father before him, simply never entertained the image of the Negro as a citizen. His father knew old men who told the tale of the Hayes "fix" and the deal whereby the Negro was removed from citizenship. So it is today that so many Southerners actually are outraged to discover the Negro is, under the law, just as much a citizen as they.

The great need of our time is to see that no citizenship rights can be lessened and that to understand use of public, tax-maintained facilities is not communistic. It is no longer possible, whatever individual preferences, to declare such institutions barred to some and open to others.

RALPH
Atlanta Journal
McGILL
+ Constitution
Kennedy Is
In Trouble
Sun. 8-28-60

This is a piece based on that old story about what can happen to the best laid plans of mice and men. All of a sudden we realize Sen. Kennedy is in trouble, and he is no mouse.

At the time Sen. Lyndon Johnson managed to recess the Congress for the period of the two conventions, with a short session to follow, Republicans gave forth with great squalls of piously angry protest.

It was, they said, a political trick designed to discredit the GOP by a Democratic controlled Congress. The more emotional denounced what they described as unprincipled political perfidy.

The Democrats wore the smile attributed by legend to cats that have swallowed canaries. They thought it just might be as beneficial as the GOP feared.

The conventions came and went. The Congress resumed. And within days Sen. Kennedy had been defeated in his attempts to push through major legislation on medical aid for the nation's elderly and also on minimum wages. The Senate, insofar as the Kennedy campaign is concerned, was a shambles.

Valid Reason

There is a perfectly valid reason why he was defeated.

The Southern Democrats refused to support him. Even the liberal Republicans, with complete cynicism, stood aside and gleefully left him naked to the hostile winds of criticism. It was as neat a bit of political brutality as any campaign has seen.

And the Republicans, so righteously angry but a few brief weeks ago, are now wearing big oily smiles. The congressional session is suddenly a major asset.

The GOP is enjoying it all the more because Kennedy is in a neat, but galling trap. He cannot forthrightly denounce the Southern Democrats, even though they deserted him. They deserve criticism, but Sen. Kennedy must hold his tongue and smile because he wants as many Dixie electoral votes as he can get.

President Eisenhower took occasion to taunt the Democratic nominee at his recent press conference. The President said, with tongue in cheek, that he couldn't understand why Mr. Kennedy wanted any more Democrats in the Congress. He already had enough to do what he wishes, Mr. Eisenhower said, if only they could get together. All this is not easy to take, but there was nothing to do but grin and bear it. The people who run the luck are helping the Republicans.

The real damage done by the betrayal of Kennedy by his own party members lies in the fact that several elements of the party, including labor, had been expecting to see the nominee in the role of a dynamic leader, able to get things done. Instead he was utterly frustrated.

Prisoners

Both Senators Kennedy and Johnson were prisoners of their own environment. Not even the magic of Sen. Johnson could prevail.

The Southern situation isn't good. Mr. Nixon may hold at least the states won by Mr. Eisenhower. It already is obvious Sen. Kennedy will need to set up his own organization in each state. He will need to do this diplomatically, but it must be done.

The sound of Democratic leaders dragging their feet in Southern states is already rasping loudly on the ear. The nomination of Sen. Johnson has not yet proved to be the open sesame it early seemed to be. Given time, it may yet prove out. The party rift in New York is still a sore subject.

It is, of course, early. The campaign doesn't have up a full head of steam. But for the time being, at least, Sen. Kennedy is on the defensive.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
Nixon in
Dixieland!
Sun. 8-26-60
31a

Vice President Nixon's swift dip into Atlanta and Birmingham to take his stand in Dixie almost certainly grew out of insistent appeals from eager, ambitious state chairmen, but also out of a firm conclusion.

It is that presently, at least there are perhaps some 15 or maybe 20 million voters who are like the hitchhikers in the years of the great depression who stood by the roadside with both thumbs up, willing to go in either direction.

Mr. Nixon is trying to be there with the first offer of transportation to those millions who have not yet made up their minds.

It is a fact which politicians know, but which the busy citizen forgets, that in 1952 and 1956 the appeal of Gen. Eisenhower was such that the total vote was from 12 to 15 per cent above that of normal election years.

In so-called modern times this was also true in 1920. The ballots for the poor, bewildered, captive Warren Harding were also a new vote plateau. Herbert Hoover (in 1928) and F.D.R. also brought them out.

Qualified Persons

In other words there are in this country today a minimum of 10 million qualified persons who just don't vote very often. (The figure is almost surely closer to 15,000,000.)

The so-called independent vote is probably about 5,000,000. The "Mugwumps" are traditionally earnest and faithful in the exercise of this right. They are not to be confused with those who, from apathy or a complete disinterest in government, do not vote save when an economic issue, or one of fear, brings them out.

As an example we may note that in 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt received, in round numbers, 22 million. But this was only a million more than Herbert Hoover had in 1928. But in 1936 and 1940 F.D.R. was up well above 27,000,000.

Harry Truman, in 1948, defeated the almost smugly confident Tom Dewey with a total of 24 million. But in 1952 Gen. Eisenhower pulled them out of their caves of apathy to pile up almost 34 million votes and in 1956 actually received a stunning sum of 35,558,316.

This, obviously, was not a demonstration by the independent voters. Nor was it merely a switch. Stevenson, in losing, had almost two million more votes than F.D.R. had in 1944.

In 1952 and 1956

The fact is that several millions of persons who don't usually go to the polls trooped there in 1952 and 1956.

This fact led a political mechanic of some note to observe somewhat bitterly at one of the recent national conventions:

"The real independent voter is

a faceless slob in a black leather coat on a motorcycle going 70 miles an hour looking for greener fields."

There is a considerable amount of sullen withdrawal in the South. In most of the states much of this surliness will disappear. But there is every reason to believe the Republican vote will show gains. And in Mississippi, which is easily the most zanily politically schizophrenic of all Dixie states, the apparent determination of the Democrats to commit hara kiri may let the GOP win.

Virginia, with her feudal chieftain sulking in his tent beneath the shade of his apple trees, may fall into Mr. Nixon's basket. He will give it a special going over later on. Florida, with a lot of Nixon strength in Miami, St. Pete, Jacksonville and Tampa, is also to receive more intensive consideration.

As for Deep South states like Georgia and Alabama, where there is resentment with no logical outlet, the desire to have their senators hold on to seniority in Senate chairmanships should bring the boys around.

But Mr. Nixon is right to visit them. They desperately need nudging on toward a two-party system. Only that will cure the chronic political malaise of Dixie. And, as Mr. Nixon knows, sometimes the dice come seven in the form of a great rush of votes.

RALPH
The Atlanta Constitution
McGILL

Religious Prejudices

Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 8-25-60

According to a wire service dispatch, Mrs. Loretta Clodfelter of Knoxville, Tenn., has contributed a minor footnote to the 1960 political campaign.

The Knoxville housewife has filed a separate maintenance bill in which she charges that her husband refused to allow her to take her three-year-old son to church because "Baptist preachers are against Kennedy for president."

It is perhaps inevitable that the religious controversy will attract attention in the weeks ahead with incidents preposterous, tragic and sensible.

The basic problem of the candidates is to make sure their own staffs, both at headquarters and in the various states, scrupulously avoid any political use of religion. The nation also has a responsibility.

The mails already are filling up with a lot of hate stuff, some of it ridiculous, some of it vicious and false. It is this we need to watch. For many thoughtful persons there is a problem wholly outside the area of prejudice. These may be expected to resolve this dilemma logically and sensibly as the campaign continues and issues are discussed.

Evil Arts

There remains a personal and national responsibility not to permit the slanderers and smearers, professional and amateur, to practice their evil arts without being publicly revealed for what they are.

A part of the complexity of the political problem is the parochial or church supported schools. This has never been wholly an issue restricted to the Roman Catholics, although their schools were, and are, the more numerous.

But today there is a tremendous burgeoning of parochial schools. This is especially true in the South, but it is by no means confined to that region. The national increase in per capita income, and the desire of parents for schools able to give special instruction or more individual attention have caused a great leap forward in private schools. Churches have sponsored many of them. Until about 10 years ago the church schools were largely Roman Catholic with Episcopalians and Presbyterians next. But today all of these have increased and there are, in addition, many Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran and other sectarian schools initiated by churches.

Need of Money

Most of them are in need of money. Many of them were begun "because we ought to have a school." Others, without surveys or planning, built "on faith." A shocking number of church schools, more particularly the new ones, are not well staffed and cannot possibly make a go of providing first-rate, accredited education. A substantial percentage of them have no valid reason for existence save for what might be called church vanity.

Hence, there is a growing clamor for the private parochial schools to be included in "federal aid." That this pressure may defeat public school aid is possible and tragic.

It seems to be necessary to face up to certain facts.

The public schools are there—and they are free. The honest parents who send a child to private school must admit they do so because they want something extra. It may be they wish their child to have extra religious instruction not received in public schools. Or, the smaller classes, the emphasis on individual instruction, or, for the time being, at least, an escape from possible integration, may be the motivating factor.

But whatever it is, there is a desire for something not found in public education. A choice is made. There is no reason then why the parent who makes such a choice should not pay the bill. He should not call on the federal government to assist him to buy something extra for his children. He still must cheerfully pay school taxes.

Public education will always be the backbone of our way of life, our system of government. It must not be hurt by private schools.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL

Monolithic Advantages

Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 8-29-60

In the unfortunate and somewhat childishly conducted controversy over who will pay the bill for transporting 250 African students to this country to enter school this fall may be found a clear illustration of how difficult it is for the United States to compete in this area with the monolithic U.S.S.R.

Not a month passes but that the Soviet Union flies delegations of foreign students, journalists, or intellectuals into Moscow. It is simple. The planes are ordered sent. They are available in any number. There are hotels, schools, and transport within the country. Foreign student-teacher-writer delegations to the Soviet Union annually run into the thousands.

Our own attempt to bring off the travel expense of 250 students from several African nations illustrates the problems of a non-monolithic nation which must give ear to the taxpayer and to the political opposition.

A sum of $100,000 was needed to bring the 250 students from their distant homes. Air travel was the one way. Military planes wouldn't do. Flying Air Force planes into African airfields would have had the Russians and the pro-Soviet Africans hysterical with charges of espionage, map-making, blackmail, invasion, and so on. Commercial planes were the only answer. Round-trip fares to Africa come high.

State Department

The State department turned down the appeal by the African-American Student Foundation. Jackie Robinson, one-time Brooklyn baseball star, who has made the Foundation a project, appealed then to Sen. Jack Kennedy. He reported, after investigation, that the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation would provide the $100,000. (The foundation is named for the senator's brother who was killed in the Second World War.)

This caused Republican leaders to leap as if stung by the legendary bee. They began to cry politics and to charge there was an effort to buy the Negro vote. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, a normally sensible man, did an inexcusable bull-in-the-china-shop act in an unreasonable attack on Kennedy.

Mr. James Shepley, on leave from Time-Life to assist the Nixon campaign, was sent or went on his own, to the State department with a plea to reconsider. It did. State later said the original request was understood to be for students from one country only. Later, the answer said, it was learned they would come from several countries and so the money was found and the position reversed. The Student Foundation declared it already had the money and was satisfied.

Sen. Fulbright is after the State department for its private handling of both the refusal and reversal.

Partisan Attack

Sen. Scott certainly cannot be proud of his violent, partisan attack. The importance of bringing 250 African students to the United States is far greater than any slight benefit which may accrue to Sen. Kennedy's campaign.

To have this important student program dragged into politics is not helpful to the long range needs of this country. Foreign students like to come here. This is especially true of African and Asian students.

Political partisans owe this fact a little more thought. That their entire preoccupation in this student issue seems to have been with politics does not give to the students who are to come a very good idea of their welcome.

This story illustrates a very serious problem. We very much need to make the American presence legitimately "felt" in Africa. We can do so only through individuals.

There is a place, for example, for several hundred teachers. The Soviets could provide them overnight by ordering them to be ready and flying them in. We don't want that sort of monolithic efficiency. But we do need an awareness of the fact that we must encourage exchange. The political tempest over the 250 students is unworthy of those who have made it.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
Ike And The New Platform
Fri. 7-29-60

CHICAGO — Richard Milhous Nixon and Henry Cabot Lodge are nominated and will have the active, effective support of the President during the congressional session ahead and in the campaign.

But basic in the history-making story of the convention is the White House temporarily domiciled at Newport, and at least temporarily angry, throwing all its weight early last Saturday morning against the efforts of the vice president and Gov. Rockefeller to have their platform plank adopted.

The first news of the Nixon-Rockefeller accord reached the vacation White House around 6 o'clock that morning.

It was not long after 6 o'clock that the Newport roof fell in on Chicago. From a reliable source comes the explanation of why the platform committees on national defense and civil rights got out of hand. National Chairman Thruston Morton, after pressures elsewhere had attained nothing, reportedly received the suggestion to "let the committee run wild." It did, and like the prairie flower in the ballad, grew wilder every hour.

National Defense

What chiefly concerned the White House was not the civil rights plank but that of national defense. By declaring that American future security required a stepped-up expenditure and other resolute measures, it amounted to a reversal, if not a repudiation, of the Eisenhower policies.

An all-out effort was begun to stop this plank. The platform commitee was in bedlam. Heavily loaded with conservatives, isolationists and segregationist-minded Southerners, defense and civil rights subcommittees rejected the Rockefeller-Nixon plank. For about 36 hours it appeared the Newport power move had won.

Rockefeller had but one ace to play. It was played, as some later said, as if it were three kings. This was the fact that he did not want to be vice president and stood so strongly on principle he could and would take the issue to the floor. The White House and opposing delegates knew that the spectacle of this on television screens and the description and interpretations of it in newspapers would not do the party any good. Sunday night the governor informed the vice president the planks were not satisfactory.

The vice president came early Monday to Chicago. He always had been closer to the Rockefeller evaluation of defense needs than to that of the administration. He had hoped to wait until after his nomination to develop slowly and carefully his own ideas. But the White House, in an attempt to humiliate and defeat Rockefeller, also was working against Nixon's best interests. It became necessary for him to produce a victory.

Heavy Effort

A night of heavy muscular political effort changed 12 platform committee votes. The defense plank battle, though it did not get the headlines accorded the emotional one on civil rights, was the more desperately fought. And in the end, Rockefeller and Nixon won.

The President and Mr. Nixon conferred here twice. Mr. Eisenhower then announced that after the Congress convenes on Aug. 8, he will present new measures to meet what is called a shift in Soviet policy.

This is a neat political move. The new measures will be designed not really to meet any new Russian threat. There is none. It is the same old danger of a Communist power steadily growing more powerful materially and economically. But if the new appraisal of the defense policy comes from the White House it will, they hope, tend to make the voters forget that what really is being done is what Nelson Rockefeller has been calling for since the Rockefeller Report was issued more than two years ago.

is but the first example the White House can, and assist the party's nominee assures other than cam-

RALPH
The Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
GOP Minus Discipline
Mon. 7-25-60

CHICAGO — The Republican Party is dismayed and disturbed to find itself without the unifying force of the great war hero who made it invincible in 1952 and 1956. It lacks discipline and it is without professional competence in many of the operations.

The lower level of party leaders is deeply resentful of Gov. Rockefeller's influence and tactics, but at the top there is a nervous realization that they must have him. Every possible pressure will be brought to bear upon him to persuade him to find some way to come on the ticket as the vice presidential nominee. This includes a special plea by the President himself.

Mon. 7-25-60

This is the ticket they must have —Nixon and Rockefeller.

Without such a combination the party knows it will be greatly handicapped in November. Beneath the surface of reassuring words and slogans, a rather grim struggle goes on to obtain discipline and Rockefeller. The party leadership has not done a good job of holding the line. There are all sorts of stories being told by some of the conservatives of promises made to offer a platform more moderate than that of the Democrats. Some of these men have stood in the immediate hearing and said things in anger which they likely will regret in the months ahead. A few have named the vice president as the source of their reassurance about the platform. They have said flatly that they were betrayed and deceived.

Hall Loses Grip

No one seems really to be in charge of the party procedures. It was easy, they are learning, when everyone liked Ike.

In those days all Alderman Hall had to do was to speak to be obeyed. But now Len Hall is not politically well regarded by most of those here. Some blame him for Nelson Rockefeller's attitude. He almost certainly will not be the campaign manager once the convention is concluded. The platform subcommittee is completely out of hand and defiant of all urgings to be good boys and do what eventually must be done, namely to accept the Rockefeller 14 points mutually agreed to by Mr. Nixon.

The Southern Republicans, many of whom came to the party because of Gen. Eisenhower's nomination, are daily producing a quota of publicly disenchanted men who are beginning to get like Southern Democrats. All in all this is a very unhappy party. It is expected that by Wednesday order will have been restored. But there is no assurance that this will be complete. A bitter floor fight is possible, but the high-level hopes are that the President will be able to pour oil upon the troubled waters and bring things to a proper, orderly climax on Thursday evening with everyone in a public statement of love and affection.

Must Have Him

But, again, there is no certainty of this. The man Rockefeller disturbs them. They can't get a him. They must have him. Without him on the ticket the convention will have failed of its central purpose—to put together the ticket which has the best chance of winning. The Democrats did this. Some thought the Kennedy choice of Johnson a cynical act. In a sense it was. But it was also enormously practical. There will be those who will be deeply disillusioned if Nelson Rockefeller finds a way to change his mind. Stranger things have happened. But, also no convention has had to cope with a man like Rockefeller.

He is not a politician in that he has come into politics as a career. He is a deeply honest man with a set of principles earned by experience and study. He thinks the country is in grave danger and that the next few years will be the critical ones.

He had said he will not accept the nomination of vice president. He has added to this the definite statement he will decline if the convention nominates him from the floor. It is my opinion he will do just this. The Republican Party badly needs him. Without him it is unlikely to win. Political reality indicates he will at the last minute change his mind. I can't believe he will.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Reuther's Memorandum
Tues. 8-16-60

Walter Reuther's pronouncements usually have the taste of unflavored castor oil. But more often than not they are good for the health of our national understanding.

Such a one was his economic report recently placed in Sen. Kennedy's hands. It is uncomfortable.

President Eisenhower made an eloquent, partisan defense of his administration before the GOP convention. But he and other speakers could have been more factual without doing their cause any long range harm. By repeatedly asserting that everything is better than it ever has been, that employment is higher than ever, and that there is no cause for worry, there was created a miasma of contradiction which has blurred the reality which, soon or late, we must face.

Mr. Reuther generally is substantially underestimated by those who have an almost instinctive and compulsive dislike of him. This is a pity, because Mr. Reuther is as coldly intellectual, calculating and able as nominees Kennedy or Nixon. (This is a fact which they, incidentally, fully appreciate.)

The UAW president has an uncomfortable habit of being right. He long ago gave to the labor movement the benefits of a highly educated staff of specialists, including some very bright economists. This fact has been one of the major factors in the advances by organized labor, especially in the mass production field.

Economic Analysis

Mr. Reuther's economic analysis given in person to Sen. Kennedy noted there were 4,400,000 unemployed in June. But, he emphasized, there were 2,900,000 working part time, some as little as a day per week.

Thus, in round numbers, the total of unemployed, in terms of making a living wage, jumps to about 7,300,000. And that is quite a different picture. It erases the "about normal" figure of four million and puts in its place a nagging problem. Since his document was delivered there have been other lay-offs in industries, chiefly those where machines and mechanical equipment are replacing hands. They take drudgery, as the old phrase had it, off the backs of men and women, but they also dramatically and, at times frighteningly, reduce the number of jobs.

Thus, we read in Mr. Reuther's memo that total fulltime employment for the first six months of

1960 was 800,000 less than it was in the corresponding months of 1957. Most of these, because of age, cannot be "relocated" or trained for other work. They will remain a problem.

Mr. Reuther is politically partisan and in his memorandum he pinpointed what has happened to the Negro worker. He said that the June, 1960, unemployment rate was 5.5 per cent of the white labor force, but amounted to 10.6 per cent of the nonwhite force. There is, of course, an explanation for this. The Negro, through no fault of his own, has had less training opportunities. He has, through the years, provided a substantial percentage of the unskilled and semi-skilled labor force.

Displaced Group

It is precisely this group which is being rapidly displaced by machines. In warehouses, for example, a disturbing story could be obtained and written by determining just how many muscle workers have been displaced by the various types of fork-lifts.

Mechanization crops up in odd places. Electronics, which pop out too-dark potato chips, has displaced literally hundreds of elderly women who once sat by the conveyor belt and picked them out by hand. Machines, not hands, now make peanut butter, cracker sandwiches. Automation is by no means confined to steel, automobiles, textiles, et cetera.

This is why the voices from the partisan podiums at Chicago did their party and the country a disservice by painting an untrue economic picture.

It is typical of Walter Reuther that he should be the first to come forward with the deeper facts and employ them for counterpartisan effect.

RALPH
Atlanta, Ga.
McGILL
Atlanta 31a
The GOP and the South
Constitution
Jul 8-13/60

Save for Mississippi, where Gov. Ross Barnett is always predictable, the political South presently is in a state of turgid flux.

It is quite possible for the Republican party to show a large percentage gain in votes in November and yet lose some of the states which went to Eisenhower in 1952-56. This is based on two presumptions. One is that some states in the Deep South will offer three sets of electors, Republican, independent and Democratic. One or two, like Mississippi, might refuse to allow their people to vote Democratic at all.

The second presumption is that on election day every fishing pond and river bank south of the Mason-Dixon line will be lined with the disenchanted.

It is an "iffy" business.

If the Republicans should make an aggressive campaign and if many Democrats make the futile, empty gesture of voting for nobody, and still others go fishing, the GOP could make real gains. This is a distinct possibility and cannot be swept under the rug.

But it cannot be given full speculative status until after the Aug. 8 congressional session is concluded.

Sulking In Tents

There are now in the one-party South a number of senators who are sullenly sulking in their tents and refusing to endorse the Los Angeles ticket. They are joined by some of the governors. All of these are keeping an ear to the ground. They will keep it there until things have cooled off and are more clearly understandable.

These men already know there is not much future in bolting the party. They are aware that "neutral" electors can do nothing but encourage Republican organization and hasten the defection from the old-line party. The time may not be far off when the Republican vote, the independent voters of no party affiliation, and the growing number of those weary of a leadership which refuses to accept Gen. Lee's surrender at Appomattox, may be able to elect a governor in some of the Southern one-party states.

Such a possibility will receive a big nudge forward in those states where deliberate manipulations deprive the people of their constitutional right to vote for or against those nominated to govern them.

The history of politicians who have bolted their parties is not a happy one. Even those hot-heads who must urge them on, invariably turn against them in the next election.

All this is in the minds of those now silent, with ears to the trembling earth.

One-Party States

When senators and congressmen from the reluctant one-party Southern states reach Washington they will confer with Lyndon Johnson, and others of the faithful. They will again be reminded that nothing helps a governor, senator or congressman stay in office like having a little patronage and power with which to please the constituents. There is more of this for the South when there is a Democrat in the White House. After almost eight years of Eisenhower the wells of patronage are running dry. Concurrent with this is the severe decline in Southern political power in the Congress and in the party's conventions.

Nominee Nixon, they know, will campaign persuasively in Dixie . . . especially Texas, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia.

"The 1948 election and the last two conventions are not exactly a 'mene, mene, tekel upharsin' on the walls of Dixie politics," said a Southern politician after Chicago's GOP session, "but they said something like that. We are about to be put out to pasture."

All this adds up to the conclusion that a shocked Southern leadership needs time. Lyndon Johnson and other so-called stalwarts will be able to apply balm to hurts. By September we will be better able to speculate on just what the South will do in November.

RALPH
The Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Kefauver Was Talking—
Atlanta 31a
Wed. 8-10-60

Sen. Kefauver was talking:

"I hope my victory in the Tennessee primary will make impossible the effort of extremist leaders in the South to further deceive our people and to erect a curtain of prejudice and enmity between us and the rest of the country," he said.

I nodded hopeful approval.

"The South is not a political whipping boy," he said. "The rest of the nation doesn't hate us. We become whipping boys only when some of our extremist leadership takes positions which run so contrary to the national purpose and to the historical forces of our time as to make it impossible for the rest of the country to support what we do, however sympathetic they may be."

There was no argument about that, so we turned to other things. First among these was the senator's future activities.

"As soon as the congressional session is over," he said, "or on weekends earlier if they need me, I want to go to New Hampshire. When I was asked where I wished to make my first campaign speech I told them New Hampshire. I have a lot of friends up there. It is a fine state and it has the further virtue of being cool. I will always be grateful to the people up there for what they did for me in my presidential primaries there. I honestly believe we can carry the state for Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson."

Campaigning

I inquired of the tall Tennessean where else the campaign would lead him.

"I'll campaign in the South," he answered. "I've already agreed to speak in Tennessee, North Carolina and Kentucky. I have had a query from one city in Florida. I may go there, too. And there's Idaho, Nebraska and the two Dakotas. I'm going to do what I can. I believe the country needs a Democratic president. I think, incidentally, it is important to the South to help make this possible. Only a stable, understanding South can fully share in this country's great future. It can't be done by erecting a curtain of illogic and untruth along the Mason-Dixon line."

The senator thinks the congressional session will work out all right. Since a civil rights bill was enacted just a few months ago he believes even the most aggressive Negro leadership will see political cynicism behind the plan of introducing rights bills based on the Democratic platform for passage in the very brief session ahead. All persons have a greater stake in the legislation to help elderly people of low income with hospital care. Minimum wage laws, national defense, foreign policy and aid to education are other legislative objectives with more acute priorities.

Drug Costs

While Sen. Kefauver had no comment, the fact that two of the nation's largest drug manufacturers recently reduced the cost of a number of drugs by 15 per cent did not go unnoticed by his friends. Whether the Kefauver Senate inquiry into drug prices was responsible is not known. But he is getting credit.

A large measure of the senator's support comes from the so-called "little people." They are convinced he is really on their side while most political leaders merely talk as if they were.

"Estes," said one of his staff, "is not, goodness knows, an orator. He speaks so badly a theory has been advanced that he does so deliberately because those listening feel so sorry for him they want to help him. His real strength is that he sees people, listens to them, and really tries to help them. The drug price investigation was a sample. He already has saved sick people a lot of money by causing some prices to come down 15 per cent. If they are lowered still more the people won't forget it. More than any man I know, Estes communicates with the people."

And communication, in the final essence, is the greatest asset in the inexact science of politics.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Americans First, Second?

Where does a citizen's first loyalty rest?

With his country? Or is his first loyalty to some political faction, or to some state or region?

Brooks Hays, whose long and fruitful career as a congressman from Arkansas was ended by the concerted efforts of the Faubus administration during the days when extremist chaos ruled in that state, is now on the TVA board of directors. One of the better known Baptist laymen in America, he is using spare time to write his second book. It will be titled, "The Baptist Way of Life."

Mr. Hays also is accepting some speaking invitations about the South. An earnest, dedicated man, he is making these three major points.

1. "Those few Southern states still confronted with the decision to abolish public schools or to keep them could learn a lot from studying the history of the Little Rock school crisis and the course taken by Virginia."

2. "The worst kind of provincialism in our coming space age would be for us to build bases of loyalty lower than the national level."

3. "This is a day in which we must firm up our sense of national loyalties. It is constantly necessary for us, as Southerners, to seek the right goals in terms of national relationships."

These are questions quietly put.

Intense Spotlight

But they place, in an intense spotlight, the issue as repeated over and over by the extremist groups preaching defiance of law and the destruction of public education. Extremist orators, speaking often in boorish and abusive phrases, demand a loyalty below the national level. They declare that those who defend public education as defined by law and the courts are:

1. Traitors to the South.

2. Refusing to stand up for the South's cause.

3. Betraying Southern traditions.

4. Traitors to their ancestors, their race and states.

They have not meant to do so, but by their very recklessness they have helped to turn the people slowly toward the truth.

They confirm Jefferson who said that it may require some time for the common sense of the people to assert itself. But if they are given the facts the people may be counted on to act wisely.

Lincoln put it another way. "You may fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

Many persons were deceived. But the number of those deceived decreases daily.

A State's Choice

It is at last becoming known that however distasteful it may be, when a nation's Supreme Court interprets the Constitution it has the force of law and is, in fact, the law of the land. States so confronted have a choice. They can abolish their public schools or accept the moderate provisions of a pupil placement law. This is all. It is painful. But it is quite simple. The people may do either one. The government will not force either on them. The states alone must decide whether to have public schools or close them. No amount of wild and foolish talk can change the fact.

So, where, as Brooks Hays asks, does an American citizen's first loyalty lie? To his state or to his country? Is his duty and loyalty wed first to the United States of America or to some section of it, the East, West, North or South?

Is one a traitor for telling the people the truth? Is the "loyal Southerner" one who deceives the people?

Is one a deserter who insists that his first loyalty is to his country and that he will not defy the processes of law?

These are the questions Mr. Hays poses—and the thoughtful citizen who puts his country first will think long about the deeper meaning of it. In Algiers, for example, we have seen what happens when primary loyalty is withheld from the national government.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

The Filibuster And Its Albatross

Deep South senators, in their filibuster against civil rights measures, including those protecting the right to vote, have about their neck the symbolic albatross made famous in the Ancient Mariner.

These senators do not dare speak in behalf of denying the right to vote. And in their efforts to insist that state laws protect those rights, they are greatly embarrassed by a record which officially refutes them.

True, only four or five counties in the Deep South have publicly brought the issues to the fore. But these have been so unconscionable and so discriminatory as to make a mockery of the state laws.

Chief among them, and setting a pattern for such thumbing of noses at state laws, is the Alabama case where a defiant board of registrars ruled Tuskegee University professors, holding doctor's and master's degrees, to be too illiterate to vote. Consequently, in other states public school teachers were excluded.

Stupid Action

It is well known that privately the more responsible Deep South senators have spoken harshly of this, and other such grossly stupid actions by registrars. But such is the politics of their times and their states they have not done so publicly. Hence, they are vulnerable in debate and can only say that such flagrant abuses have been reported in only four or five counties. But that there are counties in which it is neither wise nor healthy to make protests cannot be denied.

Nor is this all. In the Deep South states there have been state judges who, even though there was no case before them, spoke out defiantly against the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in the school and civil rights issues, openly declaring they, as state judges, would ignore the U.S. decision.

Presumably they do so to strengthen their local political fences. But that they also thereby depreciate and cheapen state law, do damage to the prestige of state courts, and weaken the position of their congressional delegations is inescapable.

The senators supporting civil rights legislation have not overlooked these incidents. They have been presented on the floor. And those Southern senators in opposition to the legislation have thereby been grievously handicapped, a fact which they privately and ruefully acknowledge. Local discrimination, by creating martyrs, has given emotional support to the civil rights legislation.

Demand Created

That discriminations, so flagrant as that in the Tuskegee case, have created a demand for such legislation is undenied. Nor can this pressure be dismissed as politics in an election year. The folly of registrars in barring well educated, college and public school teachers as too illiterate to vote has assured the passage of some sort of civil rights legislation which will be most strong in its support of the 15th Amendment guarantee of the right to vote.

On the day the filibuster began in the Senate, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously overruled a Georgia district court in a case charging discrimination by state registrars. The decision, based on the unequivocal provisions of the 15th Amendment, again pointed up the damage done by those persons who blinded the eyes of the Southern people seeking earnestly to know their true situation, by proclaiming state sovereignty. Some called it interposition. Many persons, honestly dissenting from the Supreme Court's decision, have been persuaded by those proclaiming the myth of state sovereignty to extreme words and actions.

It is a fact unpleasant to many. But if we are to live under the laws of our country it is necessary to understand that in any case where the state law conflicts with the federal, the national law is supreme. The interpretations of the Constitution by the U.S. Supreme Court, when they become part of a court order, are in fact the law of the land. And in no case can a state law, in conflict with a federal law, have primacy.

It may be painful, but these facts are necessary to understanding the problem.

RALPH
The Atlanta
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Constitution

A Troubled Faith ---

In old Jerusalem Dr. Billy Graham was shown about by officials of the Trans-Jordan government. They are all Moslems.

He saw the ruined walls of the old Temple. From there he could see the rocky hills, the lambent skies, the terrain where Jesus of Nazareth walked and taught. Hard by the Temple walls is the Mosque of Omar. There one may see the great rock from which Mohammed's horse leaped upward for the climb into heaven. Dr. Graham's curious guides, members of King Hussein's official family, were of the Islamic faith. This faith recognizes Christianity's Christ as one of the minor prophets—a good man, but one far inferior to Mohammed.

Dr. Graham, the greatest Christian evangelist of our time, is coming back to America deeply worried and committed to some sort of crusade in this country.

In Africa and the Asian areas of the Middle East there are about 10 converts for Islam to one for Christianity.

In Ethiopia

In Africa, even in the ancient land of Ethiopia where one of the oldest Christian sects persists, he found that the Christ was looked upon as a European . . . and the Christian church as a faith for white persons only. All the illustrations they have seen have pictured Christ as resembling a European. The churches in the cities did not welcome them. Out in the bush and the jungle the missionaries were working and suffering, sick with malaria, infected with tropical diseases and jungle fungus. But for the most part, only the mosques were open to all who came.

All this deeply has shaken Billy Graham. Nor is he alone in this travail of spirit and mind. It is apparent that all of Christianity is being moved by the winds which are beginning to blow, stronger and stronger. The Christian church is in trouble and it is but the beginning of trouble.

Africa, which is the last great continent to move toward national identities and autonony, is being pushed toward chaos by economic stresses. The new nations, with many others nearing birth, are not yet hostile. But as can be seen from South Africa to the Mediterranean, peaceful agitation is giving way to violence and various subversions eagerly and shrewdly nudged along by the Soviets and their agents.

The American way of life could win a wholesale victory there. But it is not yet doing so. Most of the eyes are yet turned toward us. Faith in America remains.

In large part this is a harvest of the work of generations of missionaries and of doctors and teachers in the same field. But it also is a reflection of this country's reputation as a place for free peoples and for opportunity.

The Truth

It is not an easy thing to say, but the inescapable truth is that if America, as the leading Christian nation, fails in this great issue of the 20th century, we will end by proving that Christianity is for Europeans and Americans, and the American system is something which works only for the comfortable realms of middle-class and wealthy circles of major NATO countries.

Almost 90 per cent of the world's peoples are in wholly or near pauperized areas. Their first demand is for more food and a better standard of life for their children, if not for themselves. And Islam is winning their religious yearnings by about 10 to one. This frightens and concerns those who know the ultimate meaning of it.

What is the inner decision of America and of the Christian church to be? Is it to be the filthy, ugly slanders of the boorish KKK elements; the dismaying and brutal ugliness of the extremist white collar groups; the aloofness of the comfortable who do not wish to be disturbed mentally or physically?

RALPH
The Atlanta
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Constitution

He Doesn't Bite the Dog

Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida has suffered all his political life from a severe handicap. He is a deeply believing Christian who tries to have his life reflect this fact without ostentation, clashing of cymbals or sounding of brass.

The result is that the national image of the man is blurred. He is not an exciting man because what he does rarely seems to stir the pulses. The fact he quietly achieves exciting results goes almost unnoted. He now is in the news because of a statewide broadcast in which he said that while lunch counters in private business legally could exclude anyone they wished, and that he regarded the sit-ins as illegal and dangerous, it was, in his opinion, an immoral piece of business to open the door and invite trade but then exclude one small section on account of race.

This caused the extremists to rage like the heathen of Biblical reference and to denounce him as a fellow trying to get his name in the papers and, worse, as one ambitious to obtain some Yankee honor. Nothing they said about him was relevant to the issue.

LeRoy Collins attracts no attention with his dedicated faith. He tries, successfully, not to make any public display of attending church or of doing any of the many chores assigned him by it.

Magazine Writers

Magazine writers have rather given up on LeRoy Collins as a national story. He isn't exciting enough. The image of a Southern politician is that of a Senator Eastland, or any one of several others who have made a national name for themselves in the field of racial agitation. But so distorted is our sense of news values that for a man who is the antithesis of them to be a story he must be continually in an equally exhibitionist attack against them.

Gov. Collins has never seen it this way. He has gone about doing what seemed to him his duty. Now and then this has caused him to be in the national news. But because he has not been at the other extreme of those classified as demagogues he remains a relatively unknown man.

The facts are he has done some very spectacular things. In the 1959 legislative session, for example, he accomplished what was conceded to be impossible. The legislature was hostile to him. It had held caucuses before his opening state address and proclaimed its determination to enact legislation making mandatory the closing of public schools in the face of a court order to desegregate. They greeted the governor coldly when he came in. He talked strongly to them, urging them never, never to do anything which would in any sense handicap education and certainly nothing which would close schools. When he was done they gave him but perfunctory applause. Legislative leaders promptly announced they would go ahead with closed-school legislation as planned.

State Listened

But the state had been listening. Pretty soon the legislature began to hear from the people. They didn't want the schools closed. And as weeks went on, the members found they couldn't do it.

Gov. Collins' story is in the homespun tradition. His parents were early settlers of Florida. His grandfather was a circuit-riding preacher. His own father had a small grocery store. Young Collins earned his own school money. He entered practice of law as the great depression took the nation by the throat. He married the fairy princess, beautiful Mary Call, great-great-granddaughter of one of Florida's territorial governors and one of Andrew Jackson's officers.

He has been six years governor of Florida. And the fantastic growth of the state, its excellent financial condition, the scrupulously honest government it enjoys, all reflect his quiet courage and integrity. But of course, a fellow like this isn't news. He never bites the dog. He just makes it slink away.

RALPH McGILL
Evening Star
31a D.C. Wed 7/13/60

Old Order Passing From Scene

Kennedy as President Would Mean Rise of New Men to Party Power

LOS ANGELES — Lyndon Johnson's statement that he would not care to give up the important position of Senate Majority Leader to become Vice President emphasized just how far from reality the Texan has strayed.

If John Kennedy becomes the next President of the United States, he might not wish to have Lyndon Johnson as his Majority Leader. In fact, he likely would not. And if he doesn't, then there will be a change.

There is no question but that Senator Johnson has been shaken by his experience here. In Washington he is a power often greater than that of the White House itself. Whatever Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets. But here he can walk through the hotel lobby late at night and few of those who see him will recognize him. The delegates have power of their own. It grows out of their own districts and precincts. It does not originate in Washington.

There has been a steady drive over the last week end by the Johnson forces aimed at holding their basic strength. Congressmen have been summoned to see Sam Rayburn, the veteran House Speaker, and then have been passed on to Senator Johnson. They have emerged from such meetings with a somewhat dazed appearance.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, came out of a session obviously angry. He seemed to have received the idea that if he continued to oppose Senator Johnson he might have a difficult time getting labor legislation in the next four years.

But this is not Washington. The power here is in the Kennedy organization. It has more to offer. It has a man who could win the nomination and perhaps the presidency. Lyndon doesn't have that sort of magnetic attraction.

So used are we to the status quo that it is not yet generally comprehended that an old political order is passing. Former President Truman isn't even here. This veteran, who wrote in a recent book of calling in Adlai Stevenson and telling him that if he, Stevenson, wished to be nominated, Mr. Truman would arrange it, sulks in his tent because of what he calls rigging in this convention. What has rigged this one is what has rigged all the others—the power of the man with the best chance to be elected. Other veterans who served gallantly in the days of the New and Fair Deals are almost museum pieces.

As soon as Senator Kennedy is nominated, he will become the head of the Democratic Party. If President, he will have the patronage and appointive power to break the back of any State or congressional leadership which might seek to oppose him. The Old Guard of the Democratic Party is finished.

Harry Truman is embittered because he learned at last what did not become plain to him in 1956. His personal popularity cannot be translated into personal power at the conventions. There is a pragmatic reason for this. Mr. Truman does not have anything to offer. Senator Johnson learned that his own very considerable strength as a Senate leader doesn't have voltage here.

There is a new group in charge of the Democratic Party. Their faces will soon become familiar on television screens and in newspaper pictures. Most of them are known only in their home States. Jack Kennedy symbolizes the change. Young, ambitious, aggressive Democrats are soon to be in authority. It is interesting to look at the photographs taken in the early days of the Roosevelt years. In those days Jim Farley, Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, and Lyndon Johnson were young men full of drive, ambition and energy.

So, we may as well get used to the new image. Jack Kennedy, when nominated, will be the national party leader. And if elected, he will want his own congressional leaders. This may not include Lyndon Johnson at all. It might not even include Mr. Sam.

We nominate a new man and a new broom.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

'East Wind Rising'

In a Japanese prison camp outside Saigon in 1941 a man began to write, and to think. There was time for both. The days were hot, damp, interminable.

Slowly a perspective formed. Events, memories, experiences, knowledge, created a balance. Conclusions took shape. Let us take three, as written:

"The Japanese had a clear, cold view of Japanese national interest and how they proposed to advance these in China and Southeast Asia. That was aggression. Americans had no clear view of American national interests in that part of the world or whether they were worth fighting for. That was fuzzy and therefore dangerous thinking. The Japanese were only too ready to back words with bullets. That was militarism. Americans insisted on condemning and taking a position, but would not fight for it. That was folly that could only encourage militarism.

"Above all, both violated human dignity.

"When recognition of human dignity is withheld from a man because of his race or nationality or religion, when he is scorned and persecuted, when his weakness is exploited, then the law of retribution is as sure as fate. This law is operating today in China. The Chinese are having their revenge on history for the years of misery. . . ."

South Africa

That law is operating, too, in South Africa, and in other areas [illegible] world. It is operating, too, in America. It is a part of the explanation of the sit-ins. That otherwise sensible men and women fail to see this, and correct it, is a portent not without danger. The law is operating in all the injustices and inequities which for years proceeded from the separate-but-equal law. All honest persons knew it to be a facade to conceal the fact that schools were separate but nowhere equal; that services and, in too many places, the law, were separate, but not equal.

Generations of Americans will look back gratefully to this present period as one which slowed down the operating of that inexorable law by exposing the injustice of withholding human dignity from a man, and by exploiting and scoring his weakness.

The book is "East Wind Rising." The author is Relman Morin of the Associated Press staff in New York. He is, without question, one of the most able reporters of this generation.

After graduating from Pomona College he studied (in 1930) at two Chinese universities. His recollections and notes from that period are the beginning of a book valuable to those seeking information and answers. Morin worked as a newspaperman in Shanghai, Tokyo, and in Southeast Asia, where he was made prisoner in 1941. After being repatriated in an exchange of prisoners, he won a Pulitzer Prize for his coverage of the Korean War. In 1958 he won a rare second one for reporting the Little Rock story.

The Japs

But all through the years the east wind was rising in his mind. He remembered "the damned Japs" in the time of his California boyhood, and the kids throwing rocks at them . . . the "Yellow Peril" editorials, the land laws and the Exclusion Act, the crude discrimination, and the intense humiliation of the Chinese students because their country was controlled and exploited by the great powers. He had seen and lived with the mass misery in Shanghai and had worked in famine relief along the Mongol border.

A decade later he was in Tokyo for the AP. Manchuria was already occupied and Japan was engaged in her conquest of China and probing southward.

Notable and varied figures move through the pages.

"Could China have been saved?"

"In the wisdom of hindsight, probably," says Morin. "Amid the misconceptions of the middle 1940s, no."

It is a moving book of personal experience and of mature opinion. For those who would better understand why the east wind blows this is a book to read.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

What Is B'nai B'rith?

Because it takes a firm public stand on the side of social justice and law, B'nai B'rith (Sons of the Covenant) is a favorite whipping boy of ignorance, maliciousness and hate. Most of the Citizens Councils attack it with hysterical and irrelevant charges because B'nai B'rith has declared the Supreme Court orders must be recognized as law lest anarchy replace judicial procedures. The professional anti-Semitics rant and rage against it. The various KKK community cancers, or klaverns, also join in the slanders.

If one examines into the weird pamphlet product of the various mentally disturbed persons and groups, one makes a significant discovery. None of them has the vaguest idea that B'nai B'rith also had as its major purpose the bringing together of the various Jewish groups which were coming to this country and were, too often, separated by their orthodoxy, or lack of it, and by their cultural backgrounds.

The first meeting was held in 1843 in New York. Twelve men, two more than necessary for a quorum of prayers, met in a small, poor room to form an organization to cope with the problems they saw about them.

Their Objective

The founders wrote out their objective. It purposed to unite all Jews "in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity." This goal has remained unaltered. The organization devotes itself to the spiritual and human welfare of the Jewish race and of the country in which they reside. The start was difficult. There were various interpretations of orthodoxy. Languages were a barrier. There were Zionists and non-Zionists. But each had the rich heritage of the Jew—of law and tradition. B'nai B'rith advocated no doctrine and espoused no political controversy. It never has.

German Jewish immigrants were the founders. They first chose the name "Bundes-Brueder," a German-Viddish term for "Band of Brothers."

By 1850 the first community center had been opened in New York. In 1860, when President Lincoln's call for volunteers was made, B'nai B'rith recruited and equipped with rifles and uniforms an entire company of Jewish soldiers. (The Confederate army also had a number of Jews who distinguished themselves in the army and government.) The first citation by our government to a civilian organization for patriotic war service was to B'nai B'rith.

Other Citations

B'nai B'rith also earned other citations for its charity and relief work given to all distressed persons in the disasters of the San Francisco earthquake, the Baltimore flood, and other emergencies in the United States. It was so engaged 13 years before the Red Cross was established. The order maintains two nationally known hospitals, both nonsectarian. One, in Denver, is for tuberculosis. The second, the Leo Levi Memorial, is in Hot Springs, Ark.

In 1913 B'nai B'rith set up the Anti-Defamation League to combat organized anti-Semiticism in this country. Similarly, U.S. Roman Catholics founded an organization to combat anti-Catholic propaganda. Both have done splendid educational jobs. These, in particular, anger the hate groups. Yet, hate is helpful in its way. The more people see the weekly papers and pamphlets of hate, the more they see the merchant of hate and prejudice on television shows, the sooner will they know them, and their propaganda, for the falsehood they are.

There are today B'nai B'rith lodges in 38 countries. They are active in the field of youth work and adult education as being aspects of the basic objective—human and spiritual welfare.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

A Cud To Chew On

Nashville, the capital city of Tennessee, has provided all news media with a cud of thought on which to chew. After long weeks of spiritual unease and physical violence, the city's owners of variety store lunch counters beset with passive resistance sit-ins decided to do what they all along had wished to do. That was to open those counters as they had all other sales displays to any customer who entered the doors open to all.

Before so doing they met with city officials and the management of newspapers, television and radio. It mutually was agreed that publicity of any such decision would bring out the organized agitators, the hoodlums and the street drifters who make up mobs. City officials and business representatives asked they be given a chance to proceed without publicity. Media representatives, weighing their obligation of responsibility, agreed.

The result was that Negro customers were served. There were no incidents. In some instances white customers began conversations and said they were glad the issue was settled.

Two Facts

Here we have clearly illustrated two important facts about the pressures in concentrated urban areas. One is that the majority of people want to do what is right. They may not like the idea of desegregated lunch counters; nonetheless, it is so preposterous to argue that a customer may buy everything else in a variety store but a cup of coffee or sandwich at the lunch counter, that even the objector realizes that business management can't be expected to so insist. The average Southerner is as fair-minded as any other American. Given a chance he will show it.

The second fact of life illustrated by the Nashville story is one which must concern those who provide the public with information. The people have a right to the news. There is a duty to print and speak it.

But there also is a further responsibility. It is one owed the community and the nation. There is no government control over the press and there must not be. But it is only the witless person in television, radio, journalism or news magazines who does not understand that an industrial civilization with an exploding population requires new thinking in this field as in all others.

For the most part the press, TV and radio are responsible. But there is always the exception. There is the one who sensationalizes, who deliberately foments excitement, who raises inflammable prejudices and who exploits them for readers or listeners.

Usable Channels

Television and radio are licensed by the federal government since they use the airways. The new chairman of the FCC quietly is conducting investigations into the more rabid local stations. Because of their unique method of publishing news, TV and radio have perhaps a heavier responsibility.

The printed word is inanimate. But the spoken word has life and sound. The commentator, by inflections, by emphasis, by speaking calmly, or with great excite-

ment, quickly can create emotions where none existed. If we add to this the televised image of a popular figure we have yet another dimension. The impact of TV can be profound. On radio and TV the news is repeated over and over throughout the day, creating an accumulated effect.

Nashville has paid a great price. A home has been bombed. The city has been put to vast police and court costs. There has been bad publicity. Business has suffered. Racial enmity has been aroused. There was no reason for it. Had the action just taken been initiated at the start, without inflammatory publicity, all the grief, expense and danger could have been avoided. This is true of all other communities.

The majority of Southern people want to do what is right, even if they don't like it. Is there a way to protect them from the leather-jacketed delinquents, the hoodlums looking for trouble and from these extremist voices whose purpose is malignant? That is the big question of our time.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Adlai's Journey
Makes News
Wed. 4-27-60

Washington, D.C.: Adlai Stevenson's long and triumphant tour up and down South America is an untold story, which fact is a rebuke to the American press. The vice president of the United States encountered dangerous riots. The President of the United States had an experience with tear gas. But Stevenson was acclaimed and honored everywhere he went on a tour of more than two months. Yet, in all his travels he met only one American newspaperman, and this was by accident. So great was the pressure from Latin American papers that pool arrangements were necessary for reporters and photographers, but America heard relatively nothing about his doings and sayings.

One of the human interest stories which Americans would have liked was at the Bogota bull ring.

Stevenson had no idea he was well known and greatly respected in Latin America. What he did not know was that leading newspapers in the region had printed all his campaign speeches, his major addresses to universities and foreign relations groups and had run his books serially.

Stevenson arrived at Bogota. He and his group were whisked, so to speak, from airport to bull ring. A massed crowd outside, which was in a near state of rebellion because it could not obtain tickets, set up a great cry of acclaim. Inside, the massed benches let loose such a roar on Stevenson's entry he flinched, thinking nothing less than a riot had erupted. His admiring hosts, the president and officials, assured him it was his welcome.

Bull Fight

Speeches were made. The great gates of the arena opened for the ritual of the bull fight processional. It brought further salutes to the visiting American.

Nor was this the end. The matadors dedicated their bulls to him. And when the long hours of death in the afternoon were done Stevenson was hoisted to the shoulders of the crowd, along with the three matadors, and carried about the ring to the vast delight of the multitude which kept up a niagara of shouts. Chief among them was "uno," meaning, the first or best.

Here was a picture Americans would have liked to have seen in their newspapers and on their television screens. Mr. Stevenson described himself as somewhat nervous. Being ridden on the shoulders of excited admirers is even more insecure and precarious than a perch on a camel. But, he liked it. It was good to be a national hero instead of coping with one. At that moment the life of a topflight matador seemed to him much more enjoyable and happy than that of a presidential candidate.

Peons Came

The story of the Stevenson travels in South America was not merely that scholars, students and intellectuals flocked to him. The peons came, too, in tremendous throngs, crying "Ole, ole," to the visiting American.

There is a continuing passion for liberty and freedom in Latin America. This region, too, is in transition. There is a demand for human dignity, for bread and land. And the Latin peoples are not bored with the subject.

The business of freedom requires philosophic treatment. And, while mass America didn't understand the subtleties and sophistications of Stevenson's campaign speeches on the meaning and responsibilities of freedom and democratic government, he communicated easily with our neighbors to the south.

The example of the deed is more needed in the world today than that of the word. And Stevenson provides both.

There is a strong revolutionary process at work in the world. We are not untouched by it, as our own sit-ins and other evidences of discontent reveal.

The Cuban program of land reform threatens all Latin countries and only Premier Castro's instability restricts it as an explosive export.

The Stevenson journey is now something in the past. But, there is value in it. And it still is not too late to hear it.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta Ga.
The U.S.
Started Freedom
Fri. 7-1-60

Brussels: After a diplomatic dinner I asked a gentleman high in the troubled Belgian government about the problem of the Congolese.

"Let us see," he said. "You are here from Paris and before that you are here from the Southern part of the United States. Let us say thank God we did not have a Jacques Soustelle who, you might say, is the Orval Faubus of France."

Belgium is not happy about giving up the Belgian Congo. Take a look at it on the map. Give your children a look. Note how it is a large chunk of south-central Africa with a meager coastline at the mouth of the Congo River. What the map does not show is that the river delta is vast and many Soviet submarines could lurk in the mouth of it. The Belgians know what they have lost. They do not yet know what they have gained, if anything. But they know they could do nothing else.

"If you will pardon me," said the Belgian state department man, "what you Americans overlook in your understandable obsession with the Russians is that African revolutions are not getting their impetus from Karl Marx or Khrushchev. They are inspired by the rights of man, and they quote your Jefferson, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Eisenhower. You Americans forget you are the most revolutionary force in the world. Maybe this is why you always are deploring it.

New Nations

"It is true," he said, "that these new African nations may turn to Russia. But not before they have tried us and you. And don't think they are stupid. You know some of the tribesmen are men with pointed heads because their mothers bound their heads according to tribal custom. Well, we had one of the chiefs in our negotiation. We got him in a tight place, and he said, 'Surely, gentlemen, you would not expect a man with a head shaped like mine to think.' But he could think. And good."

It is an old story. In the new African nations there are too few men who are educated and experienced in administration. They have raw materials but no capital. Therefore, they call on colonial powers to provide capital. If the tribesmen with the pointed heads can't get support from the old powers, they will exercise the ancient law of survival and turn to Russia, as did Guinea. That country is a monument to De Gaulle's bad guess. It is also a monument to our own obtuseness.

Today, the Czechs, Poles, and East Germans are running Guinea to the sore distress of both the U.S. and France. What Americans don't understand is that the Communist nations have a surplus of intellectuals, scientists, engineers, doctors, et cetera. They can send them in fast and they do so.

Large Sums

Belgium will be called on to lend large sums which it does not have and cannot raise without increasing taxes. The Belgians know much of what is lent will be lost because of the n[illegible] a tribalism which is far [illegible] Western ideas of integrity [illegible] ernment. The Congo is a complex web of tribal a[illegible] nisms and distrusts. Yet, to [illegible] would be to lose all.

"I do not pretend to understand the Southern United States," said the Belgian leader, "but we do understand the meaning and power of Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Lincoln, and so on.

"We are a tiny country," he said. "But we are faithful to NATO and common sense.

"Maybe we acted too fast by a few years. But to have delayed would have lost all. The world has had a surfeit of Faubus and Soustelle. We cannot afford either. And I am not sure we can afford the cost of freedom. Let me tell you that freedom is expensive. Especially the kind encouraged by Jefferson, Lincoln, Henry, Wilson, Roosevelt and Eisenhower. Will you understand that it is they, not Faubus, who is the major influence? And will you ask your Congress to help defray the cost of what their heroes have started?"

Businessmen Urged To Crusade Against Bias

NEW YORK (UPI) -Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, Friday urged the nation's businessmen to take an active part in helping solve the problem of race prejudice and civil rights in the South.

"There is a great, conservative body of opinion, North and South, which knows that we can not have full citizenship for some and part citizenship for others," McGill said. "The business community everywhere knows this. But it has not played its part."

McGill delivered a Lincoln Day address in the great hall of the Cooper Union. It was there that Abraham Lincoln gave his famed Cooper Union address on Feb. 27, 1860.

PRESENT PAINTINGS

A collection described as the largest assemblage of contemporary printings and editions of the Lincoln speech was presented to the Cooper Union in ceremonies that preceeded McGill's address. The collection was a gift from Dr. Alexander L. Sheff, president of the Speedwriting Publishing Co.

McGill warned that extremists would step in if the racial question was left exclusively to the politicians.

"Little Rock and then Virginia showed us that not until the business leadership joins in the public debate and has its say, will the debate produce effective results," he said.

SAYS ALL ARE GUILTY

"So long as it is left to the extremists, to those who make a profit out of merchandising prejudice, and to those who put themselves and their political position ahead of the welfare of school children and the nation itself, just so long will we have incitement to violence, chaos, a breakdown of law and the national integrity."

McGill said that the South does not have a monopoly on prejudice.

"Each of us, I believe, bears a share of the guilt and failure. And I believe it is necessary to repeat that unless the business statesmanship of the nations joins in the debate, it can not become fully rational."

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

Georgia's GOP Vote in 1962?

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Republicans in Georgia held a spring convention which had almost 1,000 delegates and spectators in attendance. All were in a state of feverish excitement at the prospect of four more years.

They endorsed Vice President Nixon and if there were those who entertained reservations they stood mute.

So great was their evangelical fervor they practically pledged to produce a GOP candidate for governor in 1962. Time was when such a statement would produce only titters. But today it causes jitters. Not great, to be sure, but jitters just the same. Democratic leaders in Georgia, who hold the state captive in the leg irons of the iniquitous county-unit system which effectively all but disfranchises those who dwell in cities, do not enjoy hearing even talk of a two-party contest.

It is very much a long shot. But it is at least remotely possible that by 1962 there will be enough discontent generated by a chaotic school situation and the ruthless unit restrictions on the electorate to produce a real protest vote behind an independent GOP candidate.

State Leaders

State Republican leaders in Georgia are also aware that if the GOP national committee would provide a little help and understanding their voting strength could make one of those big leaps forward.

The new civil rights bill provides the opportunity. The Negro vote has been Democratic in national elections since New Deal days. It was not large. Voting registration was largely confined to the cities. In rural areas it was coercively restricted to token members or forbidden.

There were actually 29 of these "goose-egg" counties in Southern states, more than half of them in Mississippi where not a single Negro voter was on the lists. Such short-sighted folly led to the enactment of civil rights legislation. Unless leadership acts at least to diminish such practices, there will be more rights legislation in the next Congress.

Republicans in the Southern border states, and those in Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Georgia, know that Negro voters will increase in number. They will not vote Democratic in the foreseeable future after having viewed the filibuster and listened to the words of party leaders. If the GOP national committee would help with a little money to establish adult classes in citizenship responsibilities, a big step forward could be taken in setting up a real two-party system. Since the Negro vote has long been Democratic, GOP leaders say they do not see how there can be any real complaints if it changes over to Republican registration.

An Upset

If to this could be added the independents, those disenchanted with the Democratic state leadership and its determination to abolish the public schools, an upset could be ahead for 1962 or 1966. It is a long shot, but the possibility is there.

In the past decade more than four million persons have moved out of the South. Something over half of these have been Negro. A smaller, yet sizable number, have moved in with the new industries. They tend to be conservative, if not GOP.

There already is real, basic Republican strength in Florida, Virginia and Texas. Georgia's GOP organization is unique in the Deep South. The fact that Robert T. (Bobby) Jones, the great gentleman and golf hero, is honorary chairman is an illustration of the quality of its leadership. The 1952 convention turned on the moral issue of seating the legitimate delegation. Those seated were a new GOP breed for the old cotton South where real Republicans have been as rarely seen as the snowy egret.

Mr. Nixon, if nominated, will speak in three or four Southern states. This, too, could have a bearing on November, 1962.

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

Document Will Make History

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A national convention political platform usually consists of about 5,000 dreary words read to some 3,000 weary delegates, signifying nothing.

It is now very likely that history will be made by the Democratic document which will be adopted at Los Angeles.

Congressman Chester Bowles, who has been named chairman of the platform committee, is not merely articulate. He also is a thinker who can speak logically and persuasively. Yet, another Bowles' accomplishment is the ability to write with a good, sound, literary style. The platform well may be the first literary essay to emerge from a political convention.

Bowles has an unconcealed impatience with the old-style presentation of issues. He thinks the present and, more especially, the future, already demand brand-new approaches in mind and deed. He will hammer some of this into the party's declaration of principles.

There is speculation that his appointment to the chairmanship means a strong civil rights bill. It does. But here again we will have a Bowles concept of such legislation. It will not be merely a few phrases or recommendations for legislation designed to attract or hold voters. The focus will not be confined to the South. Bowles is well aware that the issue of human rights is nationwide. He also is aware that ramifications of the American problem extend to Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Real Test

The Democratic Party faces a very real test at Los Angeles. If the worst happens, it could emerge helpless to win a victory. It could become a minority party for years to come. That this calamity is possible at a time when the Democrats will almost surely win the Congress and have a magnificent chance to win the presidency, is a paradox which illuminates the changes and conflicts within the party and the nation.

Bowles is a great and good friend of Adlai Stevenson. But since his old friend is not a formal candidate the congressman from Connecticut has been assisting another close friend, Sen. Jack Kennedy. He will go all out for him. But if Kennedy should be stopped, as is by no means sure, then Bowles would almost surely swing what he could to Stevenson.

Actually, it would be difficult

to drive as much as a sheet of paper between Kennedy, Bowles and Stevenson insofar as their public policies and philosophy of government are concerned. Kennedy's and Stevenson's ideas will be woven along with those of Bowles into the construction of the party principles called the platform.

Second Place

It is believed that Sen. Kennedy, if stopped, would be persuaded to take second place with Stevenson. He might refuse any one else. This fact accounts for the spectacular rise in Stevenson's stock. It was but a short time ago he was regarded as politically dead insofar as the nomination was concerned. But if Kennedy is indeed thwarted, the only two men left who would be considered to have a chance would be Sen. Symington and Stevenson.

There still is a strong reluctance among the party leaders from the larger state organizations to take Stevenson. In addition, Sen. Symington entertains a bitter feeling toward him. The Truman group has never explained its antipathy. But it is there. Chief among the anti-Stevenson opposition is former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. That this gulf exists is not well known or comprehended by the Democratic voters.

If Sen. Kennedy does not make it on the first two or three ballots there then will follow a historic struggle between Stevenson and the Truman, Symington, Acheson axis. Symington has certain advantages. He is not a controversial figure. Stevenson has twice been defeated. But the contest would be a monumental one and much of the future of the Democratic Party may hinge on the result.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.
20th Century
Date: 7-19-60
Makes a Show

LOS ANGELES—The Democrats will have a nominee which, as one of the speakers said, fits the platform. But 10 of the 50 states do not fit it, and the story is both melancholy and revealing of the change in the nation's political life and a massive shift in power.

Ten Southern states opposed a civil rights plank. It was not too many years ago that such opposition would have stopped the show. As late as four years ago, it was able to dictate substantial qualifications and the use of generalities.

But in this July of 1960, a civil rights bill which is severe only by comparison to those of the past, went through with what was largely token opposition. It was a revealing evening. The 10 states which signed the minority opposition did so because of domestic politics. Their strength was not as the strength of 10 because they were on the wrong side of a moral issue which had more momentum than the political issue. The 10 states did not demand a roll call, largely because they knew they had only the 10 votes and there would be a national television audience watching and weighing their political impotence.

Ten Years

The past 10 years have seen the South's power wane in Congress. Never before has it been so low in a national convention. It will be interesting to see whether the South will withdraw even further from the national ifestream and fritter away its uture which can be as wonderful is Disneyland, if there is a will o have done with unreality.

There was no hatred of the South here, although there will be some who may so insist. As Chester Bowles, chairman of the platform committee, said, "There is understanding of the South's problem and need, but while the rest of the nation has waited the South consistently has said no. There has been not a single voluntary consideration to the 20th Century from the political South."

So it is today that the political influence of the South is at the lowest ebb in history.

Here at Los Angeles, the ethnic origins of the delegations dramatically picture America. There are Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Negro, Puerto Rican and Filipino delegates. They speak several languages. But the convention and a television audience of millions saw United States Senator Spessard Holland of Florida and the governor of Virginia, Lindsey Almond, in a role which is symbolic of what is happening in both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Old Men

Mr. Holland and Mr. Almond are both old. They speak old. They are both honest and sincere. They are good, loyal Americans. And what they had to say perhaps represents the majority opinion in their region. But it does not represent the thinking of the young men and women who are taking over the Democrats and Republicans.

Jack Kennedy and Richard Nixon entered the U.S. Congress at the same time. Neither they nor their associates and followers think as do Sen. Holland and Gov. Almond, who honestly believe that it is all right, in 1960, to deprive some citizens of full citizenship.

This is, after all, 1960, and he who does not know the meaning of Algeria, Ghana, the Congo, Indonesia and South Africa would do well to become informed and relate it to his own life and time.

As a better illustration of our day and time, I would select Mrs. Patsy Mink of Hawaii, small, delicate, pretty, dignified and intelligent. She spoke for the plank in a calm, quiet way, saying that all human beings have a right to be treated with equal justice. The convention saw her, and they saw Sen. Holland, red of face and flailing of arm, prophesying doom and defeat if children with skins of different color sit together in a classroom.

I don't know now if we can agree on but one thing. Mrs. Mink is prettier than Sen. Holland, and great changes are in the process of action.

RALPH
The Atlanta Constitution
McGILL

Gov. Collins Wins Nation

MEMORY OF LOS ANGELES—Gov. LeRoy Collins sat in his hotel suite and talked of his experiences as permanent chairman of the Democratic convention. Before him, on a large coffee table, were hundreds of telegrams. An assistant was opening a large stack of others, just delivered. They began coming steadily once the convention started.

Date: 7-19-60

The telegrams revealed that nationwide opinion concurred with that of the delegates in Los Angeles. It is that Gov. Collins has raised the position of chairman to new heights of dignity and procedure.

P. 1

Only a few were critical. These obviously were from cranks and the lunatic fringe. One woman in Arkansas sent a hundred wrathful words to charge him with stealing the votes from the Southerners on the civil rights plank test. Delegates of the 10 protesting states had raised a booming chorus which sounded on television and radio as loud as the vote from the 40 supporting states. The woman insisted the 10 had won. But the overwhelming reaction was one of gratitude and praise.

Nation Weary

The telegrams revealed, too, that the nation is weary of demonstrations and votes for favorite sons. Gov. Collins, himself, thinks it is time to reform convention procedure and eliminate demonstrations, or confine them to the delegations. This makes sense, but because of the picturesque quality of them, and the fact that television regards them as an essential part of the show, they likely will be retained. But in time they must go. They have become more and more synthetic. Most of the demonstrators are hired.

It is no longer true that galleries influence votes, if, indeed, they ever did. The galleries were for Adlai Stevenson. The delegates were not. The best prepared demonstration was for Sen. Johnson, but it got out of control and overstayed its time. The most emotional was for Adlai Stevenson. It, too, got out of hand. Its participants were in an almost hysterical mood. It was almost as if they hoped, by the very intensity of their fervor, to persuade the delegates to take their man.

The favorite son procedure is in disrepute. The nomination of Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi was so bad a show it may prove to be the straw that breaks this camel's back, but there was little excuse for some of the others.

Great Lack

This convention at times had a great lack of dignity. There was occasional boorishness and vulgarity, and there has been boredom. Indeed, the long parade of meaningless nominating speeches for candidates who were not really contenders was probably a new high of mountainous boredom.

The convention system, in this day of television and instantaneous communication, is no longer a fitting mechanism for producing a presidential nominee. It has become, first of all, a television show. The Sports Arena is really one vast stage and set for television productions. For the highest office within the gift of the country to be filled by action of a loudly blaring, blatant spectacle no longer makes good sense. There must be reform and almost surely it will come.

It is precisely this climate which has made Gov. Collins stand out in such gratifying contrast. The nation sees him for what he is, a fine, decent man of immense good will and complete integrity. A number of the telegrams, incidentally, called on the convention to nominate Gov. Collins as vice president, or even president. Nor were these from the South and his native Florida only. It is quite likely that he will be the one man to come out of the convention bigger than when he entered it.

Sen. Kennedy reportedly has said in private he would like to have Gov. Collins as a running mate but he took, finally, the one man who would help the ticket nationally.

31a 1960 WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta Ga.

Jack Kennedy Is New Symbol

Los Angeles: Lyndon Johnson's statement that he would not care to give up the important position of Senate majority leader to become vice president emphasized just how far from reality the Texan has strayed. If John Kennedy becomes the next President of the United States he might not wish to have Lyndon Johnson as his majority leader. In fact, he likely would not. And if he does not, there will be a change. Indeed, one of the reasons Sen. Johnson is being considered as a vice president is that this would be a sop to the pride of Texas, but it also would remove the senator, in the event of a Kennedy victory, from his place as the powerful majority leader and relegate him to the job of presiding over the Senate and voting when there is a tie.

There is no question but what Sen. Johnson has been shaken by his experience here. In Washington he is a power often greater than that of the White House, itself. What Lyndon wants Lyndon gets. But here, he can walk through the hotel lobby late at night and few of those who see him know who he is. The delegates have power of their own. It grows out of their districts and precincts. It does not originate in Washington.

Steady Drive

There has been a steady drive over the past weekend by the Johnson forces, aimed at holding their basic strength. Congressmen have been summoned to see Sam Rayburn, the veteran House speaker, and then have been passed on to Sen. Johnson. They have emerged from such meetings with a somewhat dazed appearance. "Their eyes," a reporter observed, "make one think of those little crosses which cartoonists put in to indicate the eyes of a groggy character."

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, reportedly came out of a session obviously angry. He seemed to have received the idea that if he continued to oppose Sen. Johnson he might have a difficult time getting labor legislation in the next four years.

But this is not Washington. The power here is the Kennedy organization. It has more to offer. It has a man who can win the nomination and perhaps the presidency. Lyndon Johnson does not have that sort of magnetic attraction.

So used are we to the status quo that it is not generally comprehended an older political order is passing. Former President Truman isn't even here. This veteran, who wrote in a recent book of calling in Adlai Stevenson and telling him that if he, Stevenson, wished to be nominated, Mr. Truman would arrange it, now sulks in his tent because of what he calls rigging in this convention. What really has rigged this one is what has rigged all the others—the power of the man with the best chance to be elected. Other veterans who served gallantly in the days of the New and Fair Deals are almost museum pieces.

Party Head

As soon as Sen. Kennedy is nominated, he will become the head of the Democratic Party. If President, he will have the patronage and appointive power to break the back of any state or congressional leadership which might seek to oppose him. The old guard of the Democratic Party is finished.

Sen. Johnson learned that his very considerable power as a Senate leader does not have high voltage here. There is a new group in charge of the Democratic Party. Their faces will soon become familiar on television screens and in newspaper pictures. Most of them presently are known only in their home states.

Jack Kennedy symbolizes the change. Young, ambitious, aggressive Democrats are taking over. It is interesting to look at the pictures taken in the early days of the Roosevelt years. In those days Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, Lyndon Johnson, and others were young men assuming control of the party.

So we must get used to the new image. Jack Kennedy, when nominated, will be the new national leader, and if elected, he will most certainly want his own congressional leaders. This may not include Lyndon Johnson at all. It might not even call on Mr. Sam. We nominate a new man and also a new broom.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta, Ga.

South's Demos Play It Safe?

Washington, D. C.: The decision by the Mississippi state delegation not to adjourn its session until after the national convention, for purposes of rejecting the nominations, was a sweaty victory for Southern Senate leadership.

It senses a Democratic victory. And its leaders have for the past several months been privately pleading that nothing be done to jeopardize "Southern control" of the major congressional committees. They have emphasized that win or lose the South will dominate the important committees, especially those on rules. But a presidential victory would give the party patronage. So the Democrats badly need this to hold the affections of their more influential constituents: In either case, the veteran Democratic senators want to be safe.

Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and Gov. Ernest Hollings of South Carolina have been the most defiant. They have resisted the blandishments of senators and congressmen from their own states as well as others brought in as persuaders. Barnett was considered the most difficult and the man most likely to secede. He also is regarded as the most politically unreliable. A volatile man, he boils over easily. Practically no heat is required.

No Feeling

Hence, while Barnett's latest decision not to adjourn his state committee and to make every effort to remain in the convention represents a victory for the "Save the Southern Committee Chairmanships" movement, there will be no real feeling of assurance on the part of the hidden persuaders who brought him around. He may yet go whooping off the reservation if things don't go to suit him.

Gov. Hollings, a more urbane and sophisticated man politically, does not dominate as does Gov. Barnett. But in the end, he is expected to join the "Save-the-South's Committee Power" club.

All of this must [illegible] a puzzle to the average view[illegible] politics. It means simply [illegible] national party is in [illegible] almost certainly [illegible] punish the senators and congressmen from bolting states by excluding them in the reorganization of the Congress next January. Southern members would lose their seniority rights and would thereby be deprived of committee chairmanships which are based on seniority.

Because of this, there has been a determined campaign led largely by the Senate veterans of the South to prevent a bolt at the convention. But there is a substantial element of cynicism in it. Gov. Barnett's action, for example, does not at all mean the state electors will not withhold their ballots from the nominee. The feeling is that the party could not [illegible]n Southern senators from participating in the January reorganization for this as they could the party defiantly walked out of the convention. This may or may not be true. But at least one can argue it as one cannot a walk-out.

Low Ebb

What has stimulated the effort, and finally brought Gov. Barnett around is the belief that Sen. Kennedy will be nominated and can win. Deep South legislative influence is at its lowest ebb in history. About all it has left is the really enormous power of committee chairmanships, especially those on rules. But with a Democrat in the White House, even one they didn't like, certain political patronage plums would come to them. They presently are in a starved condition insofar as being able to do things for constituents is concerned. The scent of possible victory has them eager and alert. They must be sure to maintain the old familiar image of themselves at home, while at the same time they persuade the state organizations to please, for God's sake, do nothing rash at the convention.

Governors will listen, because a Democratic governor will be better off with a Democrat in the White House. So, while there is a sort of lull in the customary Deep South clamor, none should be deceived there has been any change of heart. Politics is ruled by reality.

RALPH
Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
Atlanta Ga.

Kennedy Vs. Truman

In the verbal and psychological competition between former-President Truman and Sen. Jack Kennedy, there is an echo from a book on politics by Harold Laswell.

"The study of politics," he wrote, "is the study of influence and the influential. . . . The influential are those who get the most of what there is to get. . . ."

What there is to get is power.

In his belated campaign to stop Kennedy, Mr. Truman was not without influence.

But, there is grave doubt that Mr. Truman is as well supplied with this commodity as Mr. Kennedy. There is reason to believe the stop-Kennedy movement was never well organized. Originally it was planned to stop him with the Senator from Missouri, Mr. Symington. It was believed that West Virginia's primary would provide the brake on the Kennedy bandwagon. There would then be a stepping up of the Symington compromise. At the proper moment, just before the convention, Mr. Truman would give it the necessary shove by his strong endorsement.

Surprise

But, with an awesome, grass-roots organization which overlooked no single small detail, Kennedy scored a smashing triumph, upsetting the pollsters, prophets and star-gazers. This upset all the stop-Kennedy plans. Mr. Truman hurriedly endorsed Sen. Symington. This gentleman himself began a tour of speaking engagements. But unhappily for him and his sponsors, he was never able to get his political flaps up. He never once rose above the ground.

By then it was obvious that Sen. Johnson, the able and realistic Senate majority leader, was the only man who had a chance. It was one roughly equivalent to that of the snowball in hell, but, then, Sen. Johnson is a cool customer who has nursed several snowballs through the hellish heat of congressional controversy. To be sure they have emerged in a somewhat melted down, or reduced, size. But they came through.

So, even though it was probably too late, and his influence too little, Mr. Truman dramatically resigned as a delegate from Missouri so as to be able to make his charge the convention has aspects of being rigged. He also clearly indicated what he meant by his query to Sen. Kennedy—is the nation ready for you and are you ready for the nation?

Not too surprisingly, Sen. Kennedy answers yes to both ends of the Truman question. It was not too difficult to answer. Mr. Truman could not, the situation being what it was, deliver a blockbuster. In the first place he did not have the influence. Secondly, he was up against the fact that in a sense all conventions are in some degree rigged by forces of influence. One of the most thoroughly rigged in all history, for example, was the one which got rid of Henry Wallace and put Mr. Truman in as the vice presidential nominee in 1944.

Kennedy

The odds are, therefore, Mr Truman's brave charge against the Kennedy batteries accomplished little. Mr. Kennedy still has the most influence. Since politics is a struggle for power he assuredly has wounded a number of persons and alienated more. The pressures applied in his behalf have included some as ruthless and crude as national politics has witnessed. Mr. Kennedy is more influential than most men because of his personal wealth and that of his family. Few there are who will believe that Mr. Truman's television mention of Joe Kennedy rather than John Kennedy, and his subsequent correction of it, was in fact an error. He wanted to remind voters of Joe Kennedy, the Senator's father, who is, to put it simply, not a popular figure.

So, Mr. Kennedy continues the heavy favorite. It is almost certainly too late to stop him.

But, if he is nominated, as expected, the Truman statement will be an issue in the election and will do harm to the Democratic nominee.

RALPH McGILL

Atlanta Journal & Constitution

Rigs, Jigs And Choices

7/4/60

Washington Notes: The consensus is that the stop-Kennedy movement gave up the ghost about 30 days ago and that all the king's horses and all the king's men, even with the aid of Harry S. Truman, cannot revive it.

Collapse of the movement, indeed, is what angered Mr. Truman most. An old rigger himself, he decided to withdraw from the convention and make his second contribution to disunity in as many conventions. He knew the jig was up insofar as his rigging was concerned. Whatever the reasons behind those he revealed, the net effect of Mr. Truman's action will be to lessen the party's chances. There are many reasons to love Mr. Truman but among them is not that of his political self.

There remains the percentage chance to stop Kennedy, but it no longer has any reality. Indeed, the Kennedy managers now are concerned with their major decision after the nomination. This has to do with the vice presidency. If the contest is to be a close one, then it becomes important to try and hold the Southern states, especially those of the border. If there is substance to the farm revolt, as there seems to be, then the South does not matter and a vice president from the Midwest or West becomes imperative. This is the problem. It explains why there has been talk of Sen. Hubert Humphrey and of Gov. Orville Freeman,

More Names

It also is why the name of Sen Albert Gore of Tennessee is being heard.

There will be more names tossed up as trial balloons but this is a decision which will not be settled until sometime after the Kennedy forces have set up open house in Los Angeles and retired behind closed doors.

If there is not a Democratic groundswell in the making, then the Kennedy campaign may be defeated by an inept choice of a vice president. If there is a surge, the choice is not too important to anyone save to the country itself, and few seem to put the country's interests first any more when political decisions are to be made.

It is the more ticklish a choice for Sen. Kennedy because Mr. Nixon has the second chance. He can weigh the effect of the Los Angeles decision and extract from it whatever advantage it may offer.

The third consideration involved in the Kennedy running mate is the alienation of the Truman faction. This does not amount to much in conventions, as 1956 revealed. But here and there in states of the pivotal variety are county managers and influential state leaders who will follow the Truman mood.

Sensible Thing

The impression grows here that Sen. Kennedy has done what many advisers believe the sensible thing and written off the Deep South. The reason for this lies in part in some of the recent statements made by the Senator himself. The fact he would even consider Sen. Humphrey angers the more dogmatic among Deep South politicians.

Even for Sen. Kennedy, it would require a great deal of time and money to set up effective organizations in the South and its border states. If he has a vice president who doesn't offend too much he will carry as many of these states as did Adlai Stevenson. If he doesn't, he will likely lose those which went to Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956. Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina will offer strong Nixon support no matter whom the Democrats nominate.

Also, there is a sort of psychic feeling that a Democratic surge in the Midwest and West is in the making. Reports keep coming in that there is open defection among those who for so long have blindly followed the President. There is a realization that, after all, our military and world leadership postures are awkward and uncertain.

All these elements, and more, are in the air as the Kennedy strategists move towards a choice which can break them if it is the wrong one.

RALPH McGILL

The Evening Star Washington, D.C.

6-3-60

A New Self-Image for the South

Southerners Urged to Stop Living in Past And Look to the Present and Future

A number of news items entwine like ivy on old walls to suggest that the Deep South desperately needs to busy itself with revising the image it holds of itself.

In the Congress, Southerners almost fanatically oppose a Federal aid to education bill. They do this at the same time new and remorseless statistics of the National Education Association show that the Deep South States have a higher percentage of military rejections for mental and educational lacks.

Local governments in the South, for all their insistence on being left alone, in general do less for their school systems than those of other regions. The average classroom teacher in the South is paid far less than those of other States. The shortage of classrooms and of competent teachers also is greater. Yet, in the Congress, Southerners fight even that Federal aid which would do nothing but pay for new buildings.

In Montgomery, Ala., Dr. Martin Luther King, whose name is anathema to the conservative South, especially to the extremist groups, was declared not guilty by an all-white jury in a case brought by the State charging evasion of taxes.

The charge fell apart when the State's tax agent, a white man, refused to let prejudice sway the facts. He told the truth. He admitted he had informed Dr. King he had found no fraud in his tax declaration and that errors had been made in the audit. The State's case collapsed. The jury was out for more than four hours.

No one has said what went on in the jury room, but the presumption is a majority had to persuade two or three members angrily determined to vote guilty, that such a verdict was not justified. The jury system is greatly assisted by the Montgomery action. There is evidence that the old Confederate capital, which lost a long and bitter campaign to Dr. King about desegregating its public buses, has attained a new plateau in its cold war.

A new image of the "Dr. Kings" and of the NAACP is painfully and tediously coming into focus. They are not communistic and are not un-American. The individuals and the organization are operating from a base of law and of court decisions. They eventually will attain the objectives espoused because of this fact. They are enormously disturbing to the status quo.

The extremists who have pictured them as Communist-dominated have done their own cause great harm by creating for the man and the organization an image of lawlessness and subversion. It is true that the Dr. Kings and the NAACP are to most Southerners symbols of all that is wicked and wrong. But, painfully, as Montgomery has demonstrated, the new image comes into focus. Men like Dr. King will not in our time be viewed without bitterness. Nor will the NAACP.

But it is important for the thoughtful South to understand why it is a jury in a city which entertains violent hate of the man found him not guilty. He wasn't.

There is another fact which needs to be brought from Montgomery. The bar of that city openly admired, with much headshaking, the legal representation given Dr. King—especially by a Negro attorney Robert Ming, from Chicago. "Negro or not, he is a master of law," said a reluctantly admiring member of the Montgomery bar.

We are now at a point in the South where we cannot any longer seek to live in the past, however much we revere that past. The present is here. The future begins tomorrow. And the Dr. Kings and the NAACP are a part of this present and that future. They are, however distasteful they are to many, proceeding on a soundly legal and moral base, carefully following the law as revealed by court decisions.

Our educational position is approaching that of desperation wholly apart from the racial problem.

If we and our leadership blind ourselves with false images, we can do nothing but harm to our present and our future. To recognize the truth is an urgent, if unpleasant, necessity.

RALPH McGILL

The Evening Star
Washington, D.C.
Mon. 7-18-60

'Old Pros' Helped Pick Johnson

Reasoned He Could 'Bring Back' South, Win Acceptance by Negroes and Labor

Once nominated, young Jack Kennedy moved unhesitatingly toward a choice which may not have appealed to him personally, but one which produces every prospect of giving him the key to the White House.

He consulted top professionals. Yet it would be a mistake to say the old pros finally ran the show. He talked with Dave Lawrence of Pennsylvania and with Richard Daley of Chicago. They, in turn, brought in Wagner and DeSapio of New York.

Kennedy alone, they felt, could not carry the ticket.

Johnson could also take Texas from Nixon. He would rescue Florida, Virginia and Kentucky from strong Nixon sentiment. He would bring back most, perhaps all the South, which knows it no longer has its old strength and is looking for some face-saving escape. With Johnson the electoral vote total would boom.

There was another powerful argument for expediency or practicality. Kennedy is not too popular with Negro voters. But Johnson did produce a civil rights bill. And with Johnson as Vice President he would be out as Senate majority leader and would have to support the platform, which promises more advances in human rights legislation. This was an argument to be used with the Negro voters. Kennedy, not Texas, would dominate Congress.

Also, the Negro voters in Chicago, Philadelphia and New York are disciplined organization voters. Congressman Dawson, veteran Negro Representative from Chicago and a native of Albany, Ga., seconded the Johnson nomination. In New York, Representative Adam Clayton Powell enthusiastically indorsed the choice. So did Negro leadership in Philadelphia.

All of these long have wanted Senator Johnson removed as majority leader. They now have a platform which is regarded as adequate. They know that young Kennedy will stand on it. With Johnson out the South will be even less strong in the Senate. If Kennedy wins, he will name his own leadership.

The Johnson selection was not popular with labor. Nor did liberal groups approve. But any loss of votes here will be more than recovered by the heavy Catholic vote. Republican Catholics are expected to give young Kennedy a heavy total in the large Eastern industrial States.

So, as Kennedy and the leadership of these States looked at the choice, it had to be Johnson. Dave Lawrence went to see the Texan, who was not enthusiastic. He knew that the people at home would not generally approve. Sam Rayburn was reluctant. But he, too, is a practical man. It is reported that Johnson's health has been a family worry for the last year. He showed the strain of the long round-the-clock fight he led to pass a civil rights bill.

"Lyndon," Dave Lawrence is reported to have said, "You will kill yourself if you keep on. Take this. You will still be an influence. If you don't come on the party will lose and we'll have to work under a Republican again. If we can put Jack in the White House we'll all be better off, you and Texas included."

This, it is said, was the gist of it. Johnson also was told, of course, of all that Daley, Wagner and DeSapio had said. There is no more practical man than Lyndon Johnson. He has made a successful career out of doing and selling the practical.

Politics is the science of the possible. Lyndon Johnson's choice fits this axiom. The logic of it was powerful. With him the party would be the favorite to win in November. Rockefeller has cut up Nixon in New York. In California Nixon faces a heavy Democratic registration, far in excess of the Republicans.

So, while it is possible to call the decision cynical, it was enormously practical. We may expect even those who were hurt by it, and who feel Kennedy deceived them, to learn to live with it. The scent of victory is sweet and a balm to political hurts.

RALPH

Atlanta Constitution

McGILL

31 Atlanta Ga

Destiny Rides With Lodge

Wed. 7-27-60 B-1

CHICAGO—Henry Cabot Lodge, who will campaign with Richard Nixon, is a political child of television. In this sense, he will be a historic candidate. No other man in our lengthening story of national elections has possessed a public image so entirely a creation of the magic screen.

Politicians remember that in 1952 he was defeated by the present Democratic nominee, John Kennedy. They recall, too, this was the year of the massive GOP landslide but that in Massachusetts the young war hero Kennedy reversed it to win by some 76,000 votes. This causes them to wag dubious heads. But the people of the United States do not remember this isolated incident in a New England state. The Lodge they know is one who frequently has been in their homes in the last seven years. Their children know him. He is the urbane, exquisitely polished man they have so often seen in the U.N. debates with the Russians.

Destiny gave him an assist during the Democratic convention. The sudden blazing crisis in Africa required him to play an important role. So dramatic was the story of it that television cameras alternated between him in action and the progress of the delegates at Los Angeles.

Helpful Show

Again this week this same destiny provided another helpful show. In Chicago the Republicans were in a row. Southern delegates and some of the old Taft conservatives from the Midwest were balking at moving into the future. It was not a good show. But in the United Nations Lodge was again at grips with the Soviets and was condemning them before the world as having aggressively and maliciously shot down an American bomber in international waters.

This is the Lodge millions of Americans know. Few of them ever heard of the Lodge who lost to Kennedy in 1952. A pertinent fact of that defeat, incidentally, is that Lodge did not campaign in his own state. He chose to work for the national ticket and his constituents never heard him. But this really doesn't matter. He is, in 1960, the child of television, and as such, he is unique in politics.

Republicans want and need Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, but they can't have him, and they are lucky to have Lodge available. They have been pleasantly surprised to hear from states distant from the East that the ambassador to the United Nations is well and favorably known. With Rockefeller unavailable, Lodge became the one logical choice.

Other Theory

Nixon, who has managed to attain an image of maturity greater than that of Kennedy, understands much of the campaign will be concerned with foreign affairs. Lodge's presence on the ticket will add further weight in behalf of experience and responsibility.

Nixon's other theory of combat is in the field of civil rights. Here he moved with the vigor he is known to possess, but which he was not expected to use with such immediate emphasis. All through the previous Saturday and Sunday he mentioned to intimates that the Republicans in Chicago were making it appear they were reluctant to take a civil rights stand. This had already done harm. So, before he departed from Washington on Monday, he took command by stating he would demand a strong plank. Arriving in Chicago he forthrightly let delegates know he would amend any platform they produced if it did not contain what he wanted.

This was a necessary move. After all, it is he who is to make the campaign. Delegates cannot be so naive or politically unrealistic as to insist their nominee run on a platform he can't accept.

These two—Nixon, the Horatio Alger man; and the aristocrat from New England, whose grandfather wrecked the League of Nations but who now is himself the hero of the United Nations—will carry the hopes of the Republican Party. It is a party not yet quite happy. After all, it has just been carried screaming in protest into the future. But it is there to stay.

RALPH

The Atlanta Constitution

McGILL

Constitution

Nixon's Position Of Crisis

31a White

Atlanta, Ga.

CHICAGO—Richard M. Nixon's course in the decisive days ahead is fixed and immutable. He will fight for a strong civil rights plank in the platform. If it is not included by the committee or convention, he publicly will announce his own amendment and principles on which he will campaign.

The South figured in the deliberations all through Sunday and into the early hours of Monday. It was earlier recognized that the vice president should have been here in person to supply decision and direction. But decision was reached.

Thurs. 7-26-60

A choice had to be made. Nixon has a chance in Florida and the northern tier of border states if he has a moderate platform. They want those states. But the grim and inescapable decision was accepted. Nixon will go before the people with a plainly spelled-out rights position.

As matters now stand, the best thing that could happen to the Nixon campaign would be for some of the South to walk out and for Sen. Goldwater to attack him. The GOP leadership from New York, California, and leading Eastern states, where the huge electoral totals are, is saying this openly. If he is forced to amend a moderate platform by declaring his own differing position, this, too, will be a political asset in the critical key states.

Startling Convention

This is a somewhat startling Republican convention. Never in

s history, save for 1860 when Lin-oln was nominated, has the plat-rm played an important role. their planning for this one, managers naively had allotted minutes for a presentation and option of that document.

They made, too, another error hich reveals their earlier atti-ude that the platform was a rou-ine thing. They arranged to have t adopted the same night they nominate Mr. Nixon. This makes for an evening of drama unex-pected and now painfully antici-pated.

This miscalculation about the platform produced other harass-ments. The leadership had held to the old image of it because the Democrats had not then met. It did not then seem to matter that the committee on labor included many of Sen. Goldwater's sup-porters and conservatives who are of the Sen. Taft mentality. Nor did it concern the planners that the subcommittee on civil rights was on the Southern and Midwestern conservative side. But after the Democrats met, plat-forms suddenly became important.

Lyndon Johnson

And then to the dismay of the GOP, which, with reason, thought Kennedy and some unknown vice presidential nominee would be easy to beat, Lyndon Johnson was added to the ticket. It is ironi-cally amusing that the two men now being most roundly cursed and otherwise denounced by real-ly important and influential GOP conservatives are Lyndon John-son and Nelson Rockefeller. They damn Johnson for having sold out the conservative side. And that Nelson Rockefeller for two days should have dominated the convention news drove them into an apoplectic fury.

Rockefeller's name was booed in some of the late civil rights committee sessions, and by no means all of those so responding were Southerners. Conservative Midwesterners joined. But in other quarters, there is admira-tion for him. He is something new. And certainly he is fighting for what he believes.

But for Nixon there was al-ways the inescapable reality. To win, he must carry New York and the big Eastern industrial states. He is in a position of crisis, and he always has done well in such trials. If he fails, he is politically dead. But he cannot do other-wise than fight for a strong civil rights plank. That he had to do so before nomination may not turn out as it seems, all bad luck. He and his party are in a des-perate struggle for a victory in November. So he does what he must.

The faint-hearted reveal a de-featist spirit. But realists know what a tough, competent man Nixon is, and they have just be-gun to fight.

RALPH
Atlanta Ga.
McGILL
Constitution
"An American To Americans"
Thurs 8-4-60

No more bold or intellectually honest statement will be made in the presidential campaign than that by Lyndon Johnson in what was described as his "k i c k-o f f speech" at Nash-ville, Tenn.

He was in the South. He was in a state ravaged by a campaign in which racial demagogues were in full cry. He knows there are some who strong-ly dislike the civil rights plank in the Democratic platform. He is aware others are withdrawn be-cause Sen. Kennedy is a member of the Roman communion of the Christian church. Some 8,000 per-sons were before him, perhaps a fourth of them hostile.

For a moment at least the devil may have taken him high on the mountain top of expediency and suggested the rewards of tempo-rizing. If so, that devil firmly was pushed aside as Sen. John-son said:

"I am not here as a Texan speaking to Tennesseans. I come as an American—to speak to my fellow Americans.

"That is a point that I want to make unmistakably clear.

"Wherever I go, I will never speak as a Southerner to South-erners or as a Protestant to Prot-estants or as a white to whites.

"I will speak only as an Ameri-can to Americans—whatever their region or their religion or their race."

Honest Appeal

Here was a clear, honest ap-peal to all those in the South who are reluctant or embittered to lay aside their bitterness and rejoin the Union in spirit. He spoke to them in the words of Andrew Jackson, whose stately home, the Hermitage, stands only 10 miles from where the senator spoke and whose name and integrity are a part of Tennessee's heritage:

"Without union, our independ-ence and liberty would never have been achieved; without union, they can never be maintained."

Sen. Johnson went as directly to the issue of Kennedy's religious faith. "He (Kennedy) wears no man's collar," he said, with de-liberate, slow emphasis. "He will represent all the people."

It is important that first of all we see each other as Americans, since, until we do that, we can-not speak to one another as citizens of our endangered nation.

This country guarantees free-dom of religion and speech. But it is certainly not an American practice to condemn a man such as Sen. Kennedy who has an-swered every question put to him on the subject of what conflict there would be between his re-ligion and his oath. He has said there would be none; that his oath to defend all that is in the Constitution would be kept. Let us admit that it is just as damaging to the country to speak as Prot-estant to Protestant as it is Cath-olic to Catholic.

Northern Liberals

Sen. Johnson was speaking, also, to those Northern liberals who cynically said, after Los Angeles, that he would speak softly from one side of the plat-form while Sen. Kennedy stood on it. They would, the cynics pre-dicted, work both sides of the street. Sen. Johnson effectively has killed that charge. He was saying, too, that the South must somehow provide its trapped leaders, even though they are largely responsible for their own predicament, with opinion which will enable them to lead the South into the national purpose.

Surely we know now we can-not abolish education or give our children partial education, and thus deprive them of an equal chance in life. Shall they, because of the bitter prejudices and po-litical fears of old and middle-aged men and women, be handi-capped with inferior education while other American children have first-rate instruction? Sure-ly we know that our waning po-litical strength is not enough. Five or six states cannot dominate 44 or 45. We cannot live apart. We cannot any more defend discrimi-nation than the Southerners of 1860-61 could defend slavery.

Old Hickory's text is as true as gospel.

RALPH
Atlanta, Ga.
McGILL
Atlanta Constitution
Impossible Story, But—
Fri. 8/5/60

One of the reasons Southern political writers find their assign-ments so fascinating is that more often than not the politics of the South make no sense at all, fol-low no pattern, and occasionally take on a pre-p o s t e r o usness which is nearly hilarious.

Such moments lift one out of the sloughs of de-spondency which lie along the road traveled by all faithful pil-grims.

One of these somehow zany moments has been produced by Mr. Eugene Connor of Birming-ham. Mr. Connor, with what seemed like an implied rebuke, has called upon the U.S. senators and the nine congressman of his state to busy themselves in behalf of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket and raise the money necessary for its success in Alabama.

Maybe you don't recognize Mr. Eugene Connor.

He is better known to political song and story as Mr. "Bull" Connor. He led the ill-starred Ala-bama walkout in the convention of 1948. He was one of the behe-moths-of voice, body and effort in the Dixiecrat parade. Since that time Mr. Connor has loudly led dissident movements. He has damned the party leadership up one side of the creek and down the other. Civil rights planks were anathema to him. As police com-missioner he seemed, to put it mildly, to cause some persons to doubt the existence of complete civil rights in his city.

Cherubic Figure

If there were stained glass win-dows in the temples of the Whit Citizens' Councils it is likely Mr. Connor's cherubic figure would have been apotheosized in eac of them.

But now we find Mr. Conno sincerely calling upon the part faithful to rally 'round the fla and get up the money. Not onl that, but he, as state commit-teeman, has named Mr. Willia Mitch, president of District 20 o the United Mine Workers, to serv on the money-raising committee.

Nor is this all. Probate Judge T. C. Almon of Decatur, another of the figures in Alabama's past rebellions, has called upon mem-bers of the state's congressional delegation to "come out of hiding" and work for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

Two paragraphs of his letter reads:

"I call upon our senators and congressmen who were conspic-uous by their absence in Los Angeles, to come out of hiding, pull off their coats, stand up and be counted and work for the party which has been so good to them for many, many years.

Love of Party

"I call on all good Democratic officeholders, both state and coun-ty, who love their party and under which they hold office, to go to work and let's carry Alabama Democratic in November."

Now, while there is humor in this, and while it reveals the per-haps necessary inconsistency of Southern politics, let none over-look the fact this is progress.

It demonstrates there may be, in the dark clouds of Deep South politics, the legendary silver lin-ing. What the hiding senators in many of the Southern states need is the clearing of the air by local leadership such as Mr. Bull Con-nor and Judge Almon in Ala-bama. Maybe some of the news-papers, too, will now reverse themselves.

What we see here is not a change of mind. but a recogni-tion of reality. All over the South today there is a falling off of membership in the pathetic little organizations with KKK in their titles which set out to get fat on initiation fees. There is still a hard core of defiant resistance. But the handwriting has been on the wall a long time. Instead of saying "Never" they now say, "It's coming, but not now." They know the South cannot have priv-ileges of discrimination not ap-proved by the rest of the nation and other peoples around the world.

So, let us all give three cheers and a tiger for the Messrs. Con-nor and Almon. What the Deep South desperately needs is more such reversals of local leader-ship.

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

A Milestone In Politics?

Atlanta Ga. Mon. 5-9-60

No one loves the Southland more than I, but I am afraid that by and large our leadership has been guilty of too much tradition and not enough vision . . . this does more harm to our region than any group of Northern Democrats and Republicans could ever do."

The speaker was Erwin Mitchell, a young Georgia congressman addressing his own constituents in district (seventh) convention. (Because of ill health he will retire next January at the conclusion of his second term.)

The man who thus shared his faith and manhood with the voters who twice had elected him, had served as fighter pilot in the Japanese and Pacific theaters of war and was also a veteran of Korea. The story of the young soldier and congressman is that of a man's coming of age through the resolvement of an inner conflict. His personal ideals and hopes for his state and region clashed with the often cynical expediency of politics.

'The Game'

For the first year in Washington he played the game as the veterans advised it. But "the game" and the dishonest aspects of it became increasingly uncomfortable. The turning point may have been the Alaskan statehood bill. "The game" said vote no. His delegation and most of the South did so. So did he. But, when it was done he knew there was no valid reason why Alaska should not have been supported by his vote. When the Hawaiian roll call came he, almost alone among Southerners, voted yes.

There was no blinding vision along a road to Damascus. He slowly had become convinced that the leadership of his own state and that of the South too often operated needlessly and harmfully from an unrealistic, negative basis which was taking the South hopelessly out of the main stream of national existence.

For better or worse he determined he would speak out as honestly as he could, as conscience and honor permitted, rather than "play the game" of saying one thing in public and privately admitting something else as is the common practice. For this some members boycotted him.

Last week he came home to speak at the district convention. He strongly indicted much of the party leadership in his own state and region which, while wearing the Democratic label, "through voice and vote," joins the opposition. "I can say this," he said, "because I have not, and never will, be a part of the sham and hypocrisy that permeates the ranks of the Democratic Party in the South."

"Through their hue and cry," he said, "they have with great success instilled in the minds of Georgians and other Southerners the false belief that the remainder of the nation literally hates us. They are the ones who constantly cry out that Northerners seek to crucify us, insult us, to make whipping boys of us. . . . I have never found this to be so."

Destroyers?

"Those political leaders who deem themselves the preservers of our way of life might well be called the destroyers of our future," he said.

Congressman Mitchell said further this defeatist, negative attitude (also adopted by much of the Southern press), had caused Southern influence in Washington to decline. This, he said, had cost the Southern farmers support in vital farm legislation.

"This same untenable attitude," he said, warns of federal encroachment and demands the federal government let us operate our schools as we see fit, yet will not allow local school boards freedom of local choice. The same leadership, he said, cries 'states rights' when the Congress enacts legislation to permit qualified voters to cast a ballot, but at the same time is responsible for legislation taking away the right to vote for the Democratic presidential nominee.

A young man had spoken, as honest and dedicated in belief as a John the Baptist, coming from long meditation in the desert, saying "Make straight the way."

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

The Court Gives "A Last Chance"

Atlanta Ga. June 5-10-60

The Deep South school system of Atlanta, Ga., is the first to be served with a direct notice by a district federal court to integrate qualified Negro children.

The court delayed compliance until September, 1961, with notice to the state Legislature that this was "a last chance" notice. The state itself must decide whether it wishes to grant freedom of choice to communities or choose the chaos of no school system at all. To choose the latter would handicap a generation of children for life, as the judge indicated in his opinion.

Georgia's 1959 Legislature created a study commission which met in each of the state's 10 congressional districts. In five of them a majority of witnesses urged open schools, with whatever small amount of desegregation is required. Five others produced more persons to urge closing all schools.

It was a feature of the meetings that those who wanted schools abolished, rather than comply with law, were older persons, some of them quite old. Few of these witnesses had children. One old man, in trembling voice, offered to give his life to prevent any compliance. Some of these spoke in terms of the Civil War. These persons were joined by the various KKK groups and the more extreme voices of slander and deceit.

Younger persons, including some students and parents, spoke for maintaining public education.

Special Hearings

In special sub-committee hearings at Columbus and Atlanta, support for open schools was overwhelming.

The decision, which will be appealed, will, if sustained, project the issue into the bedlam of the 1961 legislative races. It will not be possible to make the choice in a rational atmosphere. But the voting booths are at least private and conscience can there express itself.

The Federal District Court was plain enough in its word to the state—it is a last chance for the people to decide on abolishing or retaining public schools.

The appeal courts must decide, of course, to what extent the constitutional rights of children are being denied. The judge noted in his opinion that the order in 1961 would apply to the 11th and 12th grades. A plan, ordered by the court, had specified a beginning this coming fall with the 12th grade.

Previous decisions by circuit courts of appeals and the U.S. Supreme Court have laid stress on a beginning in good faith. Attorneys who opposed the order extending compliance to 1961 emphasized the fact that the Legislature had refused any permission for local boards to make a start in good faith and there was no guarantee that of 1961 would so act. There was also the argument, supported by previous decisions, that it is not up to the Legislature but the court to say when a beginning shall be made.

Benefit by Delay

The state and the children involved might benefit from the delay and affirmative action by an appeals court in that the people now know what they face. If they can close their ears to the madness of those who incredibly prefer a state in which the children have no access to stable education, with consequent inability to enter colleges outside the state, or to hold good jobs at home, they might then elect a Legislature which would free the people and give them the right of free choice.

One of the tragedies of the people has been that leadership of the extremist type has preached that our existing state laws do not permit freedom of choice, but require schools to be segregated or closed. They have deliberately deceived and confused a troubled people by not telling them that in all cases where state law comes in conflict with federal, the latter is supreme. This is true, too, of state constitutions.

We are again reminded that we are a nation of law and that once the processes of law begin, they continue.

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

Wanted—A New Image!

Atlanta, Ga. June 5-31-60

A number of news items entwine like ivy on old walls to suggest the Deep South desperately needs to busy itself with revising the image it holds of itself.

In the Congress, Southerners almost fanatically oppose a federal aid to education bill. They do this at the same time new and remorseless statistics of the National Educational Assn. show that the Deep South states have a higher percentage of military rejections for mental and educational lacks.

Local governments in the South, for all their insistence on being left alone, in general do less for their school systems than those of other regions. The average classroom teacher in the South is paid far less than those of other states. The shortage of classrooms and of competent teachers also is greater. Yet, in the Congress, Southerners fight even that federal aid which would do nothing but pay for new buildings.

Not Guilty

In Montgomery, Ala., Dr. Martin Luther King, whose name is anathema to the conservative South, especially to the extremist groups, was declared not guilty by an all-white jury in a case brought by the state charging evasion of taxes. The charge fell apart when the state's tax agent, a white man, refused to let prejudice sway the facts. Being under oath he told the truth. He admitted he had informed Dr. King he had found no fraud in his tax declaration and that errors had been made in the audit. The state's case collapsed.

The jury was out for more than four hours. No one has said what went on in the jury room, but the presumption is a majority had to persuade two or three members angrily determined to vote guilty, that such a verdict was not justified. The jury system is greatly assisted by the Montgomery action. There is evidence that the old Confederate capital, which lost a long and bitter campaign to Dr. King about desegregating its public buses, has attained a new plateau in its cold war.

A new image of the "Dr. Kings" and of the NAACP is painfully and tediously coming into focus. They are not Communistic and are not un-American. The individuals and the organization are operating from a base of law and of court decisions. They not merely are advocating legality. What they seek already has been sustained by the courts.

The extremists who have pictured them as Communist-dominated have done their own cause great harm. It is true that the Dr. Kings and the NAACP are to most Southerners symbols of all that is wicked and wrong. But, painfully, as Montgomery has demonstrated, the new image comes into focus. Men like Dr. King will not in our time be viewed without bitterness. Nor will the NAACP.

To Know Why

But it is important for the thoughtful South to understand why it is a jury in a city which entertains violent hate of the man found him not guilty. He wasn't.

There is another fact which needs to be brought from Montgomery. The bar of that city openly admired, with much head-shaking, the legal representation given Dr. King—especially by a Negro attorney, Robert Ming, from Chicago. "Negro or not, he is a master of law," said a reluctantly admiring member.

We are now at a point in the South where we cannot any longer seek to live in the past, however much we revere that past. The present is here. The future begins tomorrow. And the Dr. Kings and the NAACP are a part of this present and that future.

Our educational position is approaching that of desperation wholly apart from the racial problem.

If we and our leadership blind ourselves with false images, we can do nothing but harm to our present and our future. To recognize the truth is an urgent, if unpleasant, necessity.

RALPH
MC GILL

A Letter From Nigeria

A letter from William Gordon, U.S. Public Affairs Officer at Enugu, Nigeria, one of the new African nations, begins:

". . . the inclosed press clippings may interest you . . . they are from the two newspapers published here and are an example of how we (the U.S.) all-too-frequently appear in the news in this part of the world. Such conditions, as they reveal in our country, make it extremely difficult to build and maintain a firm base for international good will and understanding of our country and its people in the newly emerging African nations. It is not easy to interpret the United States as a land of democracy and freedom when the racial image of fear and injustice is so constantly magnified by racist elements in our population. . . . they are doing the United States a great disservice. . . ."

Clippings

The clippings were from the Daily Service and the West African Pilot. Each paper gave the story top heading. In the Pilot the line read, "KKK Resumes Activities." In the Daily Service it was, "Ku Klux Klan Takes to the Road." The first paragraph began: "The militant anti-Negro Ku Klux Klan took to the road in Cobb County, Georgia, last night (March 20) in 100 cars in agitation to persuade shopkeepers and businessmen to display segregation labels in their windows . . . the robed men carried KKK signs and Confederate Southern flags on their cars."

Every day, in every major language spoken around the world, news of the United States is carried by radio and wire to the remotest areas of earth. We are the leader of the Western world. We are the great Christian nation. We are one of the two mightiest military powers. We cannot escape a position of leadership and of providing example.

A great many persons do not understand that the Cobb County story, and others like it, every day are printed and spoken on the air in Africa, Asia, South America and Europe. The Communists comb our news for propaganda use in those nations where friendship for us remains and where we have representatives seeking to interpret the real heart and faith of this nation. Communism has no greater helpers, for example, than the KKK in its activities such as published in Nigeria. Moscow simply could not find an agent who could create such incidents for Communist propaganda.

The least we can do, as a people, is to think on these things.

The Communists, in their propaganda, make frequent use of our pledge to the flag—which is a part of all civic club, school, and other organization meetings. They have been using it lately in connection with the filibuster against voting rights in the U.S. Senate, in the sit-in stories of arrests and beatings, and in the KKK-type news.

The Pledge

The Communists print the pledge. It reads: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, with liberty and justice for all." They then publish some act of racial discrimination, a KKK or Citizens Council intimidation or threat, or some act of violence and say that Americans find it convenient to forget the last two words of their pledge —"for all."

France's great picture magazine "Match" recently had two full-page pictures. One showed a colored man scrubbing the great memorial statue of Lincoln in Washington, D.C. The second page was a picture of the civil rights filibuster. The filibuster was described as "a comedy play" against colored people's voting rights.

The fact the merchants of Cobb County unanimously and angrily rejected the attempted coercion is not as much news as 100 robed men in cars.

But there are Americans who angrily, even defiantly, say they don't give a damn what the rest of the world thinks.

But, for those who do, and those who don't, it is growing late.

RALPH
MC GILL

Nixon and An Iowa-N.D. Game

"When I think about the Democrats and 1960," said an old and moody Notre Dame football guard, "I think of the 1921 game with Iowa."

"How is that?"

"Well," he said, "this was one of Rockne's good teams. We won 10 and lost one. And the one he lost is the one which makes me think of the Democrats and their obsession with Nixon."

"Don't talk in riddles. Tell the story."

"Well, it's like this. If we could communicate with Rock and ask him who was the most rugged, toughest lineman he ever coached he would tell you Hunk Anderson. He was a great one. You got to be mean to play in the line and Hunk was mean. You ask anybody who ever played against him.

"The Iowa game was coming up and we were favored to win by about two touchdowns. But Iowa had a big Negro tackle named Duke Slater. He was one of the best I ever saw. Anyhow, the papers got to speculating about what would happen when Anderson and Slater met. The irresistible force and the immovable object. That sort of stuff. On defense, of course, Hunk, as guard, would be out there against Duke. There were bets being made about which one would leave the game first and all that sort of thing. It got under Hunk's skin. We didn't know it until too late. . . ."

"Well, go on with it."

Favorites

"Like I told you, we were the favorites. The game got going and within minutes we saw it wasn't good. Hunk wasn't playing with us or against Iowa. He had him a big one-man game with Duke Slater. He was boring in and using his hands real mean the way a smart lineman can do. This was in the days before they had the masks with the face bar across them.

"But, while Hunk was playing Slater, Slater was playing with Iowa and against Notre Dame. Hunk was mauling him. But, this big Slater would turn around, real quiet like, to Aubrey Devine, the quarterback, and say, 'Right through here, Aub.' And here they'd come. We tried to get Hunk to settle down, but he was hell-bent on proving he was the best lineman. That Slater never batted an eye. He would move Hunk in or out. And he'd say, when they needed a yard or so, 'Right through here Aub.' "

Rock finally took Hunk out. But the damage was done. Iowa had got the idea they could win the game. And they did. They managed a touchdown and a field goal and they beat us 10 to 7. It was the big upset of the season. We murdered everybody else and some of those teams we beat were better than Iowa. Now and then in my old age I have dreams in which I can hear Duke Slater saying, "Right through here, Aub."

Democrats

"Where do the Democrats fit into this?"

"Well, I'm a Democrat. But it looks to me like the Democrats are all playing Nixon. They have an obsession about him. And so, while they are all abusing Nixon, they are neglecting their own team play, or organization. They are all so confident they can take Nixon they are making team play impossible. They aren't working for a team victory. They are all trying to get at Nixon. They do this separately. Harry Truman blasts all the Democrats, save Symington, as hard as he does Nixon. Mr. Truman isn't interested in the fact the Democrats are cutting themselves up and that he has the biggest knife.

"And all the while the Republican quarterback is running those plays that gain—like the primaries in Indiana, Pennsylvania and California. This Nixon is being very quiet about it. He just keeps saying, 'Right through here.' Makes me real sad. I get sad every time anybody reminds me of Duke Slater and the Iowa game of 1921."

RALPH McGILL

'The Rigors of An Education'

A sentence caught my eye:

"During the past year, national trends have indicated a decreasing interest by today's high school students in the rigors of an engineering education."

This was from one of several annual reports by presidents of universities and engineering and technical institutes which I find to be better reading than most of the fiction in these days. The national enrollment average of freshmen in engineering and technical schools is down an astonishing 11 percent.

But this does not find the presidents to be sad and downcast. On the contrary, they are encouraged. They believe they can double the total of the graduating classes by increasing the enrollment only 50 per cent.

This requires no tricks of magic. It means admitting students of higher capabilities and not wasting the faculty's time, or that of the able students, on a big freshman class, half of which isn't able to do the work.

The engineering and technical schools which are a part of a state university system have had a more difficult time in raising standards of admission and of curriculum. This is especially true in the Southeast and, to a much less degree, in one or two New England and Western states.

Admission

For generations they have had to accept any graduate of an accredited high school within the state. Only in recent years has it been possible to obtain permission to set up admission requirements which weed out those who are hopelessly without background to do the necessary technical school work.

The tremendous impact of the Russian missiles and satellites in orbit about the earth had two effects, one unhappy. It created a popular image of the scientist as a man occupied with outer space and its fictionlike qualities. This has distorted the public opinion about science and engineering.

But it has shocked state educational boards which had been content with the status quo into action. They have at last given ear to the presidents of institutes of technology and allowed them to begin to elevate standards of admission and curriculum. This is good. And since indications are they will be subjected to further shocks, we may anticipate increasing willingness to permit the institutions they govern to strengthen both entrance requirements and classroom demands.

Helpful as this is, it does not meet the real need. The basic fact is that there is in the nation hundreds of thousands of elementary and hundreds of secondary schools which are not preparing pupils to enter college.

Special Dilemma

This is a special dilemma of the Southeastern states and, in particular, of those Deep South commonwealths which presently are engaged in the folly of massive defiance of federal and constitutional law.

Steeped in the bitter tea of propaganda by extremist elements, which threaten political reprisal at any person supporting public education in any slight degree desegregated, they are willing to close their schools, even though a placement law offers them an escape from what they profess most to fear—an over-running of their schools by new Negro pupils.

The children of these states, based on all the statistical criteria, are receiving an education well below the national average. In Georgia, for example, a state legislative committee, after examining the school system, reported with dismay that work at Georgia Institute of Technology and the state university was "beyond" the graduates of many rural and small-town high schools. This is true of hundreds of Deep South schools. If, as threatened, their schools are closed, the educational results will be catastrophic and long-lasting.

The rigors of education are as nothing compared with lack of it.

RALPH McGILL

The Wind About Old Chimneys

For 80 years, and more, the wind has been sighing a song around weather-stained old chimneys which stand like watch-towers in old pastures and second-growth pine, where once the cabins of cotton croppers stood before the South's agricultural revolution began to make itself visible.

There are thousands of these old chimneys over the cotton South. But the song is everywhere the same.

"I got me a sad ol' song to sing,
About the days when cotton was king,
Before that ol' weevil came to call,
And et up the cotton, bolls and all,
Saying—
Time to get goin' man, time to go
And git you a ticket to Cheee-cago."

The outmigration from the South has never stopped. Year after year there has been a steady parade, white and colored to the jobs and the opportunity climate of the industrial North, East and West.

It has been 10 years since the 1950 census. And now we come again to the year of the big count. And this may be the year we learn—when the roll is called up yonder in Washington—there are more Negroes out of the South than in.

1950 Census

The 1950 census reported roughly 15 million Negroes in the United States, a majority of them in 11 Southern states. There were about five million of these in the South who were of voting age. But reliable estimates in the 1958 elections, when the Democrats won dominance of the Congress, showed that of these five million, only 1,321,000 were registered as eligible to vote in 11 states.

This, in essence, is what the civil rights fight is all about in the Congress. The political damage to the South for its failure to act has been great. As the outmigration of Negroes has grown, the power of the Southern bloc in the Congress has declined in almost exact ratio.

In 1920, for example, New York state reported about 200,000 Negroes in her population. That was the year the boll weevil came to the cotton South. By 1958 the count in New York state was 1,319,000. Every great industrial state had the same story to tell.

Voting is the one basic civil right. The Negro became a voter in the industrial centers. The rival parties sought his ballot. And, dating from the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Negro voter was Democratic. He has remained so to this day. But the change has set in. In 1952 much of the Negro vote, in scattered centers, went to Gen. Eisenhower.

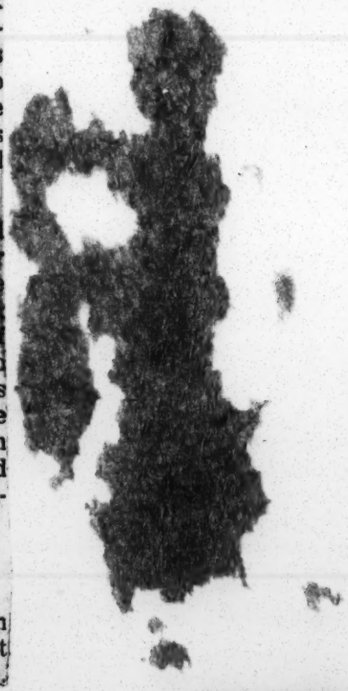
Real Story

The real story was 1958. In that year there was a ballot swing back to the Democrats. There was one exception. The Negro vote was still Democratic. But it was a smaller margin than at any time since F.D.R. And it was less at a time when all other groups were returning.

As of now, it is as certain as things can be in politics that Vice President Nixon this year will receive a still larger percentage of the Negro vote. This is inevitable. The Negro in the large population centers who can vote sees and hears the Southern congressional opposition to his right to cast a ballot. There are restraints in many areas of the South. Alabama's defiant refusal to qualify faculty members at Tuskegee was harmful to the entire South and its congressional leaders.

The vice president has approved the proposed measure to give federal courts the right to appoint registrars in those counties where the local registrars refuse to act. It will, he notes, make district courts responsible and thus keep Washington out of local affairs.

This is another contest in which the South's congressional bloc is foredoomed to defeat. And still the migration goes on—white and Negro. The census will have some surprises.



RALPH McGILL

1/2 or Full-Loaf Education?

For the first time in the nation's history, we have a major endorsement of federal aid to education by a national organization representing the top corporations of business and industry.

The CED (Committee for Economic Development) has published a carefully documented study of the nation's educational needs, and recommendations, titled "We Can Have Better Schools." The CED is composed of 180 men, most of them representing large corporations and universities.

Chief among their recommendations is federal aid in low-income states and a drastic reform of the school district system. There are 45,000 local districts, a majority of which are "much too small to provide good schools at all or to provide any kind of schools effectively." The report recommends reduction to 10,000 districts, none serving less than 2,000 pupils.

This report, which is historically significant in that corporate business formally reveals not merely its findings of the desperate educational plight of the nation and the great waste of young talent in inadequate schools, but its grave concern. State boards especially should find it interesting.

Federal Aid

The urgent recommendation that $600,000,000 in federal aid be spent in the low-income states

certainly should interest both parents and educators.

Mississippi is at the bottom of all percentage findings in the low-income states. There are altogether 12 states which are well below national standards. Four are non-Southern. The Deep South states of South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia are included.

The report serves to spotlight the problem of the states where the court decision against discrimination is at issue. Georgia presently is nearest to a moment of truth in this category.

It is possible to have almost any kind of education. It is up to the people in political power.

In Virginia one county, Prince Edward, has abolished its public schools and set up private classes in churches and private buildings. It is at best a sort of "half-loaf" schooling for its few pupils, a mere 1,500. It cannot expect to be fully accredited. Nor is there any claim that its graduates will be able to enter first-rate engineering or professional schools. It is properly described as a half-loaf and this is what the parents there have chosen rather than accept a pupil placement law. This is a legal choice. The effect on this generation of children and on the community itself will not be possible to evaluate for years to come. How long the community can bear the financial strain is also for the future.

Small Districts

In other states small school districts seek to maintain high schools for handsful of pupils. They offer, too, a half-loaf opportunity. A legislative committee in Georgia, for example, recently reported, after months of study, that entrance work at the state's technical institute and the university was already "beyond" a dismaying number of graduates of inferior high schools. This is a story which fits other states as well.

CED's research reaffirms this fact. Maine, for example, has a problem of small, rural high schools which are offering a "half-loaf" to their children. So do the two Dakotas. But the greatest need is in the South.

Under the CED plan, for low-income states, federal aid would be granted on a basis of the state's average income per student so as to prevent a state from collecting federal aid by permitting their own effort to support schools from dropping below their ability to pay. (The full report is available at $2 and the summary at 50 cents, through CED, 711 Fifth Ave., New York 22).

We can give our children half or full-loaf opportunity.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Mr. Stevenson And the Bridge

Adlai Stevenson answered an oft asked question before taking off for Latin America to become "a learner."

The question, inevitable if unoriginal, was whether or not he would accept the Democratic nomination if offered him at Los Angeles in July.

"I'll cross that bridge when I get to it," Stevenson said, "and I don't expect to come to it."

His estimate of the situation is almost certainly correct. There were powerful elements in the Democratic party which did not try to elect him in either 1952 or 1956. These same factions, now drawn to the anti-Stevenson-Truman magnet, are privately determined he shall not have the nomination.

Stevenson knows this. He has not been playing coy in refusing to say what he will, or won't do, although his detractors have been so charging. Adlai Stevenson is going to be on the conscience of the party leaders for many years to come. He was the last good chance to rally all the elements of the heterogeneous coalition called the Democratic party. But from the summer of 1952 there was desertion and dissent. The result is a party which now has less national unity than it had in either 1952 or 1956.

Second Conclusion

A second conclusion is that even though there is still widespread doubt about Vice President Nixon in the form of undefined "dislike," no Democrat yet has caught the public fancy. The polls, while not reliable, are unhappily the only thermometer we have to measure political fever. They show us that Mr. Nixon is running well ahead of Sen. Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson.

Thirdly, while there is evidence that a Democratic trend still runs in the states and should enable the Democrats to retain control of the House and Senate, it is losing some of its momentum.

At the national level the Democratic party is, to the great distress of those who believe in its fundamental principles, not in first rate condition.

From the time of Andrew Jackson the Democratic party has been one in which the workers of the East, the farmers and small businessmen of the South, and West, and the various immigrant or ethnic groups joined in common cause. They acted in concert in what was called "the politics of protest."

It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who added to this the Negro vote, formerly Republican. Until his primary administration brought suits to break down the white primary device for restricting the vote, there had never been much of a Negro vote. But removal of some of the bars to the ballot coincided with heavy migration to eastern and western industrial centers. The Negro vote became enthusiastically Democratic. This, too, was politics of protest.

Ethnic Groups

We now have reached a point in the development of the Democratic party where the ethnic groups have begun to break away from it. In 1952 and, more especially, in 1956, the Catholic, Jewish and Baltic groups moved heavily toward the GOP. The 1956 elections saw the Negro Democratic vote decline. In the 1958 off-year contests in which the Democrats showed greater strength at the state organizational level, the Negro vote still fell off.

It presently is obvious the Deep South Democrats are lost to the party. They cannot go to the Republicans, since both parties will write civil rights platforms and support right-to-vote measures. But a Deep South third party movement cannot develop any permanent strength.

It is a problem of simple arithmetic. At the national level some of the essential ingredients of the Democratic party have subtracted themselves.

Who remembers the history of the Whigs?

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Sen. Johnson's Coup d'Etat

Sen. Lyndon Johnson's parliamentary coup d'etat enabling him to keep his word, pledged on the closing day of the 1959 Congress, will hardly hurt any chances he might have had at the 1960 Democratic convention.

The Deep South state leaders, affronted by the senator's success in doing what he promised—allow the civil rights voting measure to be called to the floor on Feb. 15—would never have gone along with him anyhow. The more extreme of these, and the number in that category will hardly total more than those from four states, plan to withhold their electoral votes or cast them for some yet undesignated person, or persons. They had never committed their delegates to Sen. Johnson. Some had dallied with the idea of voting for him on the first roll call just to have time to see which way the frog was going to jump.

"The South" is not an issue. That phrase today applies to no more than five states, and by July, four might be a more accurate count.

Long Commitment

The Deep South's long commitment against any compromise and to maintaining defiance of any and all legislation protecting the right to vote, has steadily eroded its strength and made it impossible any longer to attract conservative support. Today the Southern bloc is, as its members say, "a beleaguered little band."

It is simply not possible today to oppose the right of qualified citizens to vote. That this right is denied many areas of the Deep South is admitted. Extremists in Alabama advertised it by declaring members of the faculty at Tuskegee unqualified. They refused, even, to heed a personal plea by the former governor of Virginia, John Battle, not to damage the whole South by their outrageous position. This and other equally indefensible acts have cost the Deep South much in loss of moral prestige and political power.

Sen. Johnson, in outmaneuvering his hostile fellow Democrats, carefully concealed his hole card. His party opposition was so confident it had him in a parliamentary strait jacket that few members were on the floor. Both the House and Senate committees, chaired by Southern members, had agreed to bottle the measures up with tightly placed corks. Thus, the Texan theoretically would not be able to keep his word.

Cherished Rule

But Mr. Johnson, whose skill as a master of maneuvers is well established, did it very simply. He employed one of the cherished Senate rules which allows amendments to a bill, the contents of which are not germane to the amendment. This rule is one often used. True, it rarely has been employed in a major issue. But with the House rules and the Senate judiciary committees holding the bills in committee, Sen. Johnson had to break his pledged word or find another way out. A perfectly legal, long established Senate rule was his lever.

There was great running and calling for absent members to come a-hurrying. But Sen. Johnson had operated on unanimous consent and there was nothing that could be done.

The debate will be long and bitter. There is talk by the more incensed of a filibuster. After a period of cooling off this fever likely will die down, though a hard core group may try it.

Sen. Johnson still will go to the Democratic convention with a substantial number of delegates. He and Sen. Kennedy will unquestionably be the two leaders. There is a campaign being waged by some of the senator's more influential supporters to work out a Johnson-Kennedy ticket. This has little chance of success.

Sen. Johnson will have much to say about who is nominated. And the fact he kept his word, as pledged, will not hurt him. Several of the Southern states will stay with him. Those which won't never planned to do so. In time, the fact he did attach importance to keeping a pledge will prove more of an asset than would any gain possible through breaking it.

RALPH McGILL

The Evening Star
Washington, D. C.

Negro Migration From the South

Census Expected to Spring Surprises On Southern Bloc in Congress

For 30 years, and more, the wind has been signing a song around weather-stained old chimneys which stand like watch towers in old pastures and second-growth pine, where once the cabins of cotton croppers stood before the South's agricultural revolution began to make itself visible. There are thousands of these old chimneys over the cotton South. But the song is everywhere the same.

"I got me a sad ol' song to sing,
'bout the days when cotton was king,
Before that ol' weevil came to call,
And et up the cotton, bolls and all,
Saying—
Time to git goin' man, time to go
And git you a ticket to Cheee-cago."

The out-migration from the South has never stopped. Year after year there has been a steady parade, white and colored, to the jobs and the opportunity-climate of the industrial North, East and West.

It has been 10 years since the 1950 census. And now we come again to the year of the big count. And this may be the year we learn—when the roll is called in Washington—there are more Negroes out of the South than in. If it isn't that, it will be close.

The 1950 census reported roughly 15 million Negroes in the United States, a majority of them in 11 Southern States. There were about 5 million of these in the South who were of voting age. But reliable estimates in the 1958 elections, when the Democratic won dominance of the Congress, showed that of these 5 million, only 1,321,000 were registered as eligible to vote in 11 States.

This, in essence, is what the civil rights fight is all about in the Congress. The political damage to the South for its failure to act has been great. As the out-migration of Negroes has grown, the power of the Southern bloc in the Congress has declined in almost exact ratio.

In 1920, for example, New York State reported about 200,000 Negroes in her population. That was the year the boll weevil came to the cotton-South and began an exodus which has never halted. By 1958 the count in New York was 1,319,000. Every great industrial State had the same story to tell.

This, too, was not without its consequences in Southern politics. It has caused such a steady erosion of power that today leaders of the once powerful Southern bloc speak wistfully of "our beleagured little band."

Voting is the one basic civil right. The Negro became a voter in the industrial centers. The rival parties sought his ballot. And, dating from the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Negro voter was Democratic. He has remained so to this day. But the change has set in. In 1952 much of the Negro vote, in scattered centers, went to Gen. Eisenhower. The trend was more evident in 1956.

The real story was 1958. In that year there was a ballot swing back to the Democrats. There was one exception. The Negro vote was still Democratic, but it was a smaller margin than at any time since F.D.R. And it was less at a time when all other groups were returning.

As of now, it is as certain as things can be in politics that Vice President Nixon this year will receive a still larger percentage of the Negro vote. This is inevitable. The Negro voter in the large-population centers who can vote sees and hears Southern congressional opposition to his right to cast a ballot. There are restraints in many areas of the South. Alabama's defiant refusal to qualify faculty members at Tuskegee was harmful to the entire South and its congressional leaders.

The Vice President has approved the proposed measure to give Federal courts the right to appoint registrars in those counties where the local registrars refuse to act. It will, he notes, make district courts responsible and thus keep Washington out of local affairs.

This is another contest in which the South's congressional bloc is foredoomed to defeat. And still the migration goes on—white and Negro. The census will have some surprises.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL

Constitution

The Law Of the Land

Sun. 2-14-60

St. Paul took great pride in the fact he was a citizen of the Roman empire. He could invoke its laws. Rome gave us the modern meaning of a nation with its two basic guarantees, citizenship and law.

In our time, wherever a citizen is in a country with constitutional law, he is protected by the nation's laws establishing his citizenship. One of the myths which contribute so much misunderstanding in our time is the claim of state sovereignty. Many persons thereby have been deceived, by men who know better.

But the states are not sovereign. The Supreme Court interpretations are in fact, not theory, the law of the land. In the matter of the school problem this fact ought to be very plain to anyone who has followed events in either Arkansas or Virginia. There they have seen that fact of law overcome resistance.

It seems imperative that all possible leadership, in the interest of our country and its common welfare, make the truth known. It may be painful. But it is better to have the truth than misunderstanding.

Sovereign States

After the War of Independence was won the 13 states were each sovereign. They formed a confederation. But because they were sovereign they ran quickly into trouble. There was no central authority. Chaos, enmity and disorder ensued. It became necessary to write a federal constitution which would be the sovereign. This was accomplished only after great travail and debate.

The Constitution was ratified in 1789. Since that time the states have not been sovereign. An attempt to make them so resulted in the Civil War. The Confederate States did adopt states' rights, or sovereignty. Historians are agreed no one factor contributed more to the defeat of the Confederate States than the conflicts produced by states' rights.

Basic Objective

There would have been no reason to break up the old confederation of 13 states which were sovereign, and hopelessly unable to function as a confederacy because of it, had there not been a need to have a sovereign constitution. This was the basic objective . . . to have federal authority. Only by equal citizenship and equal law could a nation be established.

Where is the man today who would be willing for the courts in one state to be able to try him in one fashion and those of another state in quite another manner?

That is why Article VI of the original Constitution is so specific. The writers of it took care to note that it dealt with "the supremacy of the Constitution." It reads as follows: "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or the Laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

This is the way it must be. If state laws are supreme, then no citizen has any citizenship or protection of law outside his own state.

One may, of course, strongly disagree with the Supreme Court decisions. But as Americans, we must understand, lest we be led into folly and into damaging our country, that whether we like it or not, the states are not sovereign and, further, that the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court is the law of the land and all states are bound by it.

Unless we have one law for all and one citizenship we do not have a nation.

Speak Out, McGill

The Atlanta Constitution

Asks Businessmen

Atlanta Ga 31a White

Feb. 12-13-60

NEW YORK (UPI)—Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, Friday urged the nation's businessmen to take an active part in helping solve the problem of race prejudice and civil rights in the South.

"There is a great, conservative body of opinion, North and South, which knows that we can not have full citizenship for some and part citizenship for others," McGill said. "The business community everywhere knows this. But it has not played its part."

LINCOLN DAY TALK

McGill delivered a Lincoln Day address in the great hall of the Cooper Union. It was there that Abraham Lincoln gave his famed Cooper Union address on Feb. 27, 1860.

A collection described as the largest assemblage of contemporary printings and editions of the Lincoln speech was presented to the Cooper Union in ceremonies that preceded McGill's address. The collection was a gift from Dr. Alexander L. Sheff, president of the Speedwriting Publishing Co.

McGill warned that extremists would step in if the racial question was left exclusively to the politicians.

CITES LITTLE ROCK

"Little Rock and then Virginia showed us that not until the business leadership joins in the public debate and has its say, will the debate produce effective results," he said.

"So long as it is left to the extremists, to those who make a profit out of merchandising prejudice, and to those who put themselves and their political position ahead of the welfare of school children and the nation itself, just so long will we have incitement to violence, chaos, a breakdown of law and the national integrity."

McGill said that the South does not have a monopoly on prejudice.

"Each of us, I believe, bears a share of the guilt and failure. And I believe it is necessary to repeat that unless the business statesmanship of the nation joins in the debate, it can not become fully rational."

RALPH

The Atlanta

McGILL

Constitution

What Makes Richard Run?

Democrats understandably are befuddled and frustrated.

The Soviets have won the missile race by at least five years. They have had no real competition from us in the drama of outer space.

The nation, instead of responding to the Eisenhower crusade, has revealed itself as sick with payola and rigged television quizzes. A disc jockey, testifying before a House investigating committee, seriously argued that taking money secretly for pushing records was a splendid illustration of the great American way of life—"I'll do for you, what will you do for me?"

The unconscionable profits of some of the drug companies was also defended as in the best interests of the American system. And just to prove that this attitude goes deep, the police departments of Chicago and Los Angeles were revealed as having substantial members in league with thieves. The meat dealers in many New York shops were exposed as working with corrupt city investigators to cheat customers. They chose to exploit not the rich but the poorest of citizens in that great and exciting city.

Sun. 2-21-60

Phony Propaganda

We are revealed as a people who can be swayed into buying up the records of young singers, often of dubious abilities, merely because disc jockeys pushed the records, playing them over and over for a price. This constant, phony propaganda put them on the various hit lists.

P. 1.

One of these days an enterprising researcher will do an article on this aspect of the hit song business. Nine out of 10 were aimed at convincing teen-agers that they were not too young to marry, that they were old enough to be deep in passionate love, and that to run away from parents who did not understand and to defy the world without benefit of clergy or clerk was romantic and wholly justified.

All of it was shabby business for a country pretending to civilization. Nowhere was there much to indicate there had been any national response to the high ideals of the President and those proclaimed for modern Republicanism.

In addition to this, there is evidence that there is a widespread dislike, or distrust, of Mr. Nixon. How deep it goes is not known. Nor its durability.

Hence, the Democrats, looking at the defeat in space, the lag in missiles, the shabby values revealed by the television quiz and payola business, simply can't understand why Mr. Nixon's political strength as revealed by the polls remains relatively high.

The Answer

The answer is easy.

The national Democratic Party is sick.

Whatever its local and state health, it is not in a healthy state nationally.

It has not one rallying figure. It has not decided what its principles will be. Therefore, no man really can popularize the elements of the party because he cannot define and communicate the party's purposes.

The Deep South core of the party actually insists in 1960 that qualified Negroes do not have the right of federal protection of their ballots. It angrily denounces the rest of the party for not recognizing their right to this position and will do what it can to hurt the nominee in November.

Sen. Kennedy, whose financial status enables him to travel the country in his private plane, replete with staff and speech researchers, presently is the odds-on man to win the nomination. But even so, Sen. Hubert Humphrey remains the only Democratic candidate with any real juice content. And he has little money and less chance.

The Democratic Party is sick. That's what makes Richard run.

RALPH

The Atlanta

McGILL

Constitution

Deep South Teacher Blues!

Atlanta Ga

A news story in The Technique, student publication of the Georgia Institute of Technology, provides a deadly parallel illustrating the comparative poverty of the teaching profession, in general, and of the Deep South, in particular.

That the story should be required reading in the states where there is massive defiance of the Supreme Court school decision and a blind-Samsonlike decision to pull down the pillars of learning seems obvious.

Thurs. 2-25-60

P. 1

January and February are the months when representatives of the large companies visit the campuses of the nation's leading engineering and technical schools to interview job applicants. This is done through the placement office at each institution.

All such schools report an increase in the number of interviewers. This reflects the tremendous expansion of ventures requiring highly trained men and women. The Technique reported 170 interviewers from 73 companies as compared with 145 from 67 companies in 1959. (This is the institution which the state legislature, hied on by extremist citizens' councils, has decreed must immediately be closed to all students if even a single Negro student, however well qualified, is ordered admitted.)

Average Salary

The interview statistics are meaningful, but the light thrown on the comparative plight of the teachers is the more so. The Technique sums up the average salary possibilities as follows:

"The Physics School registered the highest average offer per BS degree given with a figure of $540. This is based on a total of 17 offers.

"The electrical engineering graduate with a BS degree received an average offer of $530, while the average aeronautical engineering offer was $518. Average BS graduate figure in mechanical engineering was $514.

"Average offers for BS work in civil engineering and chemical engineering were $509, while average offers in industrial engineering and mathematics were $502 and $500, respectively.

"Electrical engineering graduates scored the greatest number of BS offers with 176, mechanical engineering graduates received 154, aeronautical engineering BS candidates accounted for 127, industrial engineers took 74, and the chemical engineers were next with 69 offers.

"Bachelor of Science graduates in industrial management received an average offer of $472; however, only 17 offers were recorded in this field."

Starting Wage

Thus, the lowest average annual starting wage for a graduate interviewed was $5,664. The highest average beginning wage was $6,480. This is more than that of some of the young professors in the institution which prepared them. The higher beginning salary for graduates is substantially above that of the average college teacher in the Deep South states.

If we drop down to those who taught the students enough to enter universities and colleges, we find an even more disturbing gap. The Deep South states, which are so desperately in need of more education and seem so feverishly determined to have less, or none at all, pay teaching salaries below those of any other region.

In Georgia, where teacher salaries would be about those of the sister states, the minimum guarantee for a beginning teacher with a four-year degree is $3,000. The maximum guarantee (a master's degree and 10 years of teaching experience) is $4,000. The average is $3,400. In some cities, of course, the salaries are supplemented. These are the state's payments.

Where do we go from here?

We are going, appparently, to close schools. The futures of one million Georgia children and thousands of teachers are not important. The extremist forces must have their day before we act to save education. Several thousand teachers will not sign contracts for next year. Why should they? If schools are closed the state, while morally bound, cannot legally pay them.

Ding, dong, bell!

31a 1960

HITS (RALPH McGILL)

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Prejudice Is A Disease
Atlanta Ga
Sat 1-23-60

In the wonderful world of politics there is a growing worry in both political camps over the general increase in organized prejudice.

The mails are beginning to fill up with sometimes lurid, and always hate-and-fear-inspiring literature. The outbreak of anti-Semiticism in Europe and in this country, while carried out by hoodlums and cracked juveniles nonetheless was group motivated directly or indirectly.

There is an upsurge of anti-Catholic sentiment in some areas, and it is perhaps significant that the groups which a few short months ago were devoting their energies to being anti-Negro, now are including Roman Catholics and Jews in their list of persons to hate and fear.

Since this is a disease, it is infectious, like a virus. Political leaders know that Sen. John Kennedy would make a fine president and that the fact he is a member of the Roman communion would in no wise interfere with his administration of duties were he to be elected.

Doubt Created

But literature already is beginning to appear seeking to agitate and create doubt. We are now at the sorry state where if Sen. Kennedy is or isn't nominated we will have a reaction of prejudice. There will be some who will charge, and believe, he wasn't nominated because of his faith. If he is non inated, the anti-Catholic groups will be more vocal. It is a bad thing and an un-American condition. We badly need some leadership at the local level which will expose this sort of thing for what it is.

Most of the violent anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro material comes from California, Alabama and Illinois sources. Some of the White Citizens Council groups with the more inflammatory publications, publish a list of "enemies" and include in them, for example, the Episcopal and Methodist churches, along with the B'nai B'rith, Zionists and individuals.

The idea is to try to make it appear that Jews were responsible for the Supreme Court decision on schools and that only those Christians infected with Jewish propaganda support the court. The B'nai B'rith is a favorite whipping boy of the anti-Semites. The fact that it is simply a charitable brotherhood organization, with no secrets and no axe to grind, save to try to reveal and expose false anti-Semitic propaganda, doesn't deter the critics. They write of it as a sinister agency surrounded by secrecy and engaged in some monstrous conspiracy.

Youngsters

The first amendment to the Constitution enables the merchants of hate, filth, slander and insinuation to clutter the mail with their filth. Some of it falls into the hands of neurotic, impressionable youngsters who in their sickness believe that they would be great successes were it not for some imaginary control which prevents. Those who make a living out of writing, printing and circulating the hate material rarely get into trouble. They make a profit. It is always some of their dupes who smear or damage churches, synagogues, schools and homes.

Those who work in politics know what damage such a climate can do. The Parker lynching case may seem remote and unimportant to Southerners. But to millions of Negro voters it is important. The South's image of civil rights is that of something subversive to a way of life. In other areas it is simply an attempt, through legal means, to strengthen the Bill of Rights.

All the various forms of the disease of organized prejudice cut across party lines, affect local races, cause some persons to remain away from the polls, and motivate thousands more to vote in anger and vindictiveness rather than for the best-qualified candidate.

Here is a dangerous fall-out, which, if not discussed frankly and scotched by all legitimate means, will do us much more harm than the strontium now in the atmosphere and soil.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
The Painful Facing of Facts
Atlanta Ga
Sun 1-24-60

Georgia is the Deep South state where the school crisis is now most acute. On looking at it, one is saddened to see how the shadow of what may be called Faubus' folly lies over it and enormously complicates the necessity of facing the facts.

Gov. Faubus became the symbol of all the deceptive, deceiving propaganda that states were sovereign; that state law was able to deny federal law; that the U.S. Supreme Court had violated the Constitution of the United States; that states could interpose their authority against that of the federal courts and government.

In the four years that have passed since the court decision, the saddest of spectacles was to see good people deceived by the fire-eaters and the breast-beaters. The school of "You're Another" began to flourish and every Northern discrimination, of which there are many, was described and denounced as if that in any measure had relevance to the South's problem of facing the fact of constitutional law.

The "You're Another" fad was merely another exhibition of the almost fantastic irrelevance which has been so great a part of the melancholy picture.

Extremist Group

That many persons were thereby duped was inevitable. The dragon-breathed extremist group, with their intemperate publications, their denunciations of the court, their slanders and distortion of truth, knew better. So did many of those who engaged themselves in the "You're Another" exercises and those who told the people the court had acted unconstitutionally.

But all the while the processes of law kept moving. The pupil placement law gave to the states more power over education than they ever had before. Cities in Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas, West Virginia, and finally, in Virginia and Arkansas, grasped this law and applied it successfully.

Meanwhile, two states had served as valuable exhibits in the sad story of what it costs to destroy education. Little Rock had not a single new business come to the city after the schools were closed. In Arkansas itself the industrial gain was slowed down. The population loss was speeded up. In Virginia, the effect of closed schools, tensions and disorder was quickly felt and evalued. Gov. Almond led the way along the painful path of facing the facts.

Recently one of the newspapers once committed to massive resistance pointed with pride to the fact that Virginia was now providing the South with leadership toward a desegregated education controlled by the pupil placement law. They have learned it is not as bad as they had feared. The law does prevent flooding of schools because it sets up standards of selection.

Public Interest

In the public interest it needs to be said, once more, even though it is a painful facing of facts, that the U.S. Supreme Court did not act unconstitutionally when it reversed a decision of more than half a century ago. The "Southern cause" is not gaining friends in the North. The state laws which contradict federal laws or constitutional interpretations have no validity. They need only formal testing to be declared unconstitutional.

The small subsidy sums suggested as payment for private education are likely unconstitutional. They certainly are woefully inadequate. In the one Virginia rural county which closed its public schools, the children are getting what is described as "a half loaf of education." It is perfectly legal to make this choice. But half an education is a grievously unjust handicap to place on children. They cannot pass college entrance examinations. They cannot compete for better jobs. Will they thank their parents for this in the years ahead?

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
Not Pledged To Lyndon
Atlanta Ga
Thurs 1-28-60

Reaction to recent emphatic statements by Sen. Lyndon Johnson in New York that there would be a "good" civil rights bill passed this year required no delicate seismograph instruments to register extremist reaction in the Deep South states. It was immediate and hostile.

Though there was no direct connection, there were statements from Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi sources, some official, others knowledgeable, that the delegates of those states were in no wise committed to Sen. Johnson.

The general attitude may best be summed up as follows:

"Lyndon is less objectionable because he is a Southerner, and we may go along with him for a convention ballot or so, just to see how the land lies. But there is no profound support for him because of his civil rights position. If he does assist in putting through what the New Yorkers regard as a good civil rights bill, we won't go with him even for one ballot."

The extremist Southern position, in its state capitols and congressional delegations, is not unlike the French "Colons" in Algeria. Having all these years refused any compromise, and still demanding of De Gaulle that he restore the old status quo, they threaten all of France and are themselves sure to lose all in the final round. Compromise, in time, would have saved a considerable part of the status quo. But the "Colons" of Algeria demand all or nothing.

Early Ballots

But to return to Sen. Johnson. That able and intelligent man likely will run about even with Sen. John Kennedy of Massachusetts, on the early convention ballots. Both are likely then to discover they are in somewhat the same uncertain position. There will be delegations which will then begin to break away and shop for other commitments. Both have some pledges regarded as first ballot only.

Other delegations will watch with what is either traditional cynicism or pragmatism, to see what is coming up on the horizon. It is very desirable to have had a real part in nominating a candidate for the presidency. If he is elected he remembers it. Or, at least, he is expected to do so. But that the Texan and the New Englander will dominate the first two roll calls now seems certain.

The device of the withheld electors is one which intrigues South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama. None claims the plan to have any political morality. It is regarded as a vindictive, spiteful protest, not unkin in symbolism to one of the street barricades in Algiers.

Article Two

The Constitution of the United States, in article two, as amended by the 12th Amendment, ratified in 1804, says:

"The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom shall not be an inhabitant of the same state as themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. . . ."

This provision was enacted before the development of the two-party system, but it has been since observed because to deprive the people of the right to vote for the candidate of their choice is politically immoral and extremely dangerous to the fundamentals of representative government. The people do not vote for presidential nominees but for electors. If the electors then betray the people and refuse to register their expressed will, it can lead only to dishonor, a breakdown in the political system, and ultimately to a constitutional amendment removing the ability to so prostitute the will of the people.

But there are some willing to do it.

RALPH McGILL The Atlanta Constitution

To Swill The Pigs . . .

A Western producer of hate-fear literature, designed to make Americans distrust one another and their institutions, boasts in an appeal for funds that he is among the top three distributors of "nationalist" literature. Two presses are used, says the appeal, one to publish a monthly sheet and the other for printing the tracts which "we distribute in such large volume."

The appeal for money with which to swill the pigs employs the familiar pattern to create fear, and distrust. It describes the Supreme Court as a tyranny. It slanders President Eisenhower in strong terms of having associated with Khrushchev on the latter's visit to this country. It suggests that the FBI will, when J. Edgar Hoover retires, be made into a secret police in the Soviet style. Anti-Jewish and anti-Negro insinuations are a part of the package. The Congress of the United States is represented as being without real leadership or character since the passing of Sen. Joe McCarthy.

Typical Attack

Here we have the typical attack on the institutions of the United States. The propaganda generally is not too skilfully written, but it has as its purpose the creation of doubt in the presidency, both in the man and the office itself. It seeks to make Americans believe that representative government is a failure; that the courts are tyrannical and impose injustice rather than justice. The implication is that communism dominates and that, somehow, Roman Catholics, Jews, Negroes and "liberals" are the cause of it all.

This is the tune, with variations depending on who is playing it, which emerges from the several producers of this sort of fear-doubt-and-hate literature. It is increasing in volume because this is an election year and because there are unusual international tensions presented daily in a flood of words, spoken and written. The average person seemingly hears or sees only a portion of the news.

The Western propagandist of fear and distrust in the American system could boast, for example, that last year he spent more money and distributed more material than ever before. In his money appeal he was using the scatter-shot "scare" approach. He, like the others in this trade, has his own emphasis and degrees of luridity, innuendo, and appeal to emotions and bias.

Without exception, those who thrive in this field are planning expanded services during the election year. This is not new. It is a familiar fact of each political spring and summer. There are always odd-looking persons about conventions handing out tracts and carrying banners in behalf of some extreme, crackpot cause. Halls are hired and speakers rant in them, taking up collections "to save America." The America they want is always one of totalitarian tyranny with "a leader."

Profitable Business

It is obvious that this business, like the sale of pornographic books, is profitable because it serves as a sort of narcotic for the neurotic and twisted personalities which feed upon it. They seemingly require a frequent "fix," even as the heroin addicts and the hate sheet is the needle in the arm. For others it is a favorite mental food.

The community responsibility would appear to be not to make direct attack on the sources, since they exploit such advertising, but rather to meet it by calling attention to the presence and falseness of such propaganda and to counter it by affirmative support of our institutions. This, it seems to me, is the duty of information media, the pulpit, civic organizations, and all other groups committed to faith in this nation and its promise.

If the pigs must be swilled we need only to call attention to the swill and make it known for what it is. To ignore it is dangerous because it lends encouragement to the producers to claim their stuff is undenied.

RALPH The Atlanta McGILL Constitution

Case of Harlem's Adam C. Powell!

When House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Texas) was asked about the succession of Harlem's Rep. Adam Clayton Powell to the chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee, through traditional processes of seniority, he said he assumed Powell would head this important committee. Rep. Barden of North Carolina will retire. Seniority gives the vacated post to the controversial Powell.

It can also be assumed that for Mr. Sam to make this statement caused him great inner unhappiness. Southern Democrats are in a very real state of shock. The dilemma they face is a cruel one. The fact that none has sounded off in a denouncement of the prospect of the Powell chairmanship is an indication of the depth of their political concern.

Adam Clayton Powell is not, on his own record, fit to be chairman of a committee in the Congress. The fact the one to which he will move is of major importance merely serves to emphasize his unfitness. His record is one of inexcusable absenteeism from congressional sessions, of the most unworthily demagogic, extremist positions on race, rivaling the worst of the white extremists. His record of a legislator able to introduce and obtain passage of good legislation is nil. When added to the other serious flaws in his record, all indicate disqualification for the chairmanship of this committee—or any other in the Congress.

Party Problems

Two political party problems are involved.

If Rep. Powell should be refused his post it would cost the Democratic party votes in the congressman's Harlem district. It would be a boon to the Republicans.

But it is the second problem which produces the most agony of spirit for the Southern Democrats.

Rep. Powell ought not, because of his record, to be chairman of a congressional committee. In addition he is one of those most detested by the Southern bloc. Yet, he can be thwarted only by changing the rules of seniority. And it is these which the Southern Democrats have most jealously defended. It has been these rules which give the Southern Democrats greater power in the Congress than representatives from any other region. Coming from one-party states they can expect to remain in the Congress for a lifetime, barring flagrant incapacity or grievous public misconduct.

The result of this is that historically the great majority of committees are chaired by Southerners when their party organizes the House and Senate. Even in Republican years their seniority gives them high committee positions and an influence beyond that of other members whose years of tenure are not so great.

Standing Committees

In the House today, for example, 15 of the 21 House standing committees have Southern chairmen. In the Senate, 12 of 17 are from Southern states. (Missouri, usually Democratic and viewed as a Southern border state, is included in this calculation.) This also explains why there is a reluctance to bolt the party conventions and form third parties. This might lead to reorganizational loss of committee positions.

For years, the seniority system has been under attack. Attempts have been made to reform it. But always the strength of Southern Democrats has been more than adequate to retain it without any lessening of its inexorable power.

Hence, the Southern Democrats must, by the rules, vote to seat Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., of Harlem, as chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. It is one which would sit on major bills having to do with schools, desegregation, and with all labor legislation. And Chairman Powell would be in a position of great power.

Hence, the agony of spirit in Democratic ranks.

They would rather die, as the saying goes, than seat Powell. But to change the rules is as bad. What to do? What to do?

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

Kennedy: New Chapter

One reason why a boomerang effect is believed to be following the more unreasonable aspects of the attempt to exclude Sen. Kennedy from the presidency because of religion, lies in the unique racial complexity of the large cities of this country.

American urban society has been, almost from its beginning, pluralistic. That is to say, it has of necessity accommodated itself to the presence of different racial strains, German, Irish, and Jewish. Later on, after the vast waves of immigration, there began a slow process of integration of Italians, Poles and peoples from Central Europe.

The result is that in New England and the industrial North, the cities long have been accustomed to operating in a pluralistic fashion. On all the public drives, as in politics, committees and candidates are selected so that each group in the city—Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant—are represented. The pluralistic fact of life for a long time has required that labor be represented. In the past decade the American Negro, making his own bid to become accepted into "pluralism" of urban life, frequently is being named to civic and political committees. In a growing number of cities Negroes are being nominated and elected to office.

Ticket Balance

Now and then this has led to such obvious straining to balance rival political tickets as to become preposterous and productive of a poor quality of men in public office. But if public campaigns of civic endeavor are to succeed, and if political parties are to provide attractive tickets, then it is necessary to see that the pluralism of their civic life is represented.

The frequent straining to "balance" political tickets racially at times appears ridiculous. It is, however, an inescapable fact of our urban life at its present stage of development that government and community life function better when the pluralistic quality is employed.

It offers a feeling of representation to minority groups. It is, of course, at times abused. When there is one large group which dominates numerically the temptation is always there to abandon pluralistic representation. Hence, the balancing of tickets in the larger urban centers with Jews, Roman Catholics, Irish, Polish or Italian, and Protestants. It isn't wholly admirable. It denies the "best man" policy. It often produces inefficiency because of an incompetent choice. But it works. And it does so because politics remains "the science of the possible." Until we become more like angels we shall have to go along with pluralism when the facts of population demand it.

It is precisely here that the backfire against those who have sought to bar Kennedy on the basis of his religion, despite his clearcut endorsement of every detail of the Constitution of the United States, is already in evidence. Certainly the Roman Catholic Church is anti-communistic and to oppose Kennedy for being a Catholic and at the same time say he is not strong enough against Khrushchev is maliciously inconsistent.

Minority Groups

Certainly all minority groups will feel an almost compulsive impulse to support Kennedy. If one element of the pluralistic life of our great urban areas is to be so attacked, then all are in danger. There will be an emotional pulling together.

A good 65 per cent of the Catholic population of this country lives in 11 big cities. If Kennedy can take New York and California, the ball game will be over.

This fact, incidentally, may be the pivot on which Southern political leadership will turn to Kennedy. Above all it does not wish for Kennedy to win without the South and thus expose the false position of its leadership. If Kennedy begins to gain, the South's foot-dragging political leaders will hurry to join up

RALPH McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

An Odd Way To Help Out

Democrats in Alabama who really want the Kennedy-Johnson ticket to win are distressed over

what seems to them a deliberate attempt either to affront the party's nominee or to sabotage their campaign in the state. Their resentment is the deeper because they are helpless to do anything about getting rid of it.

The Alabama Democratic Campaign Headquarters, in a downtown Birmingham hotel, has put the Democratic rooster symbol at the top of the party's campaign stationery underneath a banner reading "White Supremacy."

This makes it embarrassing, and politically hazardous for speakers to come into the state under such sponsorship. Sen. Johnson, for example, is scheduled in Birmingham on Oct. 14. Democrats who suspect this is sabotage reason that Sen. Johnson's unpopularity with liberal groups in the West and North is well known to Alabama Democrats who publicly or privately have bolted the ticket because of civil rights legislation and platform. They are suspicious that the "white supremacy" slogan appears on the party letterhead in the state not merely to arouse hostility against the Democratic nominees in the non-Southern areas with large Negro registration, but also as a possible trap for Sen. Johnson. If he speaks under the auspices of a white supremacy organization he will provide ammunition for his and his party's enemies.

Barrier

The party stationery is suspected because use of this symbol and the supremacy banner above it, will make it difficult for Negro voters in Birmingham, Mobile and Montgomery, to support the Democratic nominees. There is a substantial urban Negro vote and the Democrats this year will need all the ballots they can find to squeeze out a victory in Alabama.

The party's senators and congressmen are captive in Alabama, as in other Deep-South states, of conditions they have helped create. They are afraid that if they actively campaign for the candidates they will alienate the political power structure in many counties where the religious issue is strong and resentment of the government's support of the Negro right to vote is great. To create hostility in these counties would be to bring out opposition in the next primaries and to set up a din of denunciation.

For some years Alabama has been a state in which great resistance developed against even so basic a right of the Negro to register and vote. A short time ago a Birmingham grand jury actually indicted a New York Times reporter for his stories of what he learned about racial tensions and acts of violence in that area. Newsmen generally evalued this as an act of intimidation, having as its major purpose the discouragement of objective coverage of the subject in the state. The brave young governor, so enthusiastically elected, has lost most of his popularity. One reason for this was his early and continued support of Sen. Kennedy despite the religious opposition to the nominee. The tensions, all tinged with civil rights emotions, are a partial explanation of the state organization's use of a white supremacy banner on its official stationery.

Damage

Whether sabotage is behind it or not, the fact remains that in the long run neither Alabama nor the South will profit from this or similar pettiness. The present attitudes of Southern political representation in the Congress will deserve nothing of either Sen. Kennedy or Vice President Nixon. It is not surprising that there is building up a demand to modify congressional committee rules because of long abuse of committee power.

Attacks on the party's civil rights plank are amusing in that the GOP plank is much more direct. It will, if Nixon is elected, be enacted into law. There is a very real pathos in seeing men with great names and prestige have to stand and denounce the platform before they affirm their decision to vote for the ticket.

No Southerner, of whatever political affiliation, can be proud of the present regional political schizophrenia.

Ralph McGill

The Atlanta Constitution P.1

Nixon Woos Minority Votes In N.Y. Garment District

Atlanta Ga. 31a White 10-6-60

ON TOUR WITH NIXON: One of Richard M. Nixon's milestones in the campaign is likely to be marked with a plaque at the corner of 38th Street and Seventh Avenue, in the heart of New York's garment industry.

This is the site where Mr. Nixon at long last shelled down the corn.

Just when reporters were becoming bored with the vice president's basic speech, which has been something like a well-thought-out valedictory address full of promise and Pollyanna, Mr. Nixon suddenly came out of his corner slugging with both hands on the civil rights issue, and most especially the controversial sit-ins.

It may be, of course, he was inspired by the presence on the platform of Gov. Rockefeller and Jackie Robinson, onetime Negro Brooklyn Dodger baseball star. Neither was seen to nudge him, but the belief is they had had a talk with him in the early morning hours. There was a New York breakfast at which Jackie Robinson, one of Har-

Third in a series by publisher-columnist Ralph McGill on the issues and personalities of the 1960 presidential campaign. Later, he will join the Kennedy campaign tour.

lem's aggressive figures, had said to a packed ballroom that his first choice had been Hubert Humphrey, liberal from Minnesota, but that Mr. Nixon always had been his second choice. It was a backhanded compliment, but the crowd cheered it, and Mr. Nixon laughed.

But it was on his visit to New York's garment center that the vice president suddenly forgot his calm, folksy formula. Almost above his head were the street banners of the Liberal party, urging voters to support Kennedy and Johnson.

The vice president, after shrewdly revealing his talks with Nehru, Khrushchev and Gromyko, got around to civil rights. He said the North had not gone far enough. It, too, had not been honest. He mentioned that Sen. Javits and others had done all they could. It was now up to the government to lead indirectly. This is a rebuke to President Eisenhower, although the vice president almost certainly did not so mean it. He did say the U.S. attorney general had been leading and would continue so to do.

We cannot, he said, with complete truth, talk one way in our foreign policy to peoples overseas, and then allow Mr. Khrushchev to come to America and point out our own failures to achieve racial justice. He turned then to the sit-ins. In his audience were many Puerto Ricans and Negroes who now fill most of the jobs in the garment industry.

We must throw the weight of government behind the move to wipe out this blot on our national life. The blot, he said, was symbolized by the inability of a colored citizen to have a sandwich or a cup of coffee at lunch counters in America.

The attorney general, he said, called in heads of chain stores and obtained from them an agreement to eliminate this blot in some areas of the South. The vice president said this was one of the best ways a government could work in a field where legislation is blurred or ineffective. He pledged, if elected, to dedicate himself to cooperating in all moves to remove this blot on our record as a democracy.

This will, of course, come as a shock to those Southern newspapers and political leaders who have committed themselves to Mr. Nixon on the naive belief he really doesn't favor a civil rights program. That he should make the sit-ins a major issue and describe them as a blot which must be removed will the further embarrass those who have somehow thought Mr. Nixon privately was sympathetic with the White Citizens Councils and the abuses of states rights.

The garment workers speech followed hard on the heels of one at Fordham University in which he urged the students to go back to their communities and work to remove all racial discrimination.

It will be difficult for Mr. Nixon to avoid including this in speeches during the weeks ahead. Until the drama of 38th Street and Seventh Avenue, he had talked about civil rights merely as a national problem. Now he has spelled it out in the sit-in issue.

His speech was believed inspired by talks with Negro leaders, and with Gov. Rockefeller, who thinks New York State is doubtful. At times in New York, the vice president sounded almost like Sen. Kennedy.

This addition to his basic speech will, if eliminated in the future, become a subject of adverse comment.

Necessity once again is revealed as the mother of invention and innovation.

Ralph McGill

31a White

Mill Owners, Church Issue Helping Nixon in South

The Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Front 10-7-60

TOURING WITH NIXON—As one dips in and out of the South with the Vice President's air caravan, the dilemma of Sen. John Kennedy and his party comes slowly into focus.

A concrete example would be North Carolina. When Mr. Nixon arrived at Charlotte, seat of historic Mecklenburg, his first official business was a private conference with textile manufacturers and others with associated interests.

The meeting was not at all secretive, though the press was not admitted. The manufacturers had informed newspapers they hoped for a crumb of comfort from the vice president.

Some of South Carolina's textile managers have been openly and proudly in support of the nation's current tower of conservation, Sen. Barry Goldwater. Much of his Chicago convention

Fourth in a series by publisher-columnist Ralph McGill on the issues and personalities of the 1960 presidential campaign. Later, he will join the Kennedy campaign tour.

campaign reportedly was financed by these admirers. The same pattern prevails in other cotton states.

The situation in the South is that the power structure in each state, so far as it is able, is working very hard for Mr. Nixon for the very pragmatic reason that it believes its business interests require it. That this structure is the more influential in those states where the Democratic Party leadership is silent, or almost so, is, of course, obvious.

The South, for some years, has slowly been shifting from the historic position of free trade to one of protectionism. One somewhat ironic reason for this has been the movement of textile plants from Kennedy's New England to the cotton fields.

The recent session of the Southern Governors Conference at Hot Springs, Ark., saw this change become official. In what certainly will be regarded by researchers of the future as a historic document, the chief executives of Dixie unanimously adopted a resolution asking the government to enact protective legislation and to provide all possible protection by exercise of presidential powers.

The active political support for the vice president by this industrial power structure is by no means new. It functioned in 1952 and 1956 for Mr. Eisenhower. But it is even more energetic in 1960.

This is one horn of Sen. Kennedy's dilemma in Dixie.

The second is that of religion. Without much question, there is some backfire against those ministers and organizations which have been busiest in declaring against the Democratic nominee because of his religion. Many people have accepted his forthright statements and his eloquent testament of faith in the Constitution of the United States. Some few persons here and there have publicly quit their church.

But others have been driven underground, so to speak. They don't talk about it. It is not popular to oppose a young man whose loyalty to his country has been proved in battle and public service for 14 years. But in every city, the story is the same—the religious issue, like still water, runs deep.

The two forces present the dilemma against which Sen. Lyndon Johnson and Kennedy contend. They explain why Sen. Johnson's nomination did not swing the South in line with New England as had been anticipated. There is no mystery about it. It also is why South Carolina and other Deep South states, traditionally Democratic, are producing more pro-Nixon sentiment than was evident for Mr. Eisenhower. One or two may even go GOP. But thoughtful Republicans should take notice.

The objective is to work both sides of the street. They would elect a Republican president and retain the one-party system in the South. There is no real two-party plan in it. It is enormously cynical, but combined, the forces are considerable.

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

'The Path Not Taken'

Atlanta, Ga.
Journ. 3-31-60

Democratic organizations of 14 Midwest states have held a conference. They agreed on a strong civil rights plank which will be introduced in the July party convention, "come hell or high water."

There were two other strongly put divisive developments.

Paul Butler, national chairman of the Democratic party, reaffirmed a previous statement that no delegation which refused to support the nominees would be seated in the convention. He urged "loyal" Democrats to send alternate delegations and contest for the seats.

The convention, and not Mr. Butler, will decide who will be seated. But the probability the delegates will vote with Mr. Butler should not be dismissed. Secondly, some Southerners recommended, in reprisal, a "neutral" or unpledged elector plan for those Southern states which did not wish to accept the nominations of the party convention.

Such a plan is entirely legal. The American voter does not, of course, vote for the nominees. Ballots are cast for electors pledged to the two men chosen by each convention as its presidential and vice presidential candidates. If the electors are unpledged, then the people are deprived of their constitutional rights. They cannot vote for those who will represent them.

Unpledged Elector

The registered Democrat in a state which decides on such a plan can vote only for "unpledged" electors. He arbitrarily is denied the right to vote for the man he wants to see president. State politicians will decide what they wish to do with the electoral votes. It is legal, but the morality of the plan hardly commends itself to conscience.

Paul Butler has been as consistent as that volatile man can be. He and others in the Eastern and Western wings of the party decided after the 1956 convention that one of the major factors in the defeat of Adlai Stevenson was his attempt to appease the Deep South faction and hold it in the party. In 1956 Stevenson made trips into the South, talked to state legislatures, met with party leaders, and otherwise worked for unity.

This had the effect of creating suspicion about him and his purposes. In the California primary, which he won, he encountered frequent charges he had sold out to the Southern extremists. This same charge made it impossible, in the opinion of Chairman Butler and others, to win the support of the big city votes in the East and West. Democratic organizations in them, knowing they could not stir the voters, dumped the national ticket and went all out to elect their local tickets of mayors, governors, congressmen and U.S. senators.

Civil Rights

Chairman Butler and those who agree with him never forget that fact. They determined, as early as late November, 1956, never again to agree to any plan to hold the Deep South if it meant watering down a civil rights program. That the 14 Midwest states, in which the farmers are disenchanted enough to make possible a Democratic victory, have agreed with him in taking so firm a stand in this issue makes it very plain indeed that Mr. Butler is not talking because he is in love with the sound of his voice.

His thinking, and that of those with him, is that the same factors which elected underdog Harry Truman in 1948 can be assembled in 1960. That is the big city vote and the discontented farmers. This combination sank the confident Gov. Tom Dewey. This group firmly believes it will lose the city vote if it in any degree appeases the Deep South segregationists.

There is, of course, no prophet who can say what the convention will do. It may upset Mr. Butler's plans. But if the Deep South delegates go there proclaiming they will not accept the decision of the convention they will give muscle to the national chairman.

Take a look at the Democratic party. It will never look the same again. (In fact, it hasn't for at least a dozen years.)

RALPH McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

The Eggheads Win and Lose

Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 6-13-60

This finally gets around to saying why Adlai Stevenson's long-shot chances for the Democratic nomination have been lessened. But a preamble is necessary.

Members of the "What-can-just-a-few-persons-do?" club might look with profit toward New York, and the unhappy dilemma of Carmine DeSapio. Mr. De Sapio's position as Tammany leader was so shaken by the recent Democratic congressional primary results that he is near the end of the leadership row. He will not last beyond the November election. He may resign before then.

It was just October, 1958, that the legendary handful of persons started blowing trumpets about the walls of Tammany. And while the barriers have not fallen they are badly breached.

The story is all the more improbable because the trumpets were sounded by a small group of Adlai Stevenson eggheads.

In that fateful October of two years ago, Carmine DeSapio dictated the nomination of a faithful member of Tammany as the nominee for the U.S. Senate. Frank Hogan had done an excellent job in the district attorney's office. But he was not the popular choice for the Senate post. The organization had its way. Hogan was defeated. In the same election Gov. Averell Harriman, a heavy favorite, was overrun by the surprising newcomer, Nelson Rockefeller.

In Revolt

Three mavericks emerged in revolt—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Thomas K. Finletter, one of Adlai Stevenson's stalwarts, and Herbert Lehman, the veteran Democrat who played so great a role in the U.S. Senate during the Roosevelt years. They formed a committee with the avowed purpose of reducing Tammany influence and nominating candidates of better quality.

For a year they were viewed with amused condescension.

But this month the reform movement won two important congressional tests. They smashed Tammany's fingers. Two Democratic congressmen, who will be free to act without organization direction, will make a lot of difference in New York politics.

There also is a national chapter. The Roosevelt-Finletter-Lehman achievement was a triumph for Stevenson's friends and principles. But, nationally, it reduced Stevenson's chances for the nomination. And, should he somehow gain it, the possibilities of his winning the election are lessened. He would not receive the necessary help in New York City to offset the heavy up-state Republican vote.

Sad Story

The Democratic Party story is a sad one. Its opportunity for success in the presidential test is substantial. Yet, it is likely that no matter who the nominee may be, he will not receive wholehearted party support. This is particularly true of Stevenson. The organization leaders in the large states dragged their feet when he ran in 1952 and 1956.

In the South we have the compulsive inbred vindictiveness of the Mississippi Democrats, who prefer to bite their own tail and howl at the pain of it, rather than go along with the national party. They may be joined in this political idiocy by South Carolina. In Alabama the advocates of this school, who control the information media and all the political outlets, were shocked that nearly 50 per cent of the voters prefer to have some morality in politics. The bite-our-own-tail-and-howl school is not now as cocky as it was some months ago. In some of the large Eastern states, with big electoral totals, the party power struggle has created somewhat costly divisions.

It is one of the glories of the Democrats that they have opinions and fight about them. They are not a regimented party. But here of late they have lost so much blood in family feuds they can't win the main event. The New York victory is wonderful for government—but nationally it can be painful—especially for Adlai Stevenson, should fate give him the nomination.

A Change For Atlanta's McGill

The Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala.

Over Atlanta way, the venerable *Constitution* last week underwent a change. Editor Ralph McGill became publisher, replacing Maj. Clark Howell who is retiring, and up to the editorship moves Executive Editor Eugene Patterson.

It needs no saying that with *The Constitution's* point of view as largely molded by McGill, this paper and a great many Southerners have disagreed, and in our opinion with reason. But it must be said for McGill that he has given to his profession his full poundage and it is not to be thought that he is being facilely led to slaughter by do-gooders or Northern reformers. He is sincere in his beliefs, and they are founded on no small knowledge of his Southland.

Quite typical of the McGill approach, of course, was his column the day after he wrote another about *The Constitution's* changing of leadership.

He was remarking about Southern congressmen's opposition to federal aid to education as projected by some in Washington. And he noted the acquittal of Rev. King in Montgomery, saying that there is evidence that Montgomery "has attained a new plateau in its cold war."

"We are now at a point in the South," he columned, "where we cannot any longer seek to live in the past, however much we revere that past. The present is here. The future begins tomorrow. And the Dr. Kings and the NAACP are a part of this present and that future."

With such an approach, of course, we take, have taken, issue. For it seems to us that there is no realistic gain in accepting "token" integration, and that is all that, spuriously, is gained in most Southern integrated communities. Further, the McGill approach calls for education, which means leadership aimed at bringing acceptance of such change. Yet it seems to us that when we look about all the United States, we find the deep human reluctance to accept mixing on all levels, virtually, actually growing.

Replacing McGill as editor (though McGill will continue his column) is Eugene Patterson, a youngish, dynamic newsman. He marks his credo down very plainly as being in the McGill footsteps.

RALPH
The Atlanta
MC GILL
Constitution

Young Queen Of Capitals

WASHINGTON, D.C.—This is a wondrous, beautiful city. There is no capital anywhere which can match it in loveliness. London has more majestic dignity and more of a presence of history. Copenhagen is a delight. Stockholm has her own enchantment of sea and stone. Paris is Paris. But Washington is the young queen of capitals and she is now at her loveliest. In the spring her buildings seem to bloom almost as much as the flowers. The jade green of the new leaves on her many trees is a color to make one stop and look in admiring wonder.

And history is here, too. The Supreme Court Building is the center of it. Our history is one of law. It grows out of the fact that our forebears created a system of law which gave the individual dignity and responsibility. All our history radiates from the Supreme Court as spokes from the hub of a wheel.

The Supreme Court is the custodian and interpreter of the Constitution and the Constitution is the symbol of our nation. We are a young country but our Constitution is the oldest such document in the universe. Its principles inspire persons all around the world.

Tom Jefferson

It was in this city that redheaded Tom Jefferson left his boarding house, mounted his horse, and rode off to the Capitol to be inaugurated as President. It always is good to take a taxi out to his memorial reflected in the pool before it. It is beautiful as a Greek temple has beauty. Jefferson had a mind which was as ordered and disciplined as the clean, clean architectural lines of his memorial. It was his mind, more than any other, which broke the old thought structure of his time. He shook down the foundations of rule by divine right with his contributions to the Declaration and the Constitution. There is not here the almost tangible sense of history one feels in London or Paris. But Jefferson is here. And so is Lincoln.

One can stand at Lincoln's Memorial and watch the people who come. A little girl asks, tugging at her mother's skirt, "Why is he so sad, Mama?" A boy says, "He seems about to speak. He is making a big decision and he will tell us about it."

Lincoln is here. We cannot pass the White House without thinking of him during the grim days of the Civil War when the future of the Union hung in the balance. Andrew Jackson is here. And Woodrow Wilson and Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt. Though they do not intrude on one's consciousness, fearful Buchanan and the desolate and inadequate Harding. The dry, unimaginative Coolidge. But essentially, this is the city of Jefferson and Lincoln.

Youngsters Come

Spring is the time when the youngsters come. They arrive by train, plane and chartered bus. Senior classes from high schools over the nation come to see their nation's capital city. One encounters them in the corridors of the Capitol Building, at the White House, the Supreme Court, and in the chambers of the Senate and House. One wonders what image of their country they bring with them. All ages learn what we live and live what we learn.

They come from farm and city, from homes which believe in America, and from those which distrust it and its institutions.

The schoolboy patrols come. It is not always easy to meet the eyes of the Negro youngsters when we see them and the flag and remember the pledge of liberty and justice for all. The editors come in annual convention and debate the problem of the press. The Daughters of the American Revolution come, and they seem timorous and afraid of anything revolutionary.

In the spring in Washington the badges bloom as prolifically as the flowers. It is a city of badges. The hotel lobbies seem always filled with the same faces. Only the badges change.

But if one gets out of the lobbies and the convention rooms, Washington is a wonderfully beautiful city to see.

RALPH
The Atlanta
MC GILL
Constitution

The Victory Defies Analysis

LOS ANGELES—Political scientists, for years to come, will be studying the triumph of Jack Kennedy in the Democratic convention, much as military strategists pore over the valley campaigns of Stonewall Jackson; for let no one be deceived, the young man from Massachusetts won the hard way before the roll was called. And he did so with plans which included all routine political techniques, but which were so boldly conceived and executed as to defy immediate analysis.

He won without the South. This he hoped to do. In his plans, which began to be compiled three and one half years ago, he and his aides planned it that way. He has not sought to fragment the nation, but he has aimed at the vast states with any industrial concentrations and at those Western farm areas which are in need of federal aid and irrigation, or of agricultural legislation.

The South, which has been reduced to near political impotency, has become a problem for all national candidates. It demands, but it never concedes.

Civil Rights

As one of the Kennedy staff said, "We decided to go for a platform plank on civil rights which, in our opinion, simply stated the facts. We knew from past conventions that no matter how mild such a bill might be, the South would object; so we decided this year to gamble and lay down fully the principles of equal justice and opportunity."

Kennedy does not want to alienate the South. He will visit it and seek its votes, but his appeal there will be to the region's young politicians who realize that the Spessard Hollands and Gov. Almonds speak for the past and will, if they dominate, set the South back a half century.

The Kennedy campaign disturbed some people. It had a great deal of the electronic age in it. He employed polls, computers, and many IBM machines. His efforts were of the most exacting, painstaking, careful sort. Data was fed into the computers and results obtained. Kennedy does hire specialists and experts, and he listens to them. He has come a long way from the old political technique of getting votes by kissing the babies.

It was this presence of the IBM machine shadow in his campaign which disconcerted and disturbed some of the delegates and perhaps voters as well. It was never really a happy convention.

Preparation

The Kennedy preparation was smooth, rehearsed and efficient. Not one tactical mistake was made. There were two highlights of brilliant strategy. The first was the announcement on Saturday morning by Governor-nominate Terry Sanford of North Carolina that he would vote for Sen. Kennedy. This indicated Sen. Lyndon Johnson was losing his Southern support. It also put the pressure on the big state delegations to hurry and make up their minds.

The second was on Wednesday morning. Somehow, perhaps because of the great affection for Adlai Stevenson and the aggressive claims of Sen. Johnson, the unfounded report had gone abroad that Kennedy was slipping. At this moment the Kennedy office simply announced that New Jersey would cast most of its votes for Kennedy after a courtesy vote for its governor. This halted the revolt story.

The Stevenson chapter was very sad. Never did any man have more heroic fighters than Adlai Stevenson. Sen. Mike Monroney of Oklahoma and Mrs. Roosevelt toiled magnificently. The convention was somewhat uncomfortable. It knew Stevenson was the best qualified candidate. The world crisis seemed to call for him. But Stevenson, himself, must bear some of the responsibility of failure. He had insisted he was not a candidate. He assisted none of those who worked for him. So it was, that one of the most able men in the world and the most qualified man for the presidency ended with 79½ votes. Somehow, this should have been avoided.

Meanwhile, it will be well to study young Kennedy. Almost everyone underestimated him.

RALPH
31a White
McGILL
The Atlanta Constitution

Earl Long And the Pig

Earl Kemp Long suffered his first heart attack 10 years ago while chasing a pig at his "little ole pea patch farm."

The pig is an excellent symbolism. It may be said, without doing any violence to Solon's ancient proverb, "De mortuis nil nisi bonum," that Earl Kemp Long chased the symbolic pig of greed, mud, slop and ignorance into the governor's office three times and almost to the white-domed capitol of the United States, the House side of it, that is.

Phila. 9-8-60

In his speeches it was Earl Long's custom to bellow some vulgarism and justify it by saying, "If anything ever happens to close this big mouth, God help Ole Earl Long."

Atlanta

Death closed it, but it cannot be argued that there is any great improvement thereby created. If Earl Long's political ethics were best symbolized by a pig, he was also an honest pig. He made no pretense to manners or political morality which would have made a pig uncomfortable. He was not so much picturesque as he was grotesque. But he was honestly so.

He was admired because he was so wholly without scruples. It was possible to entertain a genuine affection for him because he was so entirely coarse and callous. He never tried to wrap himself in the flag. He was never a pious hypocrite. If he wished to frolic with a strip-tease dancer, he did not conceal it. He was never, as far as the record goes, dishonest with himself.

Hams and Promises

Ole Earl gave out hams and promises with equal gusto. He belabored his opponents in the most scurrilous, slanderous manner. Truth rarely was able to appear on the platform with Ole Earl. But the crowd knew him to be the colorful old fraud he was, and what is more, he knew they knew. He was for them a symbolic protest against all they disliked. They couldn't hit out at it, but Ole Earl could.

The hill country people of Louisiana, who are called "Pecker woods" or "Red Necks" are a picturesque lot. A reporter who watched Ole Earl campaign was appalled by the poverty, illiteracy and crudeness of the crowds from areas in the backwash of the agricultural—industrial revolution.

"Great Lord," he said, "I have covered Southern politics for 20 years, and those crowds that turned out for Uncle Earl made their counterparts in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama or South Carolina look like a meeting of the Harvard Board of Overseers."

In general, Earl Long followed the formula deleveloped and brought to a high state of efficiency by his late brother, Huey Long, the Kingfish. This was to exploit the discontent in the meagerness of life lived by thousands in Louisiana, rich with oil, sulphur, natural gas and shipping. This wealth caused A. J. Leibling, of the New Yorker Magazine, to describe Louisiana as being something like one of the oil-rich sheikdoms in Arabia, run by a set of feudal barons.

The Poverty-Ridden

It was Huey who, with a fine sense of drama, once gathered a crowd of dispossessed, poverty-ridden people about him near the historic Evangeline oak.

"She is not the only one who has waited here," he told them. "Where are the roads, the hospitals, the old-age pensions, the schools they have promised you for so long and never delivered?"

Neither Huey nor Earl was a racist. There was no principle involved. They wanted votes. But they gave in return. One of Ole Uncle Earl's last historic statements was, in fighting the White Citizens Councils, "You've got to learn the Negro is a human being."

The pig was the proper symbol for his political ethics, but even so, he was a big cut above most of those who pulled him down some months ago in the legislative fight captured by the racist extremists. Nor can it be said his death ended an era. Want and the discontented remain.

RALPH
The Atlanta Journal
McGILL
Constitution

A Confirmed Dyspepsia

Thoreau once wrote: "Politics is the gizzard of society, full of grit and gravel, and the two political parties are its two opposite halves — sometimes split into quarters — which grind on each other. Not only individuals, but states thus have a confirmed dyspepsia."

The United States, with the election a matter of hours away, has a confirmed dyspepsia. The two opposite halves are split into quarters. In the Republican party the Goldwater quarter grinds on the Rockefeller quarter, catching the candidate, Nixon, in between and making him uncomfortable. The Democrats, though they have attained a party discipline unusual for them, nonetheless are split, with the nominees being ground between Texas arrogance and Southern intransigence.

Phila. 9-6-60

We all have dyspepsia. It may be because of anxiety. Or boredom. Or excitement. Those who suffer with their candidates are at a state of near collapse. The candidates themselves, exhausted by the most physically demanding campaign in history, have drawn heavily on their reservoirs of strength.

By the Polls

By all the known indices, that is to say the polls, Sen. Kennedy seems favored. Anxiety, therefore, rests more heavily upon his supporters. The underdog can convince himself he is gaining. The favorite must try to hold what he has. He becomes more anxious because he knows the portents may be in error.

Sen. Kennedy is believed to be ahead because of New York. This certainly is one of the key states. We saw dramatic admission of this in the vice president's secret meeting with Gov. Rockefeller at the time of the GOP convention.

If Sen. Kennedy is, indeed, ahead in the most populous state, is it not then logical to assume that the same stimuli, or motivating factors, which made him so are at work in the other big industrial states? One would assume they are.

The second conclusion would be that they are probably not at work in the same degree. There are factors in them not present in New York. There is the religious issue which would, in some areas of Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois, tend to reduce the effect of those stimuli. But the Democratic registration is everywhere up.

Another Force

There is another force to consider.

In all the industrial areas there is unemployment, considerable part-time work, and a fear about re-hiring in plants putting in new, automotive machinery. Business is off. The fact that Mr. Nixon, in order to avoid appearing critical of the administration, has had to declare that the economy is good and that our prestige is high has handicapped him. He knew this was not true. So did those to whom he talked.

There is not much which offsets this particular stimuli for Kennedy, although, to be sure, none may measure it any more than one may gauge the religious controversy effect.

It is admitted that if Mr. Nixon can't carry New York he is compelled to win three, and very likely, four, of these five states; Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Texas. But in these the stimuli which caused polls to favor Sen. Kennedy in New York are strong.

California, with much unemployment in the southern half, has this force working for the senator. The President tried to help Mr. Nixon by announcing plans to step up the B70 bomber production which would mean jobs in that area. Democratic registration is up in California. Here, as in the Eastern industrial states, Kennedy is given an edge. He should win a good victory. But as Thoreau said, as we wait we all have dyspepsia — individuals and states.

RALPH
The Atlanta Constitution
McGILL
31a

Lessons From History

Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 11-9-60

November 6 was the 100th anniversary of the election of Abraham Lincoln. The aftermath of that event is an account of the single greatest upsurge of folly and madness in the history of the Republic.

This one time there were those determined not to accept the result of the election. Had not South Carolina's firebrands forced the issue, war might have been avoided. The overwhelming majority of the people wanted peace. This was true of the common people of the state, whom Rhett despised.

There is no statue in South Carolina to Robert Barnwell Rhett. But there is a testimonial epitaph on the headstone of Judge James B. Petigru, prominent lawyer and friend of Rhett, who opposed the precipitate rush to disaster.

The two met after Rhett and Gov. Gist had urged through the decision to secede.

"Are you with us?" Rhett asked.

"I should think not," said Petigru, "South Carolina is too small for a republic and too large for an insane asylum."

Secessionists

He turned and pointed to the Baptist church where the secessionists had convened.

"It looks like a church," said the aroused judge, "but . . . go right there and you will find 164 maniacs within."

The great test of the American system has been its acceptance of the results of elections. We are a political country. Politics is our way of life since from the lowest office to the highest we are governed by those we elect.

Our greatest major national tragedy was this one refusal to accept an election result. It was a lesson well-learned. There always are, of course, the Chicken-Littles who think the sky is falling. During the second and third Roosevelt terms there were a great many men of wealth who solemnly said, for public quotation, there would never be another presidential election.

We have their counterparts today who see in a Kennedy victory a triumph for socialism and who go about like Niobe, all tears, prophesying the end of things. They don't really count. They are but the fleas in the fur of life. The republic will continue no matter which candidate wins. And the forces of the accelerating electronic revolution will require the winner, and the Congress, to adopt measures in behalf of the people which now are not even blue-printed.

The Problems

It is almost trite to say the years ahead are going to be anything but demanding and, often, harsh. The election will not solve the problem of Berlin, of Red China, of disarmament, or Russia. Nor will the results restore quiet to the ferment of revolution in many of the South American nations. Asia will not be the less hungry, or discontented.

Sen. Jack Kennedy said it well in a recent speech:

"If we continue to stand still—if we stay grounded on dead center—if we content ourselves with our material goods and our easy way of life and our rosy reassurance—then the gates will soon be open to a lean and hungry enemy.

"And so I am unable to campaign for the presidency telling you 'You never had it so good'—or telling you life will be easy in the Great Republic if you make me your president."

The future is filled with foreboding and problems.

The election will require of us that we give full support to the winner in all things touching on the national welfare. We have great need to move ahead. We must do better than we have done.

Those who see in a victory by Mr. Nixon an assurance of life as usual will be rudely awakened. Sen. Kennedy has, at least, given full warning of the rocks and shoals ahead of us.

It is not a time for illusions.

If we content ourselves with easy reassurance, then, truly, will the gates be opened to a lean and hungry enemy.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Mr. Nixon And the South

Notes on the South: Vice President Nixon made an unusual admission in a private talk with Southern Republican leaders gathered to hear him in Columbia, S.C. He said he thought it likely, on the basis of a poll, that Sen. Kennedy would win a popular vote majority, but, with a Southern sweep, he, Mr. Nixon, would be elected.

The vice president did not discuss the poll in any detail, but did proceed to make a hard-nosed address, calling on the South to rise again. He also had a kind word to say about states' rights.

That the vice president should even speculate he would run behind in the popular vote, but would squeak out an electoral victory, was a refreshing bit of political frankness. But it cannot be viewed as optimism.

And if the South must "rise again" and provide a sweep to bring a Nixon triumph, the best and latest indications are that Kennedy will do better than did Gov. Stevenson in 1956.

Louisiana, which went for Mr. Eisenhower in the last election, is believed sure for Kennedy.

North Carolina

North Carolina, which has been regarded in the Nixon column, is now believed safe for Kennedy by a majority of not less than 35,000. Two private statewide polls, which were taken by the Democrats for their own information on where to put the most emphasis, were most ecouraging.

Tennessee, which also went for Mr. Eisenhower in 1956, finds both U.S. Sens. Gore and Kefauver, along with Gov. Ellington, confident of a Kennedy-Johnson margin of 40,000 or more.

West Virginia, which was Republican in 1956, is unreservedly predicting a Kennedy landslide. It was in this state, with a Protestant population of about 95 per cent, that the young senator won a smashing primary victory.

Southern states where the vice president is given a lead are Florida, Virginia, South Carolina and Kentucky. To these may be added the Southwestern state of Texas. But in each of these we see something which makes this Democratic campaign so different from those of 1952 and 1956. The Democratic state organizations are at work as they never were for Gov. Stevenson.

In Virginia, only Sen. Byrd is sulky and silent. In South Carolina there is the spectacle of a forlorn and embittered man, former governor James Byrnes, whose whole career was spent in the Democratic party, urging a Republican vote. Sen. Strom Thurmond, segregationist Dixiecrat leader, is silent. But in both these states all other Democratic officers are supporting the ticket energetically.

Doubtful States

Democrats in these doubtful states stubbornly insist the tide runs their way and they will yet pull the ticket through to a victory. They may. In each there is a large total of voters listed as "undecided." In Texas this is a whopping 17 per cent, but the odds still favor the vice president.

In Mississippi there is a slate of independent electors. But Sen. Eastland, asking Democrats to vote for the ticket to protect his congressional committee assignments, is believed to have offset the governor's opposition. Mississippi is regarded as safe. So are Arkansas and Alabama.

In Georgia the Dr. Martin Luther King arrest and an inquiry by Sen. Kennedy's brother into the status of the case have been injected into politics, but the ticket is still believed safe. Georgians, who know that the handling of the King case was so badly bungled on the side of prejudice that even allied Southern neighbors were indignant at the injustice of it, publicly resent the Kennedy call but privately understand it. Georgia, too, wants Senators Talmadge and Russell to hold committee power in Congress.

The imponderables remain of religion and race. But there seems to be no reason to believe the South will provide the sweep which Mr. Nixon believes necessary.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

Where Was Sen. Goldwater?

Campaign Notes: In the last great push in New York, the Republican party campaign paraded its top-flight leaders — President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and Henry Cabot Lodge, nominee for the vice presidency.

There were the inevitable jeering queries: "Where is Barry Goldwater?"

The senator was not invited. In New York he is a liability. The senator has been used in the more isolated and conservative areas in the South, dined and admired by the ultra-conservative interests.

But he was not called upon to do battle in the large states where there are two parties and where issues are alive and not confined like a mummy in the wrappings of anti-civil rights and anti-labor campaigns. As a part of this parade of the Republican party, it might be noted that on the same day Mr. Nixon was seeking labor votes in the East his representatives in Georgia were attempting to damage the Democratic state committee by charging it had received a labor contribution.

Gov. Rockefeller

In New York the vice president had to turn to Gov. Rockefeller, who had forced a reversal of the national convention platform committees, and to President Eisenhower, who had at the same time been angered by Mr. Rockefeller's demands for a more realistic national defense plank.

It was a good show of party unity, but it also revealed why Mr. Nixon's course has been a difficult one. If he is defeated a substantial portion of the explanation will lie in this failure of the Republican administration to carry out its program.

What did become of "modern Republicanism"?

Why was it that at the convention of 1960 it was not a modern Republican who was the sentimental hero, but one of the more reactionary right?

Mr. Eisenhower seemed to forget who it was he had to fight to win the 1952 nomination. He knew at the time of the dramatic convention which nominated him in a great drama in which the party's credentials committee was overthrown and Eisenhower delegates seated to replace those pledged to Sen. Taft.

A Pledge

There was an emotional pledge to build a progressive party. The 1956 convention was founded on a pledge of "modern Republicanism."

Yet, in the New York appearance, the one man in the GOP parade who had demonstrated his adherence to that pledge was Gov. Rockefeller. And because of this, he presently is anathema to much of the party leadership which sought to prevent Gen. Eisenhower's nomination in 1952.

Both the vice president and Mr. Lodge likely qualify as modern Republicans. But failure of the administration to remake the party imposed upon them restrictions which made it impossible for them to say as much. Also, it is evident, with Sen. Goldwater occupying so formidable a position, the GOP isn't very deep on the bench in modern performers.

If Mr. Nixon is defeated, it will, in part, be because of his need to declare the national economy is at its peak and that the prestige of the nation is greater than ever. Mr. Nixon knew better. So did Mr. Lodge. They had to say it and defend it before audiences which included many unemployed and many more who were working part time. They also were hearing from businessmen who were saying things were not all that could be desired.

Both candidates erred in not talking more about domestic issues. But Sen. Kennedy came nearest to it, and said what many people knew to be true when he said that we needed to move forward, that our economy was on dead center, that our prestige was impaired.

Because of the failure to produce modern Republicanism, Sen. Goldwater will, in the event of the vice president's defeat, have a more popular following than Gov. Rockefeller. One may ask if that is modern.

As I See It

W. J. Mahoney Jr.

31a

"In times of peril fear has no place," Caesar wrote in his Gallic Wars 2,000 years ago.

A savage people, some no more than a decade out of the jungles, was released on a defeated South after the Confederacy's collapse. Fear led to the formation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The ex-slaves, hide-bound by superstition, were terror struck by the white-robed figures. Their fear made a spectacular success of the KKK.

But that was 90 years ago. The ex-slaves are gone, along with their onetime masters. White sheets and cute tricks are no longer an effective weapon against irresponsible Negroes. That is why the modern imitators of Nathan Bedford Forrest's ghostly, night-riders are a pathetic thing, serving only to increase the danger of an explosion.

By Hoodlum Rule

Fear alone made the bus boycott a success. Informed Montgomerians know that hoodlum bullying kept the vast majority of Negroes off the buses. Conversely, it takes more real courage for a Negro today to sit in the back of the bus than it does to sit well up front.

Fear accounts for the massive resistance of the Deep South to school integration. Integration in numbers is the ultimate goal of every "desegregationist," regardless of his idle talk about "token" integration. I am afraid, as is every responsible white parent in the Deep South afraid, of what integration will do to our children during their formative years, when they are awakening sexually.

Averted Tragedy

Fear accounts for the sensational success of our State, County and City police in averting what could have been a national disaster here last Sunday. The smell of fear was in the air. Those who weren't afraid of the opposite race were afraid of showing their own feelings to other members of their own.

That is why the situation was explosive. A person afraid is an unreasoning person. He acts on frightened impulse — and that impulse can lead to disaster and death.

An indecent fear, an essentially selfish fear, has kept the white South from presenting a united front. It is a fear that most will not admit openly, for it is an economic fear.

'Practical' Seniority

It is a fear of consequences that keeps the ambitious Southern politician in the Democratic party—fear of losing a thing called seniority, something that stands discredited among the weapons of Southern defense, one that serves only the petty selfishness of the "practical" politician.

Fear can never be contained. It is contagious. So today all the world is afraid.

The atom bomb blasts, mushrooming up from shattered Nagasaki and Hiroshima, did not limit themselves to striking fear into the hearts of the already half-beaten Japanese. The Russians were thunderstruck at the thought of such a weapon in the hands of a capitalistic nation — a nation that stands menacingly between the Communists and complete world domination.

Fear led us first into the grueling grind for supremacy in nuclear weapons and then into a maddening sprint for outer space.

One-Way Street

Fear led this administration to divert millions, originally allotted to the development of manned aircraft, into stepped up research into ICBM's, nuclear rockets, nuclear electronics, orbital velocity, artificial satellites, space probes, astrionics, celestial mechanics, and all the rest of that array of unfamiliar terms dealing with what we once dismissed as science-fiction.

Remember your history. Remember poison gas, first used extensively in World War I, and developed to such a fearful weapon that neither side would be the first to use it in World War II. Consequently it wasn't used.

It was Stuart Symington, speaking before the annual Chamber of Commerce dinner here who warned that we would have to use nuclear charges in intercontinental ballistic missiles, if that were all we had!

World Trembles

We would be more afraid of utter collapse and capitulation to the enemy than of risking world suicide with the only weapons we had available.

Fear has clutched the world. As Emerson put it, "We are afraid of truth, afraid of fortune, afraid of death, and afraid of each other."

It is time for a Supreme Psychiatrist to help us rationalize our fears. We are at the opposite pole from the peace "which passeth all understanding."

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

They Can't Stop The Dawn

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Wreckage from bombs or high explosives in war torn areas can become plaintive or sinister. The pile of rubble that once was the dwelling of Z. Alexander Looby is neither. It speaks with solemn dignity and a note of warning.

Here, in a city busily tearing out slums to beautify the capital and to provide a setting for a skyscraper, one suddenly remembers that the survival of civilization may depend on whether man can make the same progress with himself that he is now making in the conquest of space.

Millions are being spent to learn how we may overcome the belts of radiation that surround the earth. But in man's own mind there is the deadly, destructive belt of prejudice which neither law nor logic penetrates. An idea caught in that belt may guide a hand to a rock or a lynch rope. In Nashville the idea propelled a blast that destroyed Mr. Looby's residence.

* * *

HOW HAS he taken this destructive and stupid act of one of his fellow humans? Mr. Looby has risen to that height of greatness reserved for the strong who are masters of adversity. Friends who saw him immediately after his home was bombed by hoodlums say they had never seen him so filled with determination.

Days later, when I saw him on a platform, he said that he had been thinking about retiring "but now I shall not retire." Calling his audience to alert attention he said, "if we are not willing to sacrifice, yes even to die, we do not deserve to be free." These are no lightly spoken words from a man who narrowly escaped death while peacefully sleeping in his own bedroom.

Mrs. Looby, a radiant and charming lady, smilingly supports her husband's stand. Before the smoke of the explosion had cleared away, she let the world know that the Loobys were not quitting the fight for freedom.

* * *

THESE TWO persons are the best examples of hope of progress for the South. If a few mayors, legislators and governors would show one - tenth of their fortitude there would be no problem today in this troubled region.

Time is running out on the elected officials and the civic leaders of the South. The empty space that was once the Looby home tells all who will listen that the same mind that will hurl an explosive at a dwelling house may one day decide to burn down the capitol or assassinate a governor.

Where does that type of mind get its inspiration? The inspiration comes from queasy speeches and editorials of those who shape public opinion. There are no bold statements about the need to uphold the law. On the other hand there are strident cries to destroy the law.

* * *

THE BOMB THROWER listens to U.S. Senators and Congressmen attacking the Supreme Court. He hears his minister on Sunday morning reading extracts from the Bible that are supposed to be Divine support for racial segregation.

At this time he vents his rage on the colored citizens and on the handful of white persons who appear to be in favor of the law. He believes that this will shut them up. He believes that he can blast a hole in the dawn so that the old darkness of ignorance and myths of superiority will come oozing through that hole to cover his home town again—and perhaps the nation as well.

What will happen when he discovers that he cannot stop the dawn? What will happen when he finds that instead of silencing Mr. Looby the voice is stronger, clearer and more insistent? Is it not possible that the bomb thrower will go completely berserk and destroy the same men who first set him on the path of anarchy?

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

This Is No Time For Fears

Newspaper accounts recently quoted Sammy Davis, Jr., as saying that an ugly racial attack made on him by a clutch of fascists in England was one of the worst things that ever happened. Some stories also said that he was in tears after the incident.

Across the ocean that separates us, it may be easier to see Mr. Davis' troubles in their proper focus. To him they may look like a forest of giant sequoia trees. From this vantage point they look like a nasty and prickly patch of thistle growing on a dump.

Mr. Davis was denounced and called vile names by characters attached to an outfit led by a man named Oswald Mosley. The barrage of insults came after word got around that Mr. Davis will marry a lady from Sweden.

THE BRITISH will apologize profusely for what happened. The apologies will not mean much because a large part of the world's race prejudice was made in and exported from Great Britain. Many of the former leaders of that nation and some who are now in control would be perfectly at home in Mississippi South Africa.

The British press lashes out against lynching in the United States, but there are many well-founded reports about general discrimination against the darker British subjects who visit London or take up residence on the tight little island.

Mosley's muscle men were giving an oafish demonstration of what a considerable number of other people in their country would like to do. Once this is understood, there would seem to be little reason for Mr. Davis to view the occurrence with alarm.

* * *

AMONG SNOBS and exponents of racial superiority, interracial marriages are not regarded with favor. Those who decide to become partners in such unions must be tough-minded enough to take what is thrown at them. Most of the time they will not be lucky enough to have it come in an obvious single dose. Often, it will be so subtle that the victims will not recognize it until they have been deeply hurt.

Perhaps there was a time when it was important to care about how Britain would treat colored visitors, with or without the added factor of interracial marriage. This could have been so when Her Majesty's government dominated half the world by force and directed the other half by pressures of one kind or another.

Now, England is a third-rate power in world affairs. A part of her strength comes from the United States and her greatest asset is the goodwill of those who are now or were formerly her non-white colonial subjects. The leaders of the empire know that the Davis incident will hurt them much more than it hurts the intended victim.

* * *

ALL OF THIS is a reminder that the clock of world history says it is time for those troubled by racial discrimination to take off their running shoes. Some run to Chicago to escape trouble in Alabama. Some run to London to avoid privation in the West Indies. Others go to Paris to get away from bigotry in New York or Africa.

In ever increasing numbers, those who are advocates of racial discrimination are realizing that public expression of such views is a sure and painful way to commit suicide in the world of today. Most of them are ready to make peace with their former victims when faced with a show of strength and determination.

This is a time for working, for planning and for winning at the exact location of one's personal problem with racial discrimination. It is not a time for tears.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Freedom Land—Then and Now

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Twenty - two years ago Mickey McGuire was fired. In a manner of speaking, it was my fault. I thought that jim crow was somewhere several hundred miles to the South. Actually, it was in the Ramsey County courthouse.

Mr. McGuire came to me with a story of being denied service in a restaurant. I was a new arrival in Minnesota, but I knew that there was a civil rights law in the state. Indignantly, I grabbed my hat and the two of us marched from my office on Wabasha Street down to the courthouse — three blocks away.

The courthouse was new in those days and people were still talking in respectful tones about the marvelous statue of the Indian god of peace that rises in quiet beauty to the height of a three-story building in the lobby.

* * *

THIS WAS FREEDOM land and it seemed that in a matter of minutes the full majesty of northwest law would be brought to bear on the offending restaurant. It did not seem possible that old toleration of segregation would be found in this wonderful structure.

Disillusion came in the office of the county attorney. He said that he knew about the law, but it was not one of those things that people liked to obey. It was also clear that he did not like to be called on to enforce it.

With some reluctance he finally agreed to act. We left his office feeling the sense of chagrin that one experiences after a closer look reveals that the rose that seemed so beautiful in the distance has been the main item on the menu for a society of Japanese beetles.

* * *

A FEW DAYS later I got the news that someone had told Mr. McGuire's employer about the filing of the civil rights complaint. The employer had fired him on the spot. It was then apparent that jim crow had come North with the Mississippi River and had spread out along the shoreline in Minnesota.

Now the delegates to the NAACP convention are meeting in St. Paul. They live in the hotels; they do not face discrimination in restaurants. Mr. McGuire's penalty for seeking his constitutional rights has been counterbalanced by courtesy and hospitality shown to the NAACP delegates.

There are only a few people who will remember the McGuire affair. Many will doubt that it ever happened. That will not be important. It is important that a change has taken place. It has come because of devoted, long and hard work by people who believed that the civil rights cause could be won.

The people of Minnesota live where the father of waters is born. The people of Mississippi live near where he takes a trip out of the country. They are not very different. That is why I know hard work by devoted people can make Mississippi like Minnesota is today.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Not A Very Pretty Picture

CHICAGO, Ill. — An elephant does not make a pretty picture on a tight rope. This is especially true if a slip of the foot will send him crashing into an open sewer that empties into the dead sea of racial segregation.

This is the spectacle now opening as the platform writers of the Republican national convention and the stacked deck operators try to win support from the disgruntled South. There are some members of Lincoln's party who actually believe that they can build a two party system in the South by showing that they are more moderate than the Democrats on civil rights.

At Los Angeles the huge platform committee of the Democrats was studded with such pro-jim crow luminaries as Eastland of Mississippi, Holland of Florida and a displaced Yankee newspaper editor who now lives in Georgia. The editor is so steeped in his home brewed brand of white supremacy that each time his shoes squeak one hears what sounds like the strains of Dixie.

* * *

HERE IN CHICAGO the resolutions committee was broken down into subcommittees. All of the advocates of segregation on the civil rights sub - committee were third or possibly fourth-string players. Yet they cast more slurs at civil rights during the hearings than the first-string team got across during the West Coast hearings.

Apparently, some magician has been

added to the GOP national strategy board. He seems to have assured top level party people that they can carry the South by being mild on civil rights and, at the same time, fool the Northern colored voters with such slogans as "you never had it so good since Lincoln."

It is not true that the Republican Party has brought colored citizens into the promised land since 1952. In many respects the party has done a good job and in some ways it is superior to the Democrats on racial matters, but the record does not show any reason for giving the GOP a blank check in November.

* * *

EVEN IF IT were true that colored citizens are now having the best treatment they have had since Abe's stay at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, this would not be good enough. Anyone who took the trouble to listen to the testimony of Roy Wilkins and the effective young people who appeared at the Los Angeles and Chicago hearings could understand that these are people who do not like double talk and will not settle for peanuts.

Perhaps the GOP was not listening and seriously believes that coddling up to Louisiana, South Carolina and Virginia will produce Republican governors and Republican legislatures in the Confederate state capitals. If this is so, the level of political intelligence must be at a new low.

At a time when the fire of human dignity has ignited one-tenth of our nation's population and much of the other nine-tenths is looking at the blaze with awe and admiration, party leaders should be preparing their most inspiring phrases and hastening to catch up with the parade of voters who are marching to freedom.

When the national leaders of the nation who sit in the White House and the Congress are willing to clean up the South it will be possible to build a two party system there. It will be a system built on honor and respect for the Constitution. Until that happens any effort to use the Republican Party as a camp for refugees from desegregation will be a blunder so huge that it may be a permanent road block to the present generation of GOP aspirants for the Presidency.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

All The Way With LBJ

From now until the November elections Northern communities will echo to words of political orators who will assert that Senator Lyndon B. Johnson (D.-Tex.) was responsible for passage of the civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960. In Southern states he will be lauded as the man who prevented passage of what will be described as "drastic legislation."

When truth is separated from fiction, this is the picture that the voters all over the country should give suitable framing in the hall of things to be remembered before entering the polling place.

Senator Johnson was not just another Southern office holder in 1957 and 1960. He was and now is the majority leader in the United States Senate. He is now the nominee for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

* * *

HIS CAREER as a member of Congress began in the House in 1937. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1948. In the twenty years between 1937 and 1957 he was a consistent opponent of civil rights legislation. He voted for the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1960. They are now the law. He has consistently opposed legislation aimed at penalizing the U.S. Supreme Court because it handed down the 1954 school desegregation decision.

Senator Johnson voted against outlawing the poll tax by action of Congress. He has supported the approach of using a Constitutional amendment to end the poll tax. He has consistently opposed any substantial change in the Senate rules which would make it possible to curb filibusters effectively. He supports small revisions in the rules. Under his plan it is still possible to filibuster with ease.

In my opinion Senator Johnson belongs in the category of the early Southern New Deal legislators, who favored soft pedaling civil rights bills in Congress, but were willing to look the other way if the executive branch of government or the U.S. Supreme Court struck down onerous forms of racial discrimination.

* * *

ALTHOUGH HE WAS the majority leader in 1957, I believe Senator Johnson was still that kind of elected official when Congress began its work that year. It is my opinion that the civil rights bill would not have come to the floor in 1957 if Senator William F. Knowland (R.-Calif.) had not made a firm decision to fight for it.

It will be remembered that the only certain way to get a civil rights bill to the Senate floor in 1957 was to bypass the judiciary committee whose chairman, James O. Eastland of Mississippi, had boasted that he had a special pants pocket for such proposals.

Senator Knowland led a successful bi-partisan drive to by - pass the Eastland pants pocket. Senator Johnson was the leader of an unsuccessful bipartisan effort to let the Mississippian have the bill. At that point it was clear to all that there would be some kind of civil rights bill passed. Senator Johnson then led the forces that wanted a bill palatable to weakest supporters of civil rights outside the South and not too galling to the moderates in the South.

* * *

IN THIS course of action Senator Johnson had a notable assist from President Eisenhower who, at a crucial moment in the fight, publicly stated that he did not understand one part of the bill. This led to a successful Johnson effort to knock out that part of the bill which would have given the U.S. Attorney General the power to correct major civil rights problems by seeking injunctions. This, of course, is what is popularly called Part III of the 1957 bill.

Once Senator Johnson made up his mind on the kind of bill he wanted, he made a fight for its passage. There is little doubt that without the combined Knowland-Johnson effort, there could easily have been a stalemate and therefore, no final action.

In 1960 Senator Knowland had voluntarily left the Senate. Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R.-Ill.) who replaced Knowland as minority leader does not have the toughness of the Californian. From the beginning, it was clear that the civil rights bill of 1960 would be whatever Senator Johnson, House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D.-Tex.), and House Minority Leader Charles Halleck (R.-Ind.) wanted it to be.

* * *

IT IS NOT an exaggeration to say that in this combination, Senator Johnson was the chief architect and made the important decisions on what form the bill would take.

In summary it can be stated accurately that Senator Johnson played a major role in the passage of the 1957 and 1960 bills. The big question is, what kind of bill would we have gotten in 1957, if he had worked for passage of the measure passed by the House and which contained Part III?

It may be stated unequivocally that if Johnson had supported Part III in 1957 it would now be the law. It may be stated with equal certainty that if he had supported the numerous strengthening amendments offered to the 1960 bill they would now be the law.

There will be those, who will insist what I have written in the foregoing paragraph is not true. They will say that a strong bill would have been killed by a filibuster in 1957 and 1960. For them I have a short four letter word answer. It is BUNK!!

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Race Prejudice Not Only Evil

One of the fallacies of speech makers during the presidential campaign was the generalization that "the same people who are anti-Catholic are also anti-colored." This is not necessarily true, although both of these prejudices are symptoms of a sick mind.

In my opinion there is a hard core of racial and religious bigotry in this country that thrives on hatred for colored people, Jews, Catholics and any other convenient minority group. However, I do not believe that this is a significant part of our population. Fortunately, most people in our country do not hate others just for the sake of hating.

There are other groups and people who have pet hates and antipathies against certain racial and religious groups, but these hates and antipathies are not transferrable. For example, I know members of a religious faith who are violently opposed to the Irish. Some of them take this dislike so seriously that they get physically ill on St. Patrick's Day and become most unpleasant if one whistles some well loved and widely known Irish melody.

* * *

A FEW DAYS ago I was having dinner with a very distinguished Protestant gentleman who has a long record of activity in race relations. There is every reason to believe that on the matter of colored-white relationships he is fully mature and wholly fair. I was startled when he launched into a strong attack against the Catholic Church.

At first I thought that he was just repeating some popular but irresponsible conclusions. Soon I realized that he was very much in earnest. He even described certain documents which were supposed to reveal how the Catholic Church could control a candidate for public office or an official who got elected to office.

It is possible that this same man would also be a racist under certain circumstances, but I know of nothing that would point in that direction. Unfortunately, he is like a great many Protestants I know. About the only thing I have ever heard good about Catholics from some of these people are stories about successful desegregation of churches and parochial schools. Sometimes, after paying a grudging tribute, these people will say "of course they can do that because they are so authoritarian."

* * *

REGRETTABLY THERE are Catholics and members of other religious faiths who are very tolerant on religious matters, but extremely intolerant on racial matters. I am sure some of these would not hesitate to condemn colored people for staging a sitdown demonstration or seeking the passage ngthepassage
of an anti-discrimination law.

Perhaps the wildest accusations are those used against labor as a whole or business as a whole. Sometimes the talk seems to be about a dangerous group of invaders from Mars rather than about fellow humans who are just trying to make an honest dollar by running a factory or trying to protect wages and working conditions by organizing a labor union.

One good thing that has come from the pro and anti-Catholic talk of the campaign is the reminder that race prejudice is not the only evil that we must eradicate in the field of human relations. Neither wealth nor training is certain insurance against unjust treatment because of one's religion, race or national origin.

* * *

THE COUNTRY has had to face up to the fact that there are a lot of big men and women who have little boy and little girl minds when it comes to prejudice. Now that we know what the problem is like and something about its extent, we must continue to work hard to eradicate it.

A good place to begin would be among persons who have expressed outrage about the religious issue in the campaign. If they will pledge not to discriminate against any race or group in their businesses, places of worship, residential areas that they control and in the exercise of political power this will be a substantial contribution to good will.

I make this suggestion because almost all of the people I have heard condemning religious discrimination are guilty of discriminating themselves. Perhaps, after careful thought, the reader will find that this also applies to himself.

NEGRO (CLARENCE MITCHELL)

31a 1960

From The Work Bench

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By Clarence Mitchell

Time Was With The Democrats

"What have you done for me lately?" This is the slogan that the new President should have handy on his desk or wall under the picture of a colored citizen of the United States.

The problem of racial discrimination is so dynamic that even the dramatic impact of President Eisenhower's use of troops in Little Rock had become blurred on election day, 1960.

The reason was the arrest of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., in Georgia.

When Little Rock was the equivalent of an epithet throughout the civilized world, colored citizens in the United States had a mental image of the President as a man happily enjoying a golf game in Georgia while children were being kicked around by Governor Orval Faubus.

THE PRESIDENT sent troops in to protect the children and the U.S. Constitution. His popularity zoomed at once.

In the years of his Administration Mr. Eisenhower has made contributions in the field of civil rights. One of these was the desegregation of the White House staff and the reluctant but discernable support given to civil rights bills in messages to Congress.

In these instances, however, he somehow managed to dull the lustre of his efforts by covering them with a film of what he called moderation. It was obvious of course that what he called moderate was really better described as watered down.

RECENT MONTHS produced such headline making activity as the U.S. Department of Justice's suit against Mississippi for barring colored persons from a public beach in Biloxi and the voting suits against racial discrimination in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee.

Each time the press carried stories on these government efforts to end second-class treatment of non whites, there was a warm reaction of approval.

There is no doubt that some voters kept this in mind right up to election day and cast their ballots for Vice President Richard M. Nixon in appreciation.

The image of a golf player began to emerge again for other voters when the Vice President made a few speeches in the South and expressed his devotion to states rights.

ACTUALLY, President-elect John F. Kennedy is much closer to the real trouble making segregationists in the South than Mr. Nixon.

Mr. Nixon appeared to be trying to lure them into supporting him without actually joining his party, while Mr. Kennedy was busily engaged in the task of trying to get their support as active party workers.

On balance, I believe that Mr. Kennedy did not do much to antagonize the South during the campaign. This view seems to be supported by the fact that most of Dixie remained in the Democratic column.

The essential difference between the Nixon and Kennedy backers in the South was that the former were mainly segregationists with oil wells and mink coats, while the latter were laced with tobacco-chewing county sheriffs and semi intelligent political bosses in full control of the public purse.

ONLY GENIUS or happenstance could have produced the stroke of fortune that suddenly gave the Democrats a chance to assert states rights and appeal to northern civil rights voters at the same time.

Since it is unlikely that one would find a genius in a Georgia county courtroom, it must be assumed that the sudden arrest of the Rev. Mr. King was a chance for vote getting that no party strategist had planned.

Mr. King's arrest brought reassurance and gratification to the Ku Klux Klan. It gave the Governor of Georgia a chance to get on television and sent scores of Kennedy supporters running to the printing presses with the text of their candidate's gentlemanly and altogether impressive telephone conversation expressing regret for the mistreatment of a great leader.

The Nixon camp, perhaps mindful of an upcoming visit to South Carolina, got lost in a sand trap of silence and inaction.

IN THAT moment of indignation the memory of past civil rights activity by the Administration became blurred by the proper and righteous anger that many people felt on hearing of the King arrest.

If it had not occurred so close to election day, it is possible that Republicans could have offset this Kennedy advantage by, let us say, starting a long overdue voting suit in Mississippi.

Time was on the side of the Democrats and, on Tuesday Nov. 8, whenever the telephone rang voters might well have thought that Senator Kennedy would be on the other end of the wire with a message of friendly greeting.

No doubt, what he had done lately was just enough to shift the votes necessary to give him the rich prizes of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and other northern states.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Kitchen Crowded With Cooks

The civil rights kitchen is crowded with good cooks, there are many delicacies ready for the oven, but instead of lighting the gas those in charge are busy giving each other the hot foot. Meanwhile, the clamor from the dining room grows ever louder as the hungry guests insist on getting service.

Wednesday, January 27, was an excellent example of why the guests in the dining room are not getting the chow. Democrats were on the House floor making an impressive record of Republican shortcomings. They pointed out that the civil rights bill was stuck in the House Rules Committee headed by Howard Smith (D-Va.).

To get the bill out, the Democrats thundered, the Republicans should take pen in hand and sign a discharge petition to bring the bill to the floor. Every word the Democrats said was the truth. Republicans present who had signed the discharge petition attempted to answer for their development colleagues several times, but their answers were inadequate for the simple reason that G.O.P. members who have not signed the petition have no bona fide excuse.

* * *

AT INTERVALS on the floor and later in statements made at party rallies, the Republicans denounced the Democrats for not having the party strength to get the bill out of the Rules Committee. They charged that Democrats could not call themselves responsible leaders when they could not make their own committee chairmen follow their party's policy in the field of civil rights. All of this was just as true as what the Democrats said on the floor.

After reading or listening to every derogatory word the speakers said about each other's party, one had a sense of moral indigestion from such heavy servings of absolute truth. It was also apparent that the only real victim was the civil rights cause. The bill was the damsel on the burning roof waiting for the firemen below to settle a dispute about whether they should hoist a ladder or open a net.

The announcement that the House Rules Committee will meet offers a new opportunity for charges and counter charges. The older members of the committee, regardless of party affiliation, are really buddies. They glare at each other and say sarcastic things at public hearings, but all of them have "done favors for the other side" at one time or another.

* * *

THEREFORE, THE Rules Committee is not really a test of whether Chairman Smith can outwit the pro-civil rights group or whether Republicans on the committee are duty bound to play along with the Southern bloc.

Whatever happens in the Rules Committee of the House is always a reflection of what the two parties really want as a matter of policy. If both of them really want a bill to come out, the bill comes out in a hurry whether Chairman Smith wants it or not.

This brings up one point that was made on the House floor during the debate. The statement was made that if committee members and chairmen will not carry out the platform of a party, they should not be allowed to serve on the committees.

Many people laughed and pooh-poohed that suggestion, but it is a fact that the country must face. No Democrat ever makes a speech in Harlem or Chicago at election time lamenting the great power of Southern chairmen and how they will use that power to kill civil rights, if the Democrats control Congress.

* * *

REPUBLICANS seeking the support of voters who believe in civil rights try to soft pedal their party's cheerful, good natured relationship with the Dixie bloc. They picture their chairmen and committee members as persons who would carry out the platform even if they had to throw out all recalcitrants standing in the way.

It is important to emphasize that those who are running for office will not make much headway with the voters by blaming somebody else or citing a lot of parliamentary alternatives.

Those whose relatives are being kicked around in Mississippi or Alabama are quite likely to vent their wrath on the Congressman or Senator nearest at hand, if there is no delivery on civil rights. There are no parliamentary rules in a voting booth.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Perfumes and Garbage

WASHINGTON

From the floor of the U.S. Senate arose the smell of perfumed words laced with the odor of garbage. Dixie Senators were staging their filibuster against civil rights legislation. Sen. George Smathers (D-Fla.) was squirting the perfume atomizer. Senator Olin Johnston (D-S.C.) was laboriously hauling the refuse.

Slim, well-dressed and soft voiced Sen. Smathers was telling the nearly empty chamber about how much progress colored people were making in voting. Here and there one caught the scent of honeysuckle and lavender as he sweetly complimented his opponents, gently chided a questioner, or related the glories of Florida race relations.

Near the end of his speech, Smathers was overcome by his own flow of language. He turned to the rows of empty seats, where his colleagues should have been listening with profound attention.

He walked from his own desk to drive home a point to a chair standing in respectful virginal emptiness. Soon he was addressing a whole row of shiny wooden desks.

Huddled in a few spots on the senate floor were people like Senator John McClellan (D.-Ark.) and a captive audience of clerks. In a final flight of exuberance, Smathers eloquently described his feeling of joy when he came through Washington's worst snowstorm of the winter.

Perhaps it was because he was in a world of whiteness at the time.

* * *

SENATOR JOHNSTON was taking the Washington Post to task for expressing favorable sentiments on civil rights. He ponderously read a document about communist infiltration of schools, churches, organizations and even Congress.

Most of his material was rancid testimony or writings featuring what communists or former communists had said.

At times he almost seemed to be holding his nose as his voice dropped to a near whisper. As he waded deeper into the verbal muck he became more reckless in his use of racial epithets. At first he was saying "Negro", then he said "Negre," then it was "Nigra" and finally "N---r" all the way.

He, too, was talking to mute and respectful senate chairs most of the period. At times one of his associates would offer a word of admiration and a give glowing tribute to the "great speech that every member of the Senate should hear."

* * *

AFTER UNBURDENING himself of the compliments, the associate would quickly disappear into the darkened outer reaches of the Senate cloakrooms where lawmakers were blissfully snoring between quorum calls.

This was the United States Senate, the blue ribbon branch of the national legislature on round-the-clock sessions because an arrogant band of small-minded men was determined to talk a civil rights bill to death.

Outside there was a howling wind whipping snow into a deep excavation in front of the Capitol. One person who had been in the gallery came to a window for a breath of fresh air and a chance to escape the speeches.

His eye fell on the deep hole in front of the Capitol. For a moment he thought he saw a giant gardener planting a bush that looked remarkably like Smathers. Then the gardener was working on something else that had been taken from the Senate floor—yes, it was tinkweed.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Mr. Patton Reports Success

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—An attentive ear and a reasonably good memory give rich rewards when one visits the South. Across this troubled area of conflicts between the ideals of democracy and the prehistoric stupidity of segregation, come many reports and experiences that point to success for the diligent.

W. C. Patton, working on NAACP register and vote campaigns, is a kind of index to progress in use of the ballot. Whenever he speaks, I listen with care for the factual conclusions that follow his statements on how to increase the number of colored voters. He did not disappoint me in Memphis.

Quiet spoken and unassuming, Mr. Patton began his story on the increase of voters in this city. In January, February and March of 1959 he worked to get citizens on the registration rolls. In a massive purge, 14,000 voters had been declared ineligible. Most of these were colored.

* * *

UNLIKE MANY who try to pass the buck, Mr. Patton immediately won friends by saying, "Forget about what school teachers and preachers won't do because I have found that many of those who are talking about what preachers or teachers won't do aren't doing anything themselves."

That may sound like an ordinary statement, but it is not. Seldom do I visit a community in which I do not hear about the "preachers and teachers who are holding us back." Mr. Patton was giving some very much needed advice when he made his statement. Some people spend so much time complaining about the failures of school masters and clergymen that they forget their own shortcomings.

Putting his thumb behind a coat lapel and looking solemnly at the audience, he said, "The fault is not in the folks, it is in us." This sounds like an innocent statement, too, but it is not. Usually, speakers hotly denounce "those loafers and bums in pool rooms who will not register" or "those parasites who live off the people and drive big cars but will not go to the polls on election day."

* * *

CROWDS WILDLY cheer attacks of this kind. Frequently, some of those applauding loudest have not registered themselves. The Patton admonition was a reminder that the test of leadership is the ability to get the "loafers, bums and parasites" to mend their ways and become responsible citizens.

"Some of us like to have a whole lot of people doing a little bit of work," mused Mr. Patton while picking up an assortment of automobile stickers, placards, handbills and pictures. Being a denizen of the Nation's Capital, I immediately thought he was referring to government agencies. Actually, he was speaking of the way some local vote registration campaigns are run.

Clearly, he prefers to get a whole lot of people to do about three times as much work as they think they can do. He spoke of Boy Scouts wearing sandwich signs saying on busy streets, "I'm too young to vote, what is your excuse?" He mentioned taxi cabs giving free rides to the place of registration and coats bedecked with "I am a voter buttons.

* * *

MANY REPORTS on registration and voting drives end at this point. One hangs on the brink of acute suspense waiting for the final sentence on what happened after all the effort, all the demonstrations and all the oratory.

Often there is no final sentence and the listener gets the same feeling of frustration experienced by the reader of a gripping, baffling murder mystery. The solution is on page 399 and that particular page was used to light the fireplace last week.

Mr. Patton gave the last sentence. Said he, "After three months of work in Memphis we had an increase of 10,000 new voters."

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Rules Committee Scarecrow

Lyndon B. Johnson has added a new dimension to the civil rights fight in Congress. Until now the advocates of legislation in this field could count on getting bills through the House. The filibuster in the U.S. Senate was supposed to water down or kill whatever the House approved.

Now, the Texas majority leader, whips senators into line by telling them that they must not change a House-passed bill because this is the only way to keep the Rules Committee from bottling it up after the Senate acts. This, of course, is an argument without substance.

It is rare that important legislation comes through the House and Senate in exactly the same form. Usually, after both houses have acted, a conference committee is appointed to iron out the differences. Many strong bills have been weakened and many weak bills have been strengthened in this process.

AT THE BEGINNING of the civil rights fight in 1959 there were many who thought that the House could quickly pass a good civil rights bill. Instead, there was a leadership view that the Senate would act first and this would give the House a hint on what had a chance for final passage.

In the end the filibuster group turned in its usual performance in the Senate Judiciary Committee so it was not possible to bring a bill to the floor from that source in 1959. Acting under orders from the entire Senate, Chairman James Eastland (D.-Miss.) reluctantly released a House-approved bill and sent it to the floor in 1960.

Until the Eastland group acted, there were many rumors and newspaper stories about the importance of accepting the House bill without any changes, because if changes were made no bill at all would pass during this session of Congress.

EASTLAND'S CONSIDERATION of the bill was supposed to be a stern clash between pro and anti-civil rights forces. Those who sat outside the door waiting for the executive session of the committee to end were frequently treated to snatches of voices raised in jocular good fellowship.

When the bill emerged it had been amended and this forshadowed further amendments on the Senate floor. This made it inevitable that the text finally approved by the upper body would be different from the text approved below.

The same spirit of brotherly love that had been the order of the day in the Senate Judiciary Committee now oozed to floor of the Senate itself. Those who were supposed to be in favor of civil rights took up the cry of "don't change the House bill because if we do the Rules Committee will smother it."

Using this fear psychology, leaders of the Republicans and Democrats staged a contest between themselves to see who could do the most to keep out any kind of strengthening amendments. Insults, parliamentary tricks and general steamroller tactics were used to crush attempts of Democratic and G.O.P. Senators who were trying to improve the bill.

* * *

EVEN UP to the minute when a Southern group forced Senator Everett Dirksen, (R.-Ill.) the minority leader, to add a crippling amendment to the voting section of the bill, some Senators were still insisting that it would be dangerous if the bill were changed from the form in the House by adding constructive amendments.

For the record, it should be understood by all that no bill can be bottled up in the House Rules Committee unless the leaders in both parties fail to do their duty.

It is true that Howard Smith (D.-Va.) is chairman of the House Rules Committee, but no matter what the Senate might put in a bill, if Mr. Sam Rayburn (D.-Tex.) the speaker, and Mr. Charles Halleck (R.-Ind.), the minority leader, want Rules Committee action they can always get it.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

Fitting Tribute To A Fighter

Students frequenting the Carl Murphy Auditorium at Morgan State College in Baltimore will not have the problem I had at the Robert Brown Elliott grade school. They know Dr. Murphy and what he has meant to the country.

If anyone knew about Mr. Elliott at the grade school named for him, it was a well kept secret. He was a colored member of Congress and an able defender of civil rights during reconstruction. Information about him would have been a refutation of the canard that non-whites in the political field of his day were dolts.

The bright-eyed, dark-faced little boys and girls who attended that school grew up in an environment that pictured the colored man as shiftless, destructive and incapable of achievement. Who can say what their generation lost because they did not know of the inspiration in Mr. Elliott's career?

THE MORGAN STUDENTS will know and profit from the life of Dr. Murphy because he has helped to remake the world in which they live. Few names in American journalism rank as high as his. No man has done more to make the country aware of the injustice of racial discrimination and what to do about the social evil.

Our children know more about themselves and their forebears today because the press, radio and television spread the facts in a way that makes learning easy for those who can read or have the intelligence to turn a dial. Of these, the press is the most consistent source of enlightenment. It tells more and is available at the learner's convenience.

Dr. Murphy, and tough - minded men like him, are the reason why our Nation's newspapers accomplish the remarkable task of making available a whole new volume of printed history each time the next edition hits the street.

* * *

A MASTER OF the concise sentence and the abbreviated paragraph, Dr. Murphy can write an editorial that will burn a hole in the desk of some erring public official. It will also sound the alarm that brings delegations storming into the offender's office.

Usually, Dr. Murphy is in the front ranks of the determined taxpayers and, when the interview ends, some community problem such as discrimination against colored firemen or misuse of police power has been solved or put in a position for later successful attack.

Many who are tempted to sabotage a good cause or frustrate hardworking community leaders have some second thoughts when they consider what may be waiting for them at the writing end of Dr. Murphy's pen.

* * *

EVEN HIS SERVICE as chairman of the Morgan College Board of Trustees is a landmark. Before he assumed this duty there were some who did not have the vision to see that it would be better to have a highly qualified and interested colored man than a less qualified and mildly interested white person.

By naming the newest building for him, a grateful State has given the Nation a reminder that Dr. Murphy has made an impact on American life that is equivalent to that of the historical figures who stand in austere dignity on his book shelves.

From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

"Public" Means Just That

Even the Mississippi Legislature could not turn down a cool one million dollars just because there was a remote possibility that someday this could cause all who approved the move to get a king - size headache.

They now have the headache and, let us hope, aspirin is in short supply.

Never missing a chance to put the bite on other taxpayers in more civilized parts of the country, Mississippi usually goes through the formality of anticipating various kinds of red tape in getting the cash.

The legislature tries to protect itself by attaching certain conditions to its acceptance of grants from Uncle Sam.

* * *

THE CONDITIONS are, for the most part, meaningless and it is certain that the state would quickly abandon them if it sppeared that they would delay receipt of the funds.

However, in 1948, the prospect of getting $1,133,000 for development of a beach on the Gulf of Mexico caused such excitement in the legislature that it voted to "do whatever was necessary to obtain Federal funds for the beach project, including assurances that it will be administered perpetually for public use."

...

The Lord has blessed the states that border on the Gulf of Mexico with a shore line of beauty that might well be a summer resort in Paradise.

In spite of the unworthy conduct of some of the state's inhabitants, Mississippi almost seems to have gotten the biggest helping of delightful sand and sea.

* * *

IT IS NOT likely that any member of the state legislature had sense enough to see that the grant from the Federal government would help to increase the popularity of the state as a tourist attraction.

Most members of that body have always been short range planners where public funds are concerned.

They spend as long as the immediate grant lasts and then turn to some other cash producing scheme.

Outside planners are more inclined to think of using public funds for ventures that will continue to produce income.

That is why outside investors began building hotels and other accommodations to take care of the visitors who would come to new beaches. They came, they continued to come and they pour millions into the area each year.

* * *

WHILE HAPPILY working as minor clerks, petty hirelings and, here and there, as a straw - boss for the outsiders, the segregation exponents in Biloxi rarely entertained the thought that it might be a good idea to buy a dictionary and find out the meaning of the word "public."

Perhaps this would not have helped much because there must surely be a Mississippi law requiring that this particular word means "white only" and all dictionaries printed or sold in there must so state.

* * *

AS WORD GOT around that some colored folks were beginning to think that the beach was public property anyway, the city fathers decided to handle the matter in "the usual fashion."

Colored would - be bathers were ordered off the beach and finally arrested for disorderly conduct when they refused to leave.

Later, local authorities turned their backs while mobsters moved in to clobber men, women and children who were swimming.

Then, on May 17, 1960, the U.S. Department of Justice let everyone know that public meant colored people too.

It filed a suit to halt the practice of discrimination in violation of the contract.

...

So far. there has been no line of legislature members forming for the purpose of returning the million that came from the U.S. Treasury in 1948.

Eugene Patterson

Someone's Wrong About Kennedy

The Democratic Party's stand on civil rights is costing it some white support in Georgia. It may surprise some of these Georgians to learn that the same issue is costing the Democrats some Negro support in the North.

Such a collision emphasizes the irony born of political traffic in human emotions.

A New York Times survey of Harlem detected an increase of Negro sentiment against the Democrats due to "mounting anger over the treatment Negroes are getting in the South" and "growing resentment over the refusal of (the Democratic) Congress to pass effective civil rights legislation."

* * *

"Some of those interviewed said the Democratic nominee, Sen. John F. Kennedy, could not deliver on civil rights because his party was controlled by Southerners," the Times said.

In Georgia, they say Kennedy has sold out to the North. In Harlem, they say he is a prisoner of the South. Now, somebody is wrong. Kennedy is, in fact, caught between the equally hateful millstones of racial prejudice on the one hand and regional prejudice on the other. Nowhere can the white Southerner see this more clearly than in the unfamiliar news from the North.

The Times survey goes on to speculate that President Eisenhower carried nearly 40 per cent of New York's Negro vote in 1956 because the Negro wanted to register a protest "against the Southern Democrats."

Georgia should be able to understand this, having just registered a protest vote against the Northern radical.

Even the New York Negro who supports Kennedy, like Walter Petry Jr., does so because "I believe he'll be able to discipline Southern conservatives in his party."

But Alexander Bethea said "I'm voting for Nixon because a vote for Kennedy is a vote for the Dixiecrats."

* * *

Another Negro interviewed by The Times, Kenneth Clark, said "I believe the Negro has gotten as much as he can from blind allegiance to the Democratic Party, which today is controlled by Southern Democrats and big city bosses who have no regard for the Negro."

Let us alter this only slightly and guess how many Georgia politicians have said: "I believe the South has gotten as much as it can from blind allegiance to the Democratic Party, which today is controlled by Northern radicals and big city bosses who have no regard for the South."

To find Southern Democrats and Northern Negroes accusing Jack Kennedy of opposite sins leads us to suspect he is not entirely guilty on either count.

Eugene Patterson

South's Governors Acted Unwisely

The states' rights argument is now almost two centuries old. It began when the first 12 states federated under the Constitution. The issue blazes up each time the federal government tries to broaden its activities. It is a counterweight to centralized action and is therefore a valid political issue.

But it is just that—a political issue. A recent effort to make it something more should be scrutinized.

It is an issue to be decided by all the people and all the states, not a few of them. As people, states and society change, so do the operating rules of this democracy. That is the marvel of the Constitution. It is not a dead letter. It is a living organism of government, written in the past but stressed to stretch with the ages.

* * *

And each change is properly fought out in the political bullring. States' righters may claim the Constitution is torn. Federalists will claim it is a natural stretch. And the people, who can decide the kind of governing they want, rule whether it is an unacceptable tear or a beneficent flex. This is politics.

But education of the young is quite separate from politics. To overbalance the scales in the schooling of the young to favor one side of a political issue over another is to brainwash.

Any schoolteacher in Georgia who teaches that Republicans are wise and Democrats are foolish will not last long.

Yet the governors of the Southern states, meeting in Hot Springs, have adopted a disturbing resolution that would put politics into schooling.

The body of the resolution itself, hastily written by South Carolina Gov. Ernest Hollings, is harmless enough. But if Southern teachers are to take their cue from the spirit in which the resolution was conceived, our children are in for a brainwashing.

One David J. Mays, chairman of a Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, spoke to the governors before they acted. Education, he said, is the only "dignified" way to fight for states' rights. The governors were told that teaching of the Constitution in the classroom is one way to "counter federal invasion of states' rights."

* * *

Whereupon the governors of the Southern states adopted the Hollings resolution which, while noble in its advocacy of "the teaching of the Constitution" in the classroom, goes on to "commend" the statements of Mr. Mays and describe the South as "one of the last bastions of the federal system under the Constitution."

Any schoolteacher who wishes to go forward with a fair and impartial teaching of the Constitution will be serving Southern children well.

But any teacher who teaches the Constitution in the spirit of the governors' resolution, assuming that the South is the "last bastion" and that Mr. Mays' views on states' rights are a recommended line, will be brainwashing Southern children toward one of two sides, and ill preparing them to decide the national political issues they will meet in adulthood. The Southern governors have brought politics too close to the classroom. The teachers and the people ought to note it, and shield the children from any slanting of their minds.

Eugene Patterson

The Atlanta Constitution

South's People Are Good People

Atlanta Ga.

Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida made this speech Friday before the Executives' Club of Chicago. Because I do not believe many men since Henry Grady have caught a vision of the coming South with such clarity as this, the words that follow are the words of Gov. Collins:

Mon. 9-12-60

I want to speak to you of the South I love so deeply that while I sing its praises and laud its virtues, I cannot be blind to its shortcomings. I so want you to understand the South not just because this will be to our region's advantage, but because it will be to your own advantage. . . .

While we still have some "tobacco roads" in the South, we have no franchise on them. They also exist in Chicago, in New England and even in the new West. We have people of good will everywhere, and we also have some of all shades of thinking everywhere. . . .

The challenges America faces in the world today cannot be met successfully by a society fragmented in disunity. . . . We have neither time for—nor can we afford—regional pettiness. . . .

* * *

Our greatest failure, I feel, has been in the development of new and able leadership—and this has been symbolic of our failures.

The unpleasant truth is that our generation has not provided enough of the leadership to which America is entitled and which it must have if it is to emerge once again as the unquestioned leader of the world. . . .

We have not given to the rest of the nation the high degree of leadership which the South is capable of producing and which the nation has had every right to expect of us. . . .

* * *

One who merely consults the newspaper headlines these days, with their trumpeting of racial conflicts and civil rights controversies, is apt to conclude that doom days have again descended upon the people of the South—that decades of painful progress have been swept away, returning us to the bitterness and blindness which set the South aflame a century ago.

But shrouded behind these dismaying headlines is a dramatic story of Southern progress. Since 1938, a great bootstrap operation has moved forward in the South with increasing acceleration. Today, the South is moving rapidly out of the economic blind alley in which it was trapped for so long—moving into the middle of the national economy. No longer are we just feeding off it from the edges.

Once-depleted Southern forest resources are being continually restored.

With its year-'round pastures the South is now rivaling the West in the production of fine cattle.

* * *

With modern agricultural techniques it has become possible for Southern farmers to emancipate themselves from the obsolescent, soil-eroding, impoverishing one-crop system of bygone years.

The South's most dramatic recent growth, however, has occurred in its industrial development.

Since the end of World War II, the Southeastern states alone have increased their manufacturing employment 20 per cent, compared with a decrease nationally.

With only one-fourth of the nation's land area, the South now produces approximately one-half of its minerals.

Nuclear raw materials and fuel plants are operating in Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee. Nuclear reactors and nuclear-powered ships are being built in Georgia, Virginia and Mississippi. And atomic power plants are scheduled for construction in South Carolina and Florida.

. . . By 1975, Southerners, for the first time since the Civil War, will be earning incomes equal to the national average.

* * *

The South has much of which it can be justly proud in the initiative and efforts and sacrifices made by its own people to stimulate and aid its advances.

A much greater portion of the cost of education in the South is borne through taxation than in other parts of the nation.

The South has not just waited and hoped for industrialization. We have actively sought it.

* * *

Economically, Southern standards of living are rising and sectional differences in wages are fast disappearing.

It is this story, so often unseen, which demands that Southerners put aside the widow's veil. . . . Our days of economic provincialism in the South have ended. Our days of political provincialism are numbered—provided we accept our position as a part of the mainstream of national life, and the leadership responsibility that goes with it. . . .

Our new dollar potency must be matched by political potency—not the kind that measures its strength by its noise, or by its capacity to produce headlines, but by its influence in achieving national, as well as the regional, well-being.

* * *

The South is changing, along with the nation, industrially and economically. But our political progress has not kept pace with the rate of other progress.

Our business leaders have sensed the great profit-making potential in a changing new South. They have been bold in their drives to move forward.

But thus far too many of our political leaders have been neither bold nor resourceful.

Senators, congressmen, governors, and mayors, too often, have been far more concerned with how they would personally come out on election day than with how the nation and the people would come out.

In the agony and travail of meeting problems of racial adjustments, too much of the political leadership of the South in our generation thus far has failed miserably.

Too many strong names—strong men—honored men—with past records glittering with accomplishment have failed the South in its time of great need.

* * *

They have allowed the South to search agonizingly among the hot coals of defiance and in the ashes of bitterness.

They have failed to counsel Southerners to be reasonable, to be patient and, most important of all, to look forward and think and act constructively.

They have encouraged the erection of barriers to communication between men of good will of all races, thus inevitably setting the stage for conflict and disorder.

They have not been brave. And the same indictment could be made against politicians of all other regions.

But our past failures, I hasten to say, do not give me pessimism. Paradoxical as it may seem, out of our failures will come the making of the Southland and of the nation.

Because it is out of failures and even despair that great leadership will arise.

Great leadership never comes in the quiet and sweetness of early mornings when all things seem good and clean with newness and promise.

* * *

Rather, it comes as the shadows lengthen on dark and stormy days—days ruled by wrong, tormented by fear.

For without wrong there is no urge to do right.

Without sickness there is no will to search for cures.

Without oppression there is no longing for liberation.

Great leadership does not come to people; it comes from people.

Out of the darkness it comes with a light held high that all may see. Over the roar of demagoguery and selfishness and prejudice its voice is heard clear and strong.

The South will not be impoverished politically. The same necessitous circumstances that produced Washington and Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, Marshall, Jackson and all the rest in the South and for the nation are now at work again.

The South will not be content to rely for its primary strength in the nation's political counsels upon how long its congressmen have been in office. The South will produce new leaders—leaders tempered on the anvil of adversity and strong in competence and courage.

They will look forward, not backward.

They will be our region's pride.

But more importantly, they will be America's strength.

I have no doubts about the ability of our Southern people to respond to this challenge, to respond to the type of leadership which is capable of bringing out the best in the South.

* * *

The people of the South are like the people anywhere else in America—they can, they do and they will, rise to the occasion, if only given the opportunity.

For they are, above all else, Americans.

I contend this nation—in all its regions and all its states—is ready for the kind of leadership which will restore America to its proper position of pre-eminence. For the same forces which are at work in the South, developing new leaders, new hope, are also at work in every region of this land.

I have complete confidence that America can find its true course, that it can unite, that it can regain its self-assurance, that it can surpass itself—and that it most assuredly will.

Eugene Patterson

'A Signal Rule Of Human Action'

The Atlanta Constitution

Dear Sir: Blackstone defined law as a signal rule of human action, commending what is right and forbidding what is wrong. Christ explained while on earth that man was not made for the law but law was made for the man. Modern politicians now try to change it so that man is made for the law, and not law for the man.

Mon. 9-6-60
Atlanta, Ga.

J. D. WATKINS
Jackson, Ga.

Dear Mr. Watkins: If Blackstone quit on the job, your present correspondent isn't apt to clarify it any.

It was fine for him to say law should commend the right and forbid the wrong. His dictum springs a leak when men can't agree what is right and what is wrong.

You might say the Supreme Court decision on schools was law made for the man if he were a Negro. But some felt it tried to make the man fit the law if he were a Southern white.

Two basic questions then come up.

P. 4

First, was it right? Most white Southerners argue the Supreme Court decision without reducing it to the central question of right or wrong. There are fences to be climbed before they get that far. Difficulty, practicality, custom, apprehensiveness, instinct, legality, pride, politics, defiance, misgiving, fear, suspicion, belief. These obstacles block the way to the distant fork where the choice is a simple right or wrong. These emotions are too deep seated to be trifled with. They form the volatile mixture that makes the South a compression chamber where sparks must not be fired casually.

Second, was it law? The answer is a simple yes. It took on the force of law not simply because the Supreme Court imposed it but because the majority of Americans believed it was right and backed it. This does not comfort the dissenter. It irritates him. He cannot change it because the American majority believes it is right. He must therefore obey it under the democratic system that assumes the majority is wise enough to choose right from wrong. The system also owes time and a decent respect to the dissent of a sincere minority, so long as the minority moves in good faith, as it can, to abide by the law it protests.

* * *

Modern politicians are indeed trying to change things around on both sides of the question, Mr. Watkins. But if we believe in the system of government we've got, then we have to obey its law, and assume the majority makes the law for the man, and is not primarily interested in yoking man with wrongheaded law.

Majority politicians will goad the minority, cynically and hurtfully at times. Minority politicians will try to change and nullify; but all of their constitutional contentions, all of their claims for the right of state laws to override federal, cannot alter what the national majority, with its power to enact or amend, determines the law to be.

And man, the bewildered fellow who so desperately wants to find the signal rule for human action, cannot be overcome if he will hold on to that one rock in the rapids—the law and its due processes.

Eugene Patterson

Two Letters About Sit-Ins

Atlanta Constitution

P. 4

Dear Mr. Patterson: I began to think about this thing and I am not sure that these stores are right in doing this (segregating eating) to these folks just because they are Negroes. I wonder if I would like it if the store manager told me that he couldn't serve me because my grandfather came from Scotland. I am a Southerner by all measures but I think this is carrying our sins too far—by making the life of a person of another race unpleasant.

T. McGILL
Atlanta

Mon. 10-27-60
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. McGill: I feel the same way you do.

Dear Mr. Patterson: What a paradox! Atlanta, "the reasonable and sympathetic" paradise of the South, with desegregated lunch counters to her north, south, east and west, has yet to desegregate a single lunch counter . . . It is interesting that your editorial has a note of finality in adjudging that the "sit-in is not a wise weapon here." You buttress your argument with the citation that neither of the presidential candidates endorsed the sit-in that violates "valid" law. Is this to suggest that Kennedy or Nixon or Patterson is some kind of oracle of Delphi whose pronouncements are unerring? . . . The "folly" has resulted in desegregating the lunch counters in 94 Southern cities that, in one man's opinion, would have taken decades through our traditional legal processes. The "valid" law which applies only to Negroes is now under the scrutiny of the U.S. Supreme Court and seems to be an odds-on favorite to be declared unconstitutional.

WYATT TEE WALKER
Director, Southern Christian
Leadership Conference

* * *

Dear Mr. Walker: Some feel that if they sympathize with your ends, they must approve your means. I feel it is a legitimate use of the powers of reasoning to separate the two and examine them. While I have sympathy for the ends the students seek, I feel your leadership of them into an area outside the law is unwise and hurtful to their cause. The legitimate economic, legal or demonstrative means at your disposal could have achieved unarguably what your sit-ins seek to achieve unlawfully, and probably could have done so just as promptly without causing this division of the sympathies of men ranging from Mr. Truman to tested members of your own race. These divisions must make it clear to you that the sit-in, as a means, exacts a price for the emotional exhilaration it may bring you; it trades away some of the moral force of your cause — a force which you kept intact in the Montgomery bus dispute. To risk exchanging the clear status of the offended for that of the offender, is an unwise tactic in any quest for justice, and I am deeply disturbed to see the students led into this risky means by uncritical applause for their ends.

Eugene Patterson

The Atlanta Constitution

Edenfield Outlined The Simple Truth

Atlanta, Ga.

Thur. 6/2/60 Ed. Pg.

The Maginot line curves still like a noose of stone across the northern neck of France. Vines soften the curving clods of concrete and curtain the casements. Children play tag in the dragon's teeth.

Somebody planted explosives and blew the roofs in after World War II. Few of the bunkers ever fired a shot in anger. The enemy punched a hole in the fence and went through, and left a hundred miles of pillboxed men aiming fiercely at empty pastures.

Generals junked fixed warfare then. To accept defeat as France did rather than to employ maneuver became a military symbol of blind foolishness.

* * *

So consider Newell Edenfield's speech to the Georgia Bar. What particular valor there can be for Georgians to man outflanked bunkers escapes him.

Georgia's segregation laws are a Maginot line that an army has pierced and passed through.

Some fierce soldiers still sit at the sally ports and peer for a host that has marched around them. If you ask them why they sit there they say I am for segregation, just as Frenchmen 20 years ago sat and said I am for France. Well, are they?

As Mr. Edenfield noted, law cannot live without order, and order requires compliance with precedents, loved or unloved, laid down by higher courts.

And every school desegregation suit thus far successful in the South has been won in states that had fixed laws requiring segregation, while states having no laws requiring segregation are still in the field and maneuvering.

With the dry precision of a disciplined mind, Gen. Edenfield gave his report. Abandon the Maginot delusion, wipe the books clean of breached laws and start to maneuver.

The simplicity of all real truth lay in what the bar president said.

If the laws vainly trying to force compulsory segregation were struck voluntarily from the code, Negroes as a class would lose their legal target and be left as individuals to bushwhack. They could no longer charge as an army through the hole in the wall.

* * *

At the same time—though Mr. Edenfield did not say it—the Negro would be happy to see the repeal occur. He does not relish leaving his children a life of conduct by compulsion. For all the bugle calls about "integration," a reach for dignity describes the basic drive of the Negro. One of his aims is to get laws that are directed at him off the books.

With something to be gained by maneuver and everything to be lost by freezing, the question arises as to why the loudest of the bunker captains keep counseling squat and wait.

If you talk to them privately you will find most of them know their Maginot line is finished.

The curious thing is, they do not believe the people know it. And rather than risk telling them something painful, as Mr. Edenfield has done, they feel it is somehow more valorous to accept defeat, hunkered in their bunkers, rather than rise to a worthier posture that is defensible. Georgians deserve a more creditable command than squat, wait and roll over.

Segregation Laws Are as Useless As Maginot Line, Says Patterson

The Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta Ga.

The Maginot Line was considered the ultimate in protection for the French. It was massive, well-armed—and useless. Editor Patterson likens it to Georgia's segregation laws.

Thur. 6/2/60

On The Constitutions editorial page, Patterson in his column praises former Georgia Bar Assn. President Newell Edenfield's idea that the old laws must be wiped clean to leave room for maneuver.

31a White

On the same page you will find a report by Cassandra who writes from a Kiev monastery that Russian youth considers religion "old hat."

Eugene Patterson

Atlanta Constitution

Nixon Made It Sound So Easy

31a White

Atlanta, Ga.

Richard M. Nixon's Atlanta performance was a political masterwork. He stirred the tired blood of the Democratic South. It did Georgia good. It did not do Jack Kennedy any good at all. Nixon speaks well. He has more ham than Kennedy. He can phrase a banality to sound like the Magna Carta. He carries a crowd.

Framed coolly against the magnolias of Hurt Park, he perspired not a drop under a brute of a sun that wilted born Southerners and plastered confetti to the wet chests of open-shirted policemen.

Mon. 8-29-60

The pants of Nixon's ice cream suit were too short. The gap showed thin, blue-ribbed socks and slightly run-down heels on his black wingtip shoes. He placed his weight on his right leg while speaking and generally kept his left knee bent. He seemed so balanced and composed that his gestures and his resonant peaks of conviction seemed somehow disattached from his person.

P. 4

Yet the words had a deceptive tumble and flow. They struck straight as a bullet to their mark. Behind the flushed face, powdered against a stubborn beard, and the dark, deepset eyes, lay a mind finely strung and tuned to the pitch of a crowd's emotions. Kennedy does not have this sensitive contact. Neither did Eisenhower, Stevenson, Truman and Dewey. Franklin Roosevelt had it, in a different key.

Nixon's slender, tired-eyed wife watched him fixedly as he spoke. He praised Sea Island, Albany, Mayor Hartsfield, Atlanta skyscrapers, his Duke roommate, Georgia Tech, James V. Carmichael, the weather, Thomas Jefferson and the people of Georgia.

He deftly held his position on civil rights by telling Georgians that other regions are guilty, too. He urged peace without surrender, said the Democrats have lost the way, praised Cabot Lodge as "the man who can deal with the Russians across the conference table," declared President Eisenhower "got us out of one war and kept us out," recalled he kept his temper with Khrushchev in the kitchen, derided Kennedy as a man who would send regrets to Khrushchev, and Democrats as people who want to increase the size of the federal government to spend our money for us whereas Republicans assume we can spend it for ourselves.

None of this was especially nourishing. It was primer politics. It did not commit Mr. Nixon to much that he would try precisely to do as president.

* * *

But in the field of emotional impact, which is the most effective target area of politics, he had the range of his audience. His words rained like kisses on eager ears long outraged by less gentle sounds.

His most devastating appeal dared the South to change, to hear both parties, to choose; to forget the platforms, the parties, the past; to just walk into that polling place on election day and vote for the man—the man who "will best serve the nation in the interests which you deeply believe in."

"If he loves us this much," said spectator Charles Bloch, a Macon attorney, "I certainly wish he would not sick Attorney General Rogers all over us with these civil rights suits."

Eugene Patterson

The Atlanta Constitution

Straight Talk Starts on Schools

31a White

Atlanta, Ga.

With the salty talk of Jim Peters sounding the way, Georgia education is starting to move again. Light is coming into the long night. One shies from shadows in the darkness. But light and strong voices bring steadiness.

Mr. Peters long ago warned the state to keep its schools open in the racial crisis. Now he is speaking again to urge it.

P. 4

Then he broke another rule of timorous politics Thursday and told Georgians they ought to consolidate schools, violating county lines where sensible. Consolidation hurts some community life. But it helps educate the young in better schools.

Sat. 10-15-60

Yet other waves are developing whitecaps. The Jernigan committee is about to bring in its report on training and certifying teachers.

* * *

Regents and education board members have met jointly and decided on a series of studies, with professional advice, in the field of recruiting, educating and rewarding teachers.

Only recently the State Board of Education skipped politics and distributed millions for classroom building to the areas where the children are. There was a time when the money went where the politicians were.

Studies are under way to modify the "chargeback" formula which governs the supply of state funds to schools. Imbedded under the shucks creep the weevils of inequity. The formula rewards school districts that shirk local tax support and punishes those that tax themselves dutifully. This can be fixed either by equalizing the assessment of property, or by offsetting the present unequal assessment practices through use of a common denominator that will take account of local variations and distribute state money in ratio to local effort. Gov. Vandiver has shown signs of leadership in the field of equalization. Rep. Arthur Bolton's legislative committee is laboring upon that mountain.

These are some of the hard truths that must be faced if true progress is to be made in schooling the state's children. And they are being faced, strongly and increasingly. Better teacher pay, better teacher training, better school plants and better schooling will follow when a hard and basic bottom has been put beneath the jackleg carpentry of shaky practices.

Eugene Patterson

Racial Friction Is Easing a Bit

A cooling application of intelligence is beginning to temper the heat of racial friction. The slight new movement of old notions is being felt in both races. If it goes on, there is reason to hope for truth in the words of a Nigerian who visited Atlanta recently.

The robed African, speaker of the House of Representatives in the new state of Nigeria, said Americans should quit considering their white-Negro frictions as problems and treat them as great opportunities.

"The Communist countries have few Negro citizens," the Nigerian said. "They are not kin to us. What you Americans overlook is the fact that we in Africa have blood ties to your country—to 16 million Negro Americans.

"Just as Europe is attached to you in sentiment and loyalty because of blood kinship; just as the Old World Anglo-Saxon is kin to the white Southerner, so is Africa attached to you.

* * *

"The Negro is in fact your greatest opportunity in your competition with communism in Africa. It is up to you as to whether you will seize or abandon this great natural advantage you have over Russia in my continent."

Some Americans have regarded the Congo chaos as evidence that Africans are not ready for independence. The fact is, however, that they are independent. Whether one approves of it will not change it; the question is whether one will deal with the existing fact constructively or destructively. It is the same situation that confronts the white Southerner in his judgment-passing on Negro citizens.

The intelligence of the white South is coming to bear. Closing of all schools to prevent any desegregation is losing any pretense of being a remedy in Georgia. Reaction still varies. A Butts County representative who backed the Sibley Commission plan to keep schools open was voted out of office last month. But in the Atlanta metropolitan area, any candidate who expected to be elected to a major office had to endorse open schools, a violent change from the fairly recent past. All over Georgia the lacerating hate of old political oratory is being muted as not quite decent, and men are listening for sense.

* * *

An equally indicative shift can be seen in the Negro attitude. The fever of agitation still runs high. But the honesty which self-confidence always brings is asserting itself to such an extent that Carl Rowan, Negro reporter for the Minneapolis Tribune, can suggest in this week's Saturday Evening Post that Negroes shouldn't blame all their plight on society, but should go to work to remedy some of their own shortcomings.

Rowan quotes Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as conceding that the Negro should not become so immersed in protesting against segregation as to neglect the duty to raise his own moral and cultural climate.

Some whites will, as Dr. King said, say, "We told you so," and damn the Negro with his own admission of high crime rates and other problems. But the number of whites who would do so sinks as the number of Negroes who have the courage to face the problem rises. It is here that intelligence is being applied by both sides.

Eugene Patterson

The Cheerleader Got There Late

"Contrary to what some would have you believe," said Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd on Tuesday, Georgia's laws requiring school segregation have not changed one iota."

Somebody send Garland a ticket to last week's football game.

Better yet, let the taxpayers gather up some Confederate money, with the unchanged writing still upon it above the unchanged signature of Judah P. Benjamin, and from this fund, on every payday, let the lieutenant governor draw his salary.

Contrary to what some would have you believe, the Confederate bills and last week's football tickets have not changed one iota. They retain all the value of Georgia's unchanged school laws.

For a politician of Mr. Byrd's intelligence to throw the public such a marshmallow at this late date is discouraging indeed.

The lieutenant governor knows very well that Georgia's "unchanged" laws are worthless and, when tested, cannot stand in the light of repeated court decisions that have cut the legs off of them.

To go on treating these dead-letter laws as livewire defenses is beneath Mr. Byrd, who knows better. The people know the truth, too. They have had enough sophistry. They no longer desire to have a politician sprinkle their ear and tell them it's raining.

They want to know what their politicians intend to do next, now that they know the segregation laws, which have not changed one iota on paper, do not have one iota of validity in court.

We would refer Mr. Byrd to Wednesday's statement by Newell Edenfield, president of the Georgia Bar Assn., who urges the state to jettison the useless laws now.

* * *

"If you have segregation laws you cannot win. They don't do any good so far as preserving segregation. They just provide Negroes with built-in cases," Mr. Edenfield said.

"No school district ever won a case in a state which has on its books laws requiring segregation," he said. And neither has a school board lost a case where segregation laws have been repealed.

Contrary to what some would have you believe, the defense-minded Mr. Byrd got to the game a little late with his unchanged ticket and he is cheering "Hold That Line!" to an empty field.

General Assembly From Day To Day

Journal And Guide

Sat. 2-6-60

(Editor's Note:—J. Rupert Picott, former newspaperman who is now executive secretary of the Virginia Teachers Association, is writing a special weekly report giving background and highlights on activities in the Virginia General Assembly. This is Dr. Picott's third article of the series, written exclusively for the Journal and Guide.)

By J. RUPERT PICOTT

RICHMOND — In politics, planning is a practiced art. The aim is to leave "absolutely nothing" to chance.

It is generally recognized that members of the Virginia legislature, like their counterparts everywhere, try to anticipate all possible avenues legislative action may take and to give the direction, even to deciding who will "say what" at a "given time" on a "specific issue." So, Virginia Capitol Hill "students" waited to see who would be chosen to lead the anti-Almond forces' attack on the Governor's proposals to the 1960 Assembly. That offensive was launched this week and the opening speaker was Harry F. Byrd, Jr., son of Virginia's U. S. senator.

Dr. Picott

Next

It is true. Washington, D. C. exerts more influence on the "first capital" of the Confederacy than most are willing to admit. The "election fever" is already beginning to catch on in Richmond. Although it will be a year and a half now before the next governor of Virginia will be selected, it was significant that the speakers who followed the junior Byrd — were Senator Mills Godwin of Suffolk and Senator Garland Gray of Waverly. Conjecture has it that all three have eyes on the Governor's Mansion.

Surplus

Byrd, Jr. contended that Virginia will have at the end of the current fiscal year — June 30, 1960—a budget surplus in excess of $25,000,000 and perhaps as much as $30,000,000. This, Almond denies. It is a crucial issue, with definite implications for the need or lack of need of a retail sales tax in Virginia at this time.

Safari

The counties and cities of Northern Virginia—Arlington, Fairfax, Loudoun, Prince William, Alexandria and Falls Church — spent $20,000 last week on a free—transportation and food, plus extras—junket.

THERE WAS A time when Northern Virginia went its own way, but not any more. The political forces of the nearby Potomac River localities seem anxious to "rejoin" the Commonwealth of Virginia. Accordingly, the legislature shut up shop last Friday and entrained for Alexandria. The party, including the Governor, was met by the mayors of the area and carried on free airplane rides, "wined" and "dined" and told about the merits of Virginia's fast growing section.

Mass

So many sales tax bills and substitutes for the sales tax had been proposed in the legislature veteran observers have almost lost count. In the past, this has been a sign that the democratic organizational leaders wish a measure to be killed or delayed. The technique used is to encourage the offering of various bills on the subject, with "confusion" as the obvious aim.

ON THE OTHER hand, when the Assembly leaders really want a bill, the reins are pulled in tightly and it is rare that more than one bill on that subject is presented. Now, a retail sales tax by any other name is still a "retail sales tax"—so let's wait and see.

Census

Senator Breeden of Norfolk and colleagues have introduced Resolution number 5, calling for a commission to study redistricting.

THE PROPOSAL states that "Whereas, the results of the Census of 1960 should be available in 1961", the General Assembly should establish a commission composed of one member from each of Virginia's ten Congressional Districts to make a study of "the apportionment of representation in the General Assembly, and in the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States." This may result in substantial gains in representation by those areas that have experienced large population growth in the past ten years.

Colleges

Dr. Robert P. Daniel, Dr. Lyman B. Brooks and Dr. P. B. Young appeared before the Joint Session of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Appropriation Committee. Dr. Daniel asked the Assembly members to restore to the 1960-62 proposed budget, $625,000 for an agricultural building and equipment; $50,000 for equipment for the new library and miscellaneous funds for the Petersburg institution.

Drs. Young and Brooks spoke for the Norfolk Division of the College and asked for funds totaling $435,000 in addition to the Governor's recommendations for the Tidewater City branch. Extra monies requested for the Norfolk institution included $200,000 for Nursing Education and classroom building; $100,000 for roads, culvert and fill, parking and other improvements; $15,000 for library books and periodicals; $60,000 for student activities building and other funds.

Bye, until next week.

31a 1960

Pittman Serves On Moscow Beat

SAN FRANCISCO — John Pittman, who has established many "firsts" as a veteran Negro journalist, has now added another.

He is the first of his race from the U. S. to serve as a resident correspondent in Moscow, with the Soviet Union as his "beat." Pittman's dispatches appear on the Pacific coast in The People's World, a paper with which he has been associated since its birth in 1938.

Born in Atlanta, Ga., Pittman graduated from Morehouse college and continued his studies at the University of California where he got his M. A. degree in 1929.

Pittman was also a columnist on foreign affairs for the Chicago Defender during World War II and went overseas to cover the Paris Peace Conference for the paper. He was the first Negro correspondent to visit Eastern Europe (Romonia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland) after World War II.

In Moscow with Pittman are his wife, Margrit, and their two children.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Dr. Johnson

IF EVERYBODY will just keep quiet for a minute, I want to express an opinion, to tell you how I feel about Dr. Mordecai Johnson's long tenure at Howard University. When I consider the span of years Dr. Johnson served, I am a bit frightened, for I full well remember when he became the first Negro president of Howard University and how proud we all were.

Mr. Prattis

I know a lot more about Dr. Johnson than he knows I know and I didn't get it out of The Negro Vanguard. I don't mind telling what I know (even if it does go back a long time—before his Morehouse days) because what I know about him I like. I like to feel I knew him as a boy (which I didn't) because the first I know of him is as a boy when he wasn't a Jeremiah of the church, but just "Mordy" to the kids in Memphis.

■

HE WAS quite a boy, I am told. He was active. He had initiative. He was creative. The rest of the kids might have guessed that "Mordy" would turn out to be a preacher because he was always putting on a one-man show. I don't know whether he made the other kids pay to see his shows or not, but I wouldn't put it behind him. He always had an eye for business. The kids really liked "Mordy" and his gift of gab.

Well, as you know, "Mordy" became a preacher, and a real good one. But he never quite got away from putting on a show. I remember sailing with him once to Haiti. Dr. Robert R. Moton and several others went along. Somebody got the idea of putting on a speechifying show on the deck. Everybody was to recite his best piece. Moton did pretty good. So did the others. Then along came "Mordy." By this time he was president of Howard University. He just ran away with things. I don't remember whether he recited James Weldon's "Creation," or just what it was. All I know is that all the others bowed out and let "Mordy" have the floor.

■

IF MY arithmetic is right, "Mordy" had the floor at Howard for nearly 34 years. There were all sorts of schisms and inner conflicts, but "Mordy" rode these well, ignored the yapping at his coat tails and went on to wheedle more out of Congress for Howard than had been wheedled in all the years preceding him. Even before the congressional committees, he parried the sniping and came home with the so-called bacon. Howard has not reached its full stature yet, but one wonders where it would have been without Johnson at the helm.

To his great credit, it must be said that he never bit his tongue—whether he liked to hear himself talk or not. Some folk may have trembled, but "Mordy" roared his convictions. He frightened the faint of heart, but he got what he went after.

Pick him apart if you will, but he was Howard's greatest president.

These are tremendous shoes into which Jim Nabrit moves, but they are well broken-in. Dr. Nabrit knows the pitch. His training, his experience, his background, his savoir-faire, are all assets which give one confidence that he will pick up where "Mordy" left off, apply a bit of oil here and there and keep the great university machine moving—FORWARD.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Why? Why?

SEVERAL weeks ago, some Indian students staged a "sit-in" at a so-called white school in North Carolina, rather than go 70 miles daily to a special high school set apart for them. There was a high school nearby set apart for them. There was a high school nearby set apart for Negroes, but the Indians refused to go to it. They didn't want to be segregated by themselves or with Negroes.

Mr. Prattis

While this was going on, Mike Wallace interviewed an Indian chief in Indiana over television. Mike wanted to know what the Indian attitude was toward discrimination against Negroes. The Indian chief replied that the attitude of the Indians was sympathetic toward Negroes (because they, the Indians, had suffered from prejudice, too) He remarked, however, that Indians were against intermarriage with Negroes.

■

OF COURSE, the foregoing refers to American Indians. But the mind-set not to intermarry with American Negroes, or even to associate with them, is not peculiar to the American Indian. Neru can talk his head off about human rights and brotherhood, but 99 and 44/100 per cent of Indians who come to this country from Asia shun any but the most formal contacts with the American Negro. This is true, incidentally, of these Indians in the West Indies, in South America (British Guiana), and in East and South Africa.

But what really takes the cake is the fact that many black Africans will skirt the American Negro if they can get away with it. We may have feeling for the Ethiopians, but few of them have feeling for us. The same is true of the Sudanese. If there is any way that these, and some other Africans, can win the flimsiest sort of acceptance from whites, they begin looking straight down the street when their American Negro "brother" passes down the street.

■

THERE WAS a time when the Liberians were affiliated with this malady, also the Haitians. Happily, the Liberians have changed their stance. The emergence of new African nations, with pride in themselves, has made a change. They are not afraid to be seen with you, nor to invite you around to the house sometime.

Of course, this aloofness is partially the result of the "bad mouth" which the white American has put on the Negro all over the world. He has made the rest of the world feel and think that the American Negro is the "untouchable" of this country. Who would want an "untouchable"—even in India?

There's one good thing about that man Muhammad's teaching. That is that Negroes should do for themselves and win the respect of the rest of the world.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

31a Negro

The Pittsburgh Courier

Excuses

DID YOU ever notice how quick some white Americans are to make excuses or to yell, "You, too!" When we got caught with our U-2 pants down, we took the illogical stand that it was our job to defend the entire free world, then went to the United Nations to show how the Russians had fooled us by inducing us to place on the wall of the American embassy a wired American coat of arms.

Mr. Prattis

The first thing any child does when caught in the act is to try to find something with which to accuse the accuser.

Pittsburgh Courier

So we went to Rome and lost in the Olympics. 'Twas a terrible let-down for a proud nation, used to success. How did we take our loss? Were we sporting about it? Indeed not! First, there was a charge that our athletes were gallivanting, that there was too much "wine, women and song." But that was disproved. So we began looking for other excuses.

■

AVERY BRUNDAGE, president of the International Olympic Committee, and just about as experienced in Olympic sports as any man living, put his finger on the real cause. He didn't make excuses. He found the reason for our disappointing showing to be in something which many of us have suspected all along, but have said and done too little about. Mr. Brundage said:

"Americans are growing soft. We are just not up to the Russians in about half the Olympic events. If it were not for our Negro athletes, we'd be a second-rate power."

Here Mr. Brundage pays American Negroes a mighty fine compliment. But it isn't anything we should gloat about. We've known we were physically superior on the whole to white Americans for a long time.

ONE OF the reasons is because the white man in America, since 1619, has used the American Negro to do his heavy and dirty work. Most white Americans, some lowly immigrants excepted, train and look for the easy jobs. When Negroes complain that there is not equality of work opportunity, what they really mean is that they don't have a shot at the soft, high-paying jobs.

All this should make Negroes stop and think. America needs brains as well as brawn. If fine-living among whites is making "psychoes" with flabby muscles among them, the thing for Negroes to do is not to emulate them, but excel them while they bask in the illusion of "white supremacy."

As written in this space so many times before, the white man, unintentionally, gives the Negro glorious opportunities to get ahead. All the Negro needs to do is to work hard and keep on the ball. If he would cut out some of his drinking, dancing and capering, and devote himself to the things that count in a modern world, he couldn't help coming out ahead of a group which has become too cocksure of itself and will need Negroes in the long pull like they were needed in Rome.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Courier

Nixon-Kennedy

THE average voter has great difficulty reading between the lines of statements issued by politicians. The politician is not to be blamed. Someone is always trying to corner him. After much experience, he becomes expert at obfuscation.

Mr. Prattis

He works hard at the job of using words and phraases which make you think he is saying what he really isn't. The Scripps - Howard newspapers recently asked both candidates questions which are important to Negro voters. I'd like to pass the questions, and part of the answers on to you.

QUESTION 1—How would you use the implied or specific powers of the presidency to hasten the end of racial segregation in public schools and other public facilities?

Vice President Nixon believes that "continued vigorous executive leadership" is needed to end segregation in the schools and other public facilities. He believes in the enactment of additional civil rights legislation and legislative programs to strengthen voting rights, end discriminatory practices in some labor union locals, to give statutory basis to the President's Committee on Government Contracts and to help states with school desegregation where help is desired.

Senator Kennedy believes the President "must . . . move forward on three broad fronts —as a legislative leader, as a Chief Executive and as a moral leader." As legislative leader, he must seek to strengthen the legal framework which will allow us to move toward economic, educational and political equality. As Chief Executive, the President must be prepared to put an end to racial and religious discrimination in every field of Federal activity. As a moral leader, the President must plan an active, creative role in interpreting the great human and moral issues involved.

QUESTION 2—Do you favor a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission?

Vice President Nixon—I wholeheartedly support vigorous efforts to eliminate discrimination in employment. Because I want really effective means of bringing discrimination to an end, I do not favor a Federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. We should, rather, establish by law a permanent commission on equal job opportunity to carry on and accelerate the work now being done by the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Senator Kennedy — Yes. Equality of opportunity in employment is necessary if the American dream is to become a living reality. I have supported and voted for fair employment legislation in the Congress. The wartime Committee on Fair Employment Practcies, set up by President Roosevelt, pointed the way.

■

YOU CAN JUDGE for yourself the merits of the answers given. Both favor legislation to strengthen civil rights. If Mr. Nixon is elected, he'll probably be working with a Democratic Congress, certainly a Democratic Senate. Mr. Nixon believes the effective way to create fair employment is through a Government Contracts Committee, given statutory authority, which would reach 25 percent of America's workers. Senator Kennedy advocates legislation to cover the entire American labor market.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Another Debate

DR. MARTIN Luther King Jr. is scheduled for a television debate on the general subject of whether the "sit-in" demonstrations are right or wrong; that is, whether they are a justifiable means to attain the end which is being sought. I have high regard for Dr. King's integrity, his eloquence, his learning and his dedication, but I am not sure he is going to win this debate Nov. 26. Debating is much different from orating.

Mr. Prattis

The television network had a difficult time getting some white Southerner to debate against King. First they thought they had the Mayor of Jackson, Miss., but while he was making up his mind, it is alleged that the Citizens Councils came to him and made up his mind for him. They said it was against the laws of white supremacy for the Mayor to debate on equal terms with Dr. King, who happens to be a Negro. I am sure the Mayor didn't like this (I have met him and he seems like a nice guy), but what are you gonna do when the Citizens Council speaks.

THEN THE promoters of this debate thought they had signed up James Gray, a transplanted native of Massachusetts who now serves as state chairman of the Democratic party in Georgia. He is the Yankee who read a loud protest against the Democratic party platform at the convention in Los Angeles. Mr. Gray would have been a good one, but for some reason he, too, turned down the chance to debate against Rev. Mr. King. But, as this piece is written, a good old native-born Southerner has been found to enter the lists against the spangled champion of non-violence. The position of the Southern white segregationist will be defended by James J. Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond (Va.) News-Leader. Mr. Kilpatrick is a debater, not an orator.

I find myself wondering what is going to happen when this debater, Kilpatrick, and the orator, King, clash. In an earlier encounter with Dr. King on Dave Susskind's program, Kilpatrick drew blood from the philosophizing King. He put questions to the apostle of non-violence which that gentleman couldn't answer clearly and definitely. He had King flounder ing all over the ring when, after King had said that the Negro might have to use his economic power (boycott) to force Southern whites to straighten up and fly right. Then, with obvious earnestness, Mr. Kilpatrick asked why, if Negroes had so much economic power, they had not built up their own businesses. This question caught Dr. King and other panelists lame. It catches almost everybody lame.

■

I'M GOING to be pulling for Dr. King in this debate. I want him to win it—for his sake, for my sake and for your sake. But you can't preach a debate. Reason takes the place of faith in a debate. I'm praying that Dr. King is going to have straight-to-the-point answers to the questions Mr. Kilpatrick is going to ask.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Aftermath

AS THIS PIECE is written, there is no way of knowing who is going to be the next President of the United States. It may be Nixon; it may be Kennedy. But despite all the clamor and the wailing, the nation will survive, regardless of who is elected. It may make more, or less, progress under one or the other, but the nation will still be around in 1964 even if, as some predict, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives and Lyndon Johnson is elected.

Mr. Prattis

This solid fact points up the responsibilities of citizens, as individuals and acting in concert. No one man can run this country. One man may have to make important decisions, but he is better off if he knows the will of the people and is able to combine his judgment with theirs. If he doesn't, he isn't going to last long. Whoever is elected will surround himself with "brains" and do the best job he can from his point of view.

■

HOW ABOUT civil rights and first-class citizenship status for Negroes? It makes no difference who is elected President, the progress which Negroes make toward first-class citizenship is going to depend largely upon themselves. Theirs is a fight for freedom which must be waged on many fronts. There will be many differences of opinion as to how the fight should be waged.

The NAACP employs one method in the courts. Over the years, it has achieved stupendous results. Certainly, if the Negro is to be a first-class citizen, his rights must be bedded [illegible] been the job of the NAACP in case after case. Twenty million Negroes owe the NAACP an eternal debt of gratitude for what a few Negroes through it have accomplished.

The non-violent resistance movement of Dr. Martin Luther King is another method, or tactic, that must be employed. It will not ensure victory alone, just as litigation does not reach to the hearts of men. But it is essential that the great moral force of the Christian religion be brought to bear in this struggle. Dr. King is doing that.

The "sit-in" demonstrations are another method, and a variant of the King movement. Its greatest import derives from the fact that it indicates the "wave of the future." The young people of today are the adults of tomorrow. They are determined to be first-class citizens.

A fourth front in this historic struggle is economic. The Negro must strengthen himself economically much more than he has done in the past. It is passing strange how economic strength is respected in America. It destroys barriers.

Finally, Negroes must give much more of their economic resources to the struggle for freedom than they have done. The NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE and the "sit-in" demonstrators; these and others, must be supported solidly.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Kennedy-Nixon

IN THE CAMPAIGN of 1896, one of the great and most controversial issues among Republicans before the convention was whether the value of American money should be tied to gold or silver. The goldbugs of the East were for a gold standard. The silver miners of the West were for silver. McKinley spread-eagled the issue by stating that he was for the American standard (which was gold). But that did not satisfy the goldbugs of Wall St. They insisted that the platform resolution read the GOLD standard — which, of course, alienated the silverites.

Mr. Prattis

The foregoing shows how much ONE WORD in a platform may mean.

■

EARLIER this year, I talked with both Senator Kennedy and Vice President Nixon about civil rights issues. I asked them practically the same questions. I wish here to reproduce one of the questions and the answer of the two men. The question was:

"Are you personally against forced segregation? Do you personally recognize the United States Supreme Court decision on segregation as the 'law of the land'? Would you, as President, actively put the prestige of your office and your leadership behind groups of whites and Negroes who were seriously working for the elimination of forced segregation and discrimination from our national life?"

Vice President Nixon answered: "I am against forced segregation. The Supreme Court decision on segregation is the 'law of the land.' I fully recognize it as such and unequivocally support it.

"The office of the Presidency should reflect the moral conscience of our people, which includes the twin concepts that all men are created equal and a belief in the brotherhood of men. Therefore, if I am elected President I will use the full prestige of the office, with these concepts in mind, to eliminate forced segregation and help to make equality of opportunity a reality for all citizens in all areas of our country."

Senator Kennedy answered: "Yes, to all three questions. I have said repeatedly that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is the law of the land and must be obeyed as such. I believe firmly that the executive branch of the Government and the President himself must take leadership in this area and give moral leadership to the cause of equality."

What is the difference, or is there a difference? It can be pointed out that the question was put to Senator Kennedy in June, and to Vice President Nixon in July (after Rockefeller had spoken). This is not meant to impugn the Vice President's integrity or sincerity. Kennedy answered the question without batting an eye and he knew the answer was going to be circulated North and South in a national newspaper. The stand Kennedy took was a consistent one which he had previously taken in Mississippi and Georgia.

NEGRO (P.L.PRATTIS)

31a 1960

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Our Rudeness

IT WAS startling and shocking (although it should not have been) to have African representatives of new nations admitted to the United Nations criticize bitterly the rudeness of Americans (in New York City), particularly American Negroes. This public rudeness of our own people is something that The Courier has hammered away at for years. The masses of Negroes simply do not put good manners first.

Mr. Prattis

This is a matter which distresses anyone who has traveled—as most of these Africans have. In the capitals of Europe they are treated with courtesy. A kind of courtesy, permeating all the relationships between individuals, exists in most of Europe which is unknown in the United States. That is why so many Americans, white Americans, who go to Europe, seem rude and gauche when compared with the Europeans. The Europeans look upon them with wonder and awe. They ascribe the Americans' lack of refinement to the absence of culture usually discerned among the **nouveau riche.**

HOWEVER, so far as the American Negro is concerned, there is a paradox. The Negro who goes to Europe usually displays better manners than the American white. He is more restrained. He looks for cues to adjust his behavior to that of those among whom he associates. Of course, it must be taken into account that the better-class, usually educated, Negro travels abroad.

But the Negro lout in the United States is something else again. He is the black man's burden. There is not a large enough middle-class (with good manners) to have any influence on the masses at all. In fact, many Negro middle-class professional and businessmen, are annoyed by refinement. They prefer to "be natural." Being natural is behaving without regard to the feelings of others, be they friends or neighbors.

THE AFRICAN criticism has hit us where it hurts. Something must be done about the rude, crude, loud and boisterous Negro who has no sense of restraint whatsoever. He is our Achilles heel. He is the Negro the white man uses to symbolize all Negroes. This is the Negro whom the white man doesn't want to get close to in school, or in church. He is the Negro whom other Negroes with a sense of refinement dread and try to avoid. This is the Negro who moves into a neighborhood and starts straightening hair on the front porch. This is the big-foot Negro who rambles around barefoot.

But something must be done about this rude Negro. Just at the time when so-called savage Africans are winning greater respect for black men everywhere, they meet this lout and must condemn him as the rudest of all persons. I am sorry they had to do, but I can understand why. They had to disassociate themselves from him. But you and I can't. We must live with him and find some way to civilize him.

Pittsburgh Courier

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 7-2-60

p. 13

The Babe's Mouth

HAVE YOU ever met a man with the mind's eye of a child?

I have. He is Edward P. Morgan who broadcasts his news and views five nights a week under the sponsorship of "13½ million Americans" (AFL-CIO) and over the network of the American Broadcasting Company.

Mr. Prattis

Here is a man, a writer of iridescent prose, who sees life with all the undisturbed innocence of a child, whose vision is uncorrupted, and is not too sure what motivates him, or if he is motivated.

Mr. Morgan does not seem quite sure why he believes the American dream (always shining brightly for him) can come true.

He was born in the state of Washington and went to a small college, Whitman, at Walla Walla. This is the College of Supreme Court Justice Douglas. It is one of a brand of American colleges which are said to have character. Whitman College may have done somehting to Edward P. Morgan.

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OR MAYBE the influence was that of a grandfather, a Congregational minister who died in his nineties.

Mr. Morgan remembers something about the possibility of being a preacher. However, he would not let his grandfather make a preacher out of him.

"Maybe though," he muses, "I got an urge toward evangelism from him." One suspects Edward P. Morgan likes the word evangelism better than he does the word crusade.

He believes he is a product of his environment—that what he is today was conditioned by what he grew up with.

"You know," he reflects, "if I had been born in Montgomery and had gone to school in Alabama, I might have been a segregationist. I don't know. I'm not sure."

■

BUT EVEN as he expresses his doubts, his uncertainty as to why he is what he is, you have the feeling that this man, whose broadcasts are paradigms of restrained fervor, would have seen truth with his child's eye and would have uttered truth with a babe's lack of guile wherever he had been born.

Brilliant, perceptive, handsome, Morgan is a warrior in the cause for good. It is not the mere cause of labor. It is the cause against the rifts in democracy. Somehow or other, he is infected with the notion that we can be a clean and wholesome nation. He wants to help to make us so.

Every evening, Monday through Friday, at seven o'clock, Eastern Standard Time, Edward P. Morgan girds himself with a gilded essay and enters the fray (through your home) to make the American dream come true.

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"Happiness, success and health are said to be the most sought after things in life."

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Boot Straps?

NOT LONG AGO, I wrote a column about the ingenuity and inventiveness of the Japanese. I tried to show how the Japanese are capturing American markets despite all the American "know-how." The Bulova Watch Company has entered into an agreement with a Japanese watch concern to sell Japanese watches to Americans. Japanese watches, at the same price, are better than American watches.

Mr. Prattis

A Courier reader in Japan read the column referred to above. I would like to share with you part of a letter he has written. He writes:

Pat. 7-9-60

I just happened to read your column in which you made a very penetrating and astute observation on the Japanese and their inventiveness and ingenuity. I was so struck by your remarks that I had to take pen in hand and congratulate you. Actually, I recently had occasion to argue almost the exact thing to some Negro women over here.

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You are in the States and yet by logical observation and deduction you were able to see very clearly that the Asiatic Japanese is bettering himself economically even in the so-called 'most industrialized nation' in the world. Why doesn't the Negro do something like that?

"As a Negro officer stationed right here in Japan for the past few years, I have some on the spot, factual information for you. The Japanese are some of the finest people in the world. No doubt many people in the states don't like the Japanese, but I think Negroes should never knock and criticise.

"Here in Japan 99 per cent of the Negro women and 90 per cent of the white women hate Japanese women with a passion and dislike the Japanese in general. The American males, black and white, are just the opposite. In fact, it may come as a surprise to learn that many, many white boys are marrying these girls. There are many reasons for this, but briefly, the Japanese woman (who is really nice) is a very important factor in it. The Japanese are a clean, neat, hard-working people who definitely intend to get ahead in the world. They have a lot of pride—both personally and in their race. Frankly, the American white boy has brainwashed some of them—the girls—but generally Japanese have little or no color prejudice against Negroes. Many of our colored troops over here have married and are marrying Japanese girls.

"Incidentally, I'm proud of the Negro students who are finally beginning to stand up to "Charlie," particularly those in Atlanta.

"Between you and me the average Negro woman over here would want to skin me alive if she saw this letter, but, believe me, I have written you the TRUTH."

Americans are buying Japanese watches to sell to Americans. How many American Negroes are in the watch making (not repairing) business?

Pittsburgh Courier

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

31 Dec 1960

Pittsburgh, Pa.

What's Wrong?

Sat. 7-16-60

HOW DO WHITES measure Negroes and how do Negroes measure Negroes? The question is significant because all too often Negroes who enjoy the loyalty and respect of their own people are not recognized in terms of their ability by whites.

p. 13

Mr. Prattis

By the same token, Negroes who are given token recognition by whites frequently have little natural pull with their own people.

Whites think that Jackie Robinson, a superlative baseball player, and Joe Louis, one of the great ring champions of all times, are competent spokesmen for the Negro. But how does the Negro intelligentsia feel about Jackie and Joe except as shining symbols in their special fields, baseball and boxing. Do whites have as high a regard for a Martin Luther King as for the kings and queens of sports? Do Negroes?

BOYD L. Wilson is a labor union leader. As an aide to the late Philip Murray, he helped to get the United Steelworkers of America going. He is a veteran, not only in the ranks but in the leadership as well. Boyd has won respect and honor from his own people. When there is a job to be done in his community, almost always someone asks, "Where is Boyd? Let's get him to do it." And Mr. Wilson rarely turns down a request for his services. He works like a man who only finishes one job so that he can get to the next.

It is because of his many fine attributes that he was recently asked to help organize the American Negro Labor Council. He was regarded as a stable balancing force who could help to set proper goals for Negroes in Labor.

■

HOW IS a man like Mr. Wilson measured? By whites? By Negroes? Negroes believe in him. They admire his intelligence and courage. They think that so far as their aims are concerned he aims for the stars. But what about his white fellow workers, or what you might call the hierarchy in the union. Years ago, Mr. Wilson started as an aide to Philip Murray, a representative of the international union. Today, one presumes, he is an aide to David McDonald, and still a representative of the international union. He is not an officer of any sort, not even a fifth assistant secretary. He heads no department. If one were to try to define his function, it would have to be concluded that he maintains the good public image of the union and operates as a "trouble shooter" if there is trouble.

In his own community, among his own people, Mr. Wilson's abilities are recognized and used. Of course, there is no prejudice in the hierarchy of the United Steel Workers. But is there something else, some sort of unspoken understanding? Or do whites and Negroes use different sets of values in determining leadership ability?

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Congo Terror

FOR ME it is difficult not to recoil with disgust from the reports on what is happening in the Belgian Congo. Day after day, I must read that Congo natives are on the rampage principally to rape white women and incidentally to murder or whip other whites whom they find unprotected. How horrible, how savage these illiterate natives must be! Aren't they civilized enough to know that they shouldn't rape nuns and kill white men? Don't they know that this proves they are not ready for independence?

Mr. Prattis

I happen to be old enough to remember the days of Belgian King Leopold and the crimes he and his soldiers and mercenaries committed against the Congolese. Did they stop at raping the mothers and sisters of Congolese natives? Did they cease when they had murdered Congolese natives by the thousands? Indeed not! They refined their cruelty. They cut out the tongues, sheared off the ears of Congolese natives. They devised the most savage forms of torture to inflict upon the Congolese and to subdue them.

IF I CAN remember, I am sure there are Congolese who can remember. Indeed, it is Christian to proclaim that ven-
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geance belongs to God, but the atrocities committed by the Belgians in the Congo were not inspired by vengeance. The Belgians were out for loot. They went to the Congo to rob the Congolese of what was theirs. Belgium's chief material strength today is based in the Congo.

ONE GETS a picture of what the Belgian did for the Congolese when it is learned, that after all these years, perhaps only a half dozen natives have a college education. The cat jumped out of the bag when it was learned that in a Congolese army of 25,000, there was not a single Congolese commissioned officer. Those of us who know the ways of white folk can understand all too well. Whatever the set-up, with Belgians or Anglo-Saxons, the deal is to retain all key situations, all positions of status and preferment, for the whites. For years the Congolese watched this going on in their own land. When they got a chance, they let the whole world know how they felt about it. They mutinied. WHY HAD NOT THE BELGIANS TRAINED CONGOLESE AS COMMISSIONED OFFICERS YEARS AGO?

I know there will be those who say that the Congolese are too illiterate to be trusted to govern themselves. Every nation in Europe started from illiteracy. There has been no more bloodshed among human beings anywhere than among the peoples of Europe. The concept of freedom which we boast of now is new-born. At the time Columbus discovered America, Europeans were still fighting for freedom. Yet the queer idea persists that Africans should set up smooth-working democracies when those who are old hands at the job, have not perfected it.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Faulty Reasoning

I HAVE A letter from an intelligent woman, a retired school teacher who lives in Bluefield, W.Va. She is Republican, and I doubt that she has ever been anything else. That is her right and privilege. She is dead set against Senator Kennedy. That is also her right and privilege. But I take serious exception to her reason for being against the Senator. I think her "reasoning" is a dangerous sort for Negroes to employ.

Mr. Prattis

She writes in part: "Listening to the raves of Negroes about Kennedy for President reminds me of two persons—one my father, who used to tell us never to pay any attention to what an Irishman says but watch what he does, because every little thing that comes up he has a word for it and he never remembers what his last word was! The other person was an ex-Congressman from North Carolina who sat in Washington in the Reconstruction era. I was young so I can't recall his name, but he came to our school and lectured. His theme was "Always remember that a black ant fends for himself and never depends on the red ant for food." Right now we are confronted with an Irishman who wants to be President. He will promise the Negro the moon, but delivering is another chore for someone else."

Elsewhere, this reader writes: "The NAACP has hurt the Negro's cause terribly by forcing the issue."

■

THE FIRST quotation from this lady's letter deserves to be paraphrased in the language of Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi who might say:

"Listening to all this nonsense about Negroes voting reminds me of two persons, one my father who used to tell us never give Negroes a chance to vote and keep a close eye on them, for they will take advantage of every opening and, the first thing you know these untrustworthy Nigras will be dominating us white folks. The other person was my late lamented friend, Senator Theodore. Bilbo, who told us children that Nigras are shiftless, lazy, dishonest, immoral, and only exist to work for the superior white man."

■

There may be good and sound reasons for not supporting Senator Kennedy, but is the fact that he is of Irish stock a sufficient reason? That isn't reason at all—it is **pure prejudice.** It is the kind of prejudice which keeps Negroes out of elective offices unless they represent wards or districts with heavy Negro majorities. Each Negro member of Congress was put there by this type of Negro vote. There are many districts Negroes might represent, but all too often whites vote on the basis of their opinion of color, just as this correspondent is prepared to vote on the basis of her opinion of a nationality. I do not suggest that she vote for Kennedy. I do suggest that she find a **reason**, not a **prejudice**, for voting against him.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Katanga

WHY DID mineral-rich Katanga act to secede from The Republic of the Congo so swiftly and so firmly? I think a few paragraphs from W. Alphaeus Hunton's extremely basic book **Decision in Africa** throw significant light on what happened in the Katanga Province and show that Moise Tshombe could only have been a pawn in the hands of powerful financial interests, Mr. Hunton writes:

Mr. Prattis

"One African country that the big American mining interests have been unable to penetrate except by indirect investment, and one of the most prized in mineral riches, is the Belgian Congo (Katanga). This valuable piece of real estate ... has been kept closely guarded against intruders who might cut into the holdings of Societe Generale de Belgique, the Belgian banking group which is big boss of the Congo and whose subsidiaries include Forminiere with its diamonds and Union Miniere du Haut Katanga (UM) with its copper, cobalt, and uranium. The entire Katanga Province ruled by UM has been described as 'in fact, a "company town"...'

"Deprived of the Congo and the wealth drained from it, what would be left of Belgian capitalism? In 1952 Belgian investments in Congo corporations amounted to $554 million, up from $219 million in 1947. Net profits of those Congo corporations during the six years 1947-52 came to $430 million, of which $250 million was distributed to shareholders. Union Miniere's per share dividend payment rose steadily from $9.60 in 1948 when net profits were $19 million to $44 in 1955 when those profits climbed to over $84 million.

"The only recent direct access of American investment capital to a share of the lush Congo mining profits, specifically in UM, came about through the medium of Tanganyika Concessions, a British company which came on the African scene in 1899 and holds 14 per cent interest in UM 90 per cent ownership of the Benguela Railroad linking Central Africa with the West Coast, and various other assets. In 1950 the Bank of England sold 1,667,961 shares it then held in Tanganyika Concessions (worth about $5.6 million) to a group of British, South African and Belgian finance houses. It was stipulated in this sale that 600,000 of the shares should be resold to a finance group in the United States representing Rockefeller interests. This transaction was duly consummated."

■

FROM the foregoing it seems clear that Belgian, British and American interests have no intention of getting up off the pot of gold in Katanga, or of placing it in the custody of the people of Katanga Province, the Republic of the Congo, or even Moise Tshombe.

Of course, these financial interests have their side. The minerals had been underground for thousands of years and the Congolese did not go after them. Belgian money and know-how and Congolese labor made these minerals available to the world. It is understandable that the Belgians (also the British and the Americans) do not want to turn loose their huge investments, nor forego their profits. Nor do they want to leave their property to the tender mercies of the Katangese. They have therefore decided that their one best bet is to continue their rule (which began in 1906) through the figurehead, Tshombe. This is good for them, for Tshombe, and bad, very bad, for Lumumba.

31a 1960

The Pittsburgh Courier
Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 4-23-60

No Step Forward

BY THE time this article is published, the Congress may or may not have enacted a new so-called civil rights bill. No Negro should be deceived by the nature of the bill which will be enacted. It will mean exactly NOTHING. It will not mean a STEP FORWARD. It will mean that the Congress of the United States toyed around with the rights of second-class citizens for more than two months and resolved that they should remain second-class citizens — unless they do something to help themselves.

Mr. Prattis

For this lamentable result, both Democrats (mostly Southern) and Republicans (mostly Northern) are responsible. The only politicians who showed any clear interest establishing the rights of Negroes as first-class citizens were those in Northern, Eastern and Western states whose political future might be affected by the Negro vote. Where the Negro vote was not effective, most Democrats and most Republicans were indifferent to the status of the Negro citizen.

■

THE ADMINISTRATION bill moderate indeed, would have represented a mincing step forward. But the seven progressive points upon which it was based were gradually whittled away until practically nothing was left but the voting rights provision which, added up, amounts to exactly zero. This complicated voting rights referee system will not add 100 voters to the rolls in the next four years. It is a sham and a delusion.

I hate to agree with Senator Russell of Georgia who proclaimed that there were plenty of laws already on the statute books guaranteeing the right of Negroes to vote. There are. I agree with him when he claims that Negro apathy keeps Negroes from the polls, although they have just about the same amount of apathy as American white voters.

■

ECONOMIC intimidation and threats on life and property, in addition to subterfuge attached to voting qualifications, keep Negroes from voting. Most Negroes in the South still live in the rural areas. They work for white landowners. If voting will jeopardize their jobs, they must choose between voting and the welfare of their families.

Sallie Nixon, whose husband was murdered in Georgia after he had tried to vote, can also testify as to the effect of threats on life and property. These threats become real when police and other law enforcement officers are indifferent and are often members of such groups as the Ku Klux Klan and the Citizens Councils.

All the court-appointed referees are going to mean nothing unless some way is found to PROTECT the Negro, economically and otherwise, who wants to vote. As long as voting is a choice between job and no-job, life and death, or house or no house, with the law all on the side of the lawless white man, the Negro prospective voter will continue to ply his hoe.

The Pittsburgh Courier
Horizon
By P. L. Prattis
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 6/18/60

On to Africa

AFTER THE Civil War, some of the best young men and women from the best families in the North (mostly New England) made their way South to lead and to teach the children of the former slaves.

Mr. Prattis

Under the aegis of the American Missionary Association, many of the private institutions in the South (still going strong) were founded.

In the light of this missionary educational zeal which prompted some Americans nearly a century ago, it is interesting to observe a more modern version of this zeal. This time it is directed toward Africa, West Africa. Some of the best-trained Americans are scrambling for the opportunity to go to Africa to teach. They are not after money.

The salaries average about $2,500 a year. In spite of this, young men and women with master's and doctor's degrees are pressing to be sent to Africa.

■

THERE ARE SO many applicants that the African-American Institute obtained a grant of $42,000 from the Ford Foundation just to SCREEN the would-be uplifters of the Africans. The Institute doesn't want any screwballs going to Africa so it has included a psychiatrist on its screening staff.

One of those who is going to Africa is Samuel Bowles, presently a senior at Yale University. He is the son of Congressman Chester Bowles, former governor of Connecticut.

Young Bowles got the "message" of helping others when he was with his father while the latter served as Ambassador in India. Early during the present school year, young Bowles was offered a chance at a Rhodes scholarship for two years of study at Oxford. He had to choose between Oxford and Africa, and he chose Africa

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OFFICIALS AT THE African-American Institute (which provides scholarships for Africans studying in this country) have been somewhat startled (but very well pleased) by this undertow of interest in Africa by Americans who can help and who want to help. This is a phenomenon which they admit has appeared since numerous magazine articles about Africa were published last year and because Americans have become aware of Africa's needs.

Although these Americans propose to take the African by the hand in the school room, it is recognized that, indirectly, they can perform another invaluable service. While Africans have been showing a definite interest in the American way of life, the Communists have been showing a definite interest in Africa.

There must be qualified Americans (who can win the confidence of the Africans) on the scene to combat the influence of the Communists.

Most of these teacher applicants are white, but they are not all white by any means. Qualified Negroes are also offering their services in the name of the world's greatest democracy.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier
Placing Blame

MANY OF our good white friends think that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the self-styled Harlem "irritant," is a bad boy.

They say he should not try to tack an anti-segregation amendment on to a federal aid to education bill and thus kill the chances of extending aid to ALL children.

Mr. Prattis

If you listen to the pious demurrers of these liberals, you might almost think if there were no Powell amendment there would be an aid to education law.

That isn't necessarily so.

There is the old familiar bloc of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans who don't want federal aid to education on any terms. This is a strong, substantial bloc which is prepared to use all kinds of rabbit and kidney punches to kill any such bill. They are the malefactors of great cunning, not Adam Powell.

■

THE REAL BATTLE for federal aid to education this year was between Vice President Nixon who wanted a law and Republican Minority Leader Charles Halleck (Ind.) who did not.

Nixon induced liberal Democrats to accept a compromise version of the administration bill. Halleck and Carroll Kearns, Pennsylvania Republican, worked behind the scenes (with Southern Democrats) to kill federal aid to education (with or without a Powell amendment) and the Senate had passed the Nixon-favored bill. Preparing for conference the Powell amendment and certain aspects of the Senate measure were quickly scuttled.

The next job was to get sufficient "antis" on the conference committee to vote down any kind of bill.

■

REPUBLICAN Representative Freylinghuysen of New Jersey (favorable to the legislation) was due to be a member of the House Conference Committee and would have weighted it 4-3 in favor of the bill.

But when this was written Halleck and Kearns were doing their level best to keep Freylinghuysen off the conference committee and to substitute an "anti" so that the committee would be weighted 4-3 against federal aid to education.

Halleck ent his youngsters to swank private schools, but you won't find anybody trying to place the whole blame for failure of federal aid to education on him in the same manner that Powell is attacked.

The general inference is that Powell ought to know better, ought to be patient.

But what about Halleck and Kearns, the Republicans who not only turn against the school kids of the nation but also their own leader in the White House?

And the irony of the situation is that Nixon helped to kick Joe Martin out as minority leader to pave the way for Halleck's selection.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier
Honest Coward

IF A GRUNT now and then, a chuckle (even a guffaw) a minute and some real deep, groping thinking may be good for what ails you, you should divest (I think that's the word) yourself of $3.95 on July 25 and rush to the nearest big town book store and demand that they sell you, regardless of color, a copy of **The Magnolia Jungle**, published by Simon and Schuster, 630 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N. Y.

Mr. Prattis

The Magnolia Jungle is hailed as The Life, Times and Education of a Southern editor. You can bet

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 3/19/60
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What Brings Out the Best?

THERE are too many persons of recognized standing who are critical of American educational standards and objectives for there to be much reason to doubt that education in American schools is not what it should be. This is the education all Americans, white and black, are getting. It is not the kind of education which prepares the citizens of a great republic for world leadership.

Mr. Prattis

When the education of the American Negro, and the incentives to education are considered, the condition is almost tragic. By almost every standard of measurement, American Negroes are found to be behind whites in aptitude and in learning. There are those who still insist that the differences reflect inherent inferiority. Others ascribe the differences to environmental, social, economic and cultural factors. There may be yet another factor.

■

STUDENTS OF the decline of the Roman empire take into account more than the enfeeblement of Rome's military power. They discover a time when the number of great artists, writers, sculptors, lawyers, orators, even engineers, seemed to diminish. The Romans, as a people, lost their creative urge. Slothfulness took its place. These students of Roman history then raise the question: Why was the spark of genius which had characterized the Romans in the earlier centuries extinguished? The answer is found in the extinction of the great promise the Empire had shown earlier. When the people lost faith and pride in the Empire, they lost the will to develop the best that was in them. The incentive of pride and glory had gone.

If this theorizing is correct, it can aptly be applied to the American Negro. What incentive is there for human beings to develop the best that is in them for a nation which does not care, a nation that spurns and rejects them? What incentive exists when they must pound on locked doors? Even the slaves of Greece and Rome, in their better days, had more to inspire them than second class citizens in this democracy. If the citizens of Rome thought their empire was no longer worth striving for and neglected their God-given talents, what is to be expected of a people who for 350 years have been told that the nation which their labor helped to build, is not even theirs. "This is a white man's country!" they are warned as they are dispossessed of their rights and of the impulse to pride.

It is remarkable that the Negro has bridged as much of the gap as he has. Where glory has beckoned him, he has swiftly hastened. But where caste and color have kept him out he has languished even as did the Romans. The best that's in him will only come out when he thinks he has a country that is worth it.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Faucet Trouble

THERE ARE all sorts of solutions for the race problem, to be sure, but who would ever expect to come upon a partial solution in a leaking faucet? My faucet has been leaking for years. I have tried all kinds of washers. I have thought of going to the expense of having a plumber install a new faucet for me, but I can't get a bank loan to cover that expense item.

Mr. Prattis

My wife has a sharp eye for all the mail, circulars and everything, that comes to the house. Recently, she received a catalogue from some sort of country store. It promised bargains and she is a bargain hunter. As she sped quickly from one miracle gadget to another, she finally came upon one that caused her to squeak and call for papa.

"Looka here," she says. Read this. Here is something that is guaranteed to eliminate faucet leaks. And it only costs a dollar."

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THE MASTER of the house was duly impressed. He read the advertisement carefully, guarding himself against trick language. There didn't seem to be anything tricky about it. Here were some balls which, once dropped into your faucet, would stop all leaks and running water. Since the cost of a set of these balls was only a dollar, the master of the house decided to order some immediately.

You will be interested to know that the little black balls, of different sizes, to fit into different-sized faucets, have arrived. The lady of the house and I have tried them out. Our faucet is not leaking any more. We're just about as happy as any two persons could be.

Of course, instructions came along with the little black balls. As we read through the instructions and came to the bottom of the page, we saw this somewhat startling note: "MADE IN JAPAN." Now, don't get me wrong——I have nothing against Japan. The point is that there are millions of leaking faucets in the United States and the Japanese have devised a gadget to get around the high cost of plumbing and stop your faucets from leaking. You'll love the gadget (and buy it) even if you don't love the Japanese.

WHAT HAS THIS got to do with the race problem? Well you've heard that mouse trap story time and time again. If you can make or invent something the people of the world need, they'll beat a path to your door. The Japanese are inventing and making products Americans need. If Americans can buy from the Japanese what they need, they will do so.

I ask myself what twenty million American Negroes have put on the market so basic as these seal balls to stop faucet leaks. We are properly concerned about our economic status, for because of it, we suffer many ills. But could we not improve our status enormously if our inventive genius were devoted to creating these things that people (all people) want and need?

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Domination

IN THE UNION of South Africa, a system of apartheid is imposed by three million whites upon 11 million native Africans. The object is to retain the most and the best for the whites and to give up the least and the worst to the blacks. In the Southern states of the United States, a similar system is imposed for the same purpose.

Mr. Prattis

The excuse (not the real purpose) given for such a system in every instance is fear of Negro domination. In counties in Alabama and Mississippi and Louisiana where the Negro population is largest, the number of Negro voters is greatest. In the Union of South Africa, the blacks are eliminated from voting altogether. Wherever you find a situation where black voters may outnumber whites, whether in South Africa, Georgia or Harlem, you are soon made aware that whites fear Negro domination.

■

WHAT MAKES this reaction of the white man interesting and intriguing is the fact that he never seems to stop and ask himself what white domination means to others. He simply assumes that white domination, as in South Africa, or in Mississippi is an unmixed blessing. He thinks that if he takes everything and lets you have Jesus, you should bend your knees and thank him. You don't need the vote, a living wage a modern education—Jesus is enough.

Jesus would indeed be enough if His message reached to the hearts of those who think it is their God-given right to dominate others. But the teachings of Jesus have no significance for the "apostles" of apartheid or the floutlaws in our own country whose "good life" is based on domination of others.

■

ASK ANY AFRICAN today what his objective is and he will tell you it is to get rid of domination by outsiders, regardless of their color. He doesn't want Americans, Chinese, Russians, Indians, or anybody else, dominating him in the land of his birth.

But why should American whites have this fear and feel impelled to segregate? They are in the majority. Why do they use the term "dominate" anyhow? Are they afraid that the Negro, if he had the vote, would use the power that might come from it, to treat whites as they have treated blacks? Such fear is groundless.

Negroes have no desire to dominate in American political life, even where they are in the greatest numbers. They want to cooperate. They want to share the best fruits of the country they have helped to build. Regardless of their numbers, whether in Wilcox County, Ala., or Sunflower County, Miss., Negroes would prefer too work with whites rather than against them.

They don't want to dominate. they just want to be on the team like all other Americans.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Why Students?

IF YOU trace political unrest, violent and non-violent, around the world today, you will find that most of the outbreaks, the so-called demonstrations, are led by students. Even in Africa, where this would not seem to be true, one sees the educated class in revolt. Those who bare their breasts to the police, as the young Korean did, are usually less than 25 years old.

Mr. Prattis

The Japanese who hanged President Eisenhower in effigy were students. The thousands of Koreans who challenged Syngman Rhee's police and soldiers were students. The Turkish rioters were students. The leaders of the attacks on Vice President Nixon and President Eisenhower in South America were students. Castro and most of the leaders of the Cuban revolution began as students. Most of the leaders in Africa who seek to rid their countries of white domination returned to Africa from English, French or American universities. And even in our own country, in the South, the students are the ones who have taken direct action to end segregation.

■

THIS is a phenomenon which ought to make the older generation stop, look and listen. Why can't students be satisfied with the status quo? It was good enough for their fathers

—why not for them?

I must confess I blame the books. The books, I believe, are responsible for the sit-in demonstrations in the South. For what has happened in Korea, Japan, Latin-America, Africa, Cuba. The books open up the eyes of young people. They learn about the development of our society from the earliest times. They learn about what has been bad, what has been good. They learn that in our march ahead the concepts of freedom and democracy came alive. They also learn that man came to understand that he should have some happiness and comfort in this world as well as the next.

■

IF YOU WERE to ask me for the exact cause of the sit-in demonstrations in the South, I would tell you the cause is in books written by white men principally. It is they who have projected the concept of equality and of the dignity of men. It is they who contend that all men are brothers. It is in the books that you learn about the faults of society and how it may be improved.

Young people are impetuous, and for that they should be blessed. They may use the wrong method but they will almost always have the right aim. The older folks, most of whom have not read the books, are satisfied with their gains. But the students know that these gains come at their expense. So they follow the line of the professors, the professors who write about freedom, democracy, Christianity, brotherhood, and what a great and glorious world this could be if only . . . The students are always willing to take a chance the "if only."

The Pittsburgh Courier
Horizon
By P. L. Prattis
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 6-4-60

Nothing to Fear

WHENEVER an individual has filled a challenging position with distinction and noteworthy competence, there is always the tendency to raise the question: "What are we going to do when he is gone? who is there to fill his shoes?"

Mr. Prattis

I am of the opinion that there is always somebody, probably unnoticed, ready to take on the job, and that there is nothing to fear.

This line of thought struck me when I read that Jerome (Brud) Holland had been chosen as president of Hampton Institute, my alma mater. I do not know Dr. Holland, except that he was an outstanding athlete and that he won the respect of citizens of Dover, Del., for the manner in which he directed the affairs of Delaware State College and the wise, progressive leadership he gave in the community.

I HAVE KNOWN personally all the presidents of Hampton Institute except one. I therefore must have an image of what a Hampton president must be. The early image, of course, was that he must be a white man. But Dr. Moron, the first colored president, destroyed that image. Another image was that a Hampton president must be notable as a Christian gentleman. That image still exists. But more and more as time has gone on, the image of the Hampton president has taken the form of an educator and an administrator. It is that image which Dr. Holland must fill.

Thank goodness, I have no doubt he will do so. One never kows the resources of untried men. When Dr. Charles John son (who had missed becoming president of Tuskegee Institute back in the thirties) died, there was the natural question as to who was going to fill the gap he left. The trustees reached to Bluefield Institute and picked a former Hampton man, Dr. Stephen Wright, to be president of Fisk University.

HOW HAS Dr. Wright done in the face of a difficult situation? Did you read his statement about the student sit-in demonstrators? Nothing could have been finer.

Many friends of Tuskegee shuddered when Dr. Frederick D. Patterson resigned as president of Tuskegee Institute. But Dr. Foster, an utterly new man, came along and has kept Tuskegee on keel in the most troublous waters.

The point is, of course, that we are growing and developing as a group. There is no need to mourn the passing of old leadership. There is every reason to look with hope toward the prospect of new and better leadership. This is true not only in the field of education, but in every other field as well.

Negroes are closing the gap between themselves and their white fellow-Americans which was created by slavery and segregation. Training and opportunity are making obvious their natural abilities.

There will be many more Rufus Clements, Bennie Mays, Albert Dents and George Gores in the future. We have just begun to grow.

The Pittsburgh Courier
Horizon
By P. L. Prattis
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 6-4-60

Leadership

YOU CAN really get me fussed up if you want to insist that Negroes should have a solid, united leadership.

We would be the most extraordinary creatures God ever created if all of us thought alike, or even nearly alike. The only people I have ever known to get anywhere have been those who survived the stresses and strains of internal conflict.

Mr. Prattis

Therefore why should presumptions be made that there is something inherently wrong with the Negro group, or that it faces a crisis, just because opposite points of view are espoused by Negroes who speak out?

Why do some of our good white friends want always to march us into line behind one approved spokesman? Why do they view with alarm the fact that one Negro says yes and another says exactly no?

■

DON'T GO BACK into history too far, but just to the American Revolution and recall that the white folks who proposed to set up a new nation of their own were split up like nobody's business.

The Tories sabotaged our effort to be born and stuck with the British until the very end. And since the beginning of this nation white folks have been fighting one another over us. Remember the abolitionists?

Suppose all white folks were supposed to think alike and follow one leader? Maybe we would still be slaves.

And please don't try to think about the schisms and downright radicalness which separate whites today. You have Northern opinion and Southern opinion. You have liberals and conservatives. You have the farm bloc and the anti-farm bloc. You have the unions and you have management. You have the eggheads and the pragmatists.

You have the "I like Ikes" and the "I hate Ikes." You have those who detest and those who worship Truman, the white folks together?

■

ONE OF THE BEST, most vibrant and most viable forms of untogetherness is found among the Jews. They split up almost like atoms, but look how they persist. How would Negroes fare if they had to get along with Zionists and the calculating adherents of the American Council on Judaism?

The standard "textbook" against Israel was written by a Jew. He is 100 per cent for the Arabs.

If you've never seen Jews stare evilly and pull at one another's hair, you should go to Jerusalem and observe some of the orthodox Jews on Friday evening.

Even now, as this is written, they are after Prime Minister Ben Gurion for suggesting that there were only 600 Jews who crossed the Red Sea with Moses rather than 600,000.

■

UNTOGETHERNESS proliferates in progress along many lines, not the least of which is the exercise of one's lungs and a continual build-up of racial integrity.

The Pittsburgh Courier
Horizon
By P. L. Prattis
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 4-9-60

Six of One . . . ?

ANYONE who tried to follow the wrangle over civil rights in the Senate and House would have found it difficult to separate the sheep from the wolves. Certainly, you could not come straight down the line and say that all the Republicans supported even so moderate a measure as the administration bill. The Democrats, of course, had their Southern defectors. Therefore if, on the issue of civil rights alone, you had to choose between Republicans and Democrats, you might waggishly conclude that there were six of one and a half dozen of the other.

Mr. Prattis

But is that exactly true, or should the thoughtful Negro voter come to such a conclusion? There is a split in the Democratic party and the white supremacists seem to dominate both houses of Congress. There is also a split in the Republican party. Some Republicans of the North and West have been trading with the white supremacists for years. Other Republicans in the North and West, particularly from the rural areas, care neither for social advances nor civil rights.

■

HOWEVER, in choosing men to support, one must do more than measure the bad in one party against the bad in the other. You must measure the potential of good in one party, under proper leadership against the potential of evil in another party under indifferent leadership. The party leadership resides in the White House. A Congress controlled by Democrats (Southern) with an indifferent or incompetent Democrat in the White House would jeopardize all the progress Negroes have made towards first-class citizenship. Could the same be said for a Congress controlled by Republicans with an aggressive, progressive Republican in the White House? A Republican President who was truly a leader of his party and was willing to use his power to compose the dissident elements in the party, could influence the behaviour of the Congress if it were controlled by Republicans.

■

IN OTHER WORDS, let us suppose two equally good men are candidates for the White House, one Republican and the other Democratic. Who would have the better chance as an executive and a leader of his party in situations where first-class citizenship for all citizens was involved? Logically, the Republican should have. He has no die-hard group nursing "a way of life" with which to contend. He can neutralize Republican trading with Southern Democrats by doing some trading of his own. He would be in the driver's seat. All he would need to drive bargains would be the desire to do so.

Such a Republican President would necessarily be motivated by America's leadership position in the world and the weakening of such leadership by the malady of racism which afflicts Southern Democrats.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Big Gamble

WILL NEGRO voters, most of whom are Democrats, be forced into a quandry by the presidential aspirations of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the majority leader in the Senate? What is the significance of the carefully laid and gradually extending plans of the Senator from Texas and his fellow-Texan, Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn?

Mr. Prattis

In order to answer the above questions, let's ask ourselves a few more. Could Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina get anywhere as a presidential candidate? Or Jim Eastland? Or Gov. Orval Faubus? Or Senator Russell of Georgia? They are all first-class segregationists. They represent, fanatically and frantically, the Southern point of view. Neither of them could get anywhere in the presidential sweepstakes.

■

BUT THIS MAN Johnson is a horse of another hue. He's from Texas, not exactly deep South. He is supposed to be a liberal. Everybody gives him credit for being a smooth operator. He is steadily building his fences. He'll enter the Democratic National Convention with as much strength (delegates' votes) as the next aspirant.

Johnson's principal obstacle, if nominated, is the Negro vote in the North. Is that the reason he will grab the spotlight in the civil rights fight in Congress? Is that the reason that on the very day the President delivered his State of the Union message (containing some highly generalized civil rights references), Rayburn, Johnson's backer, announced himself in favor of action (a House petition) to get a "strong" civil rights bill before the House and passed?

■

IS JOHNSON the candidate of the segregationists? Is he their decoy, their one man who might have a chance for nomination and election? Have the segregationists agreed that they don't care what Johnson says or does now? Is their overriding ambition to place him in the White House where, backed by a Democratic Congress, he can proceed to nullify the Supreme Court decision of 1954? Is Johnson their device for getting into a position to attempt to repeal the 14th Amendment?

These questions come naturally to mind in view of the tremendous attempt the South has made to "capture the mind" of the nation.

It is conceivable that with a tool of the segregationists in the White House, and their control of Congress, every hard-fought-for gain Negroes have made in the last 30 years would go down the drain. The NAACP would be forced out of business. On his road to first-class citizenship, the Negro could, through the combined power of the White House and Congress, be sent tumbling backward. You must watch the man the South supports.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Useless Votes

THE MOST useless votes (except where only one party exists in an area where many citizens are prevented from voting) are those votes which can be counted in advance. Votes are a commodity. They should not be for sale for money, but they should go to the highest bidder and performer in terms of the welfare of one's city-county, state, or the nation. Votes should also be used to protect and promote group interests when the rights and prerogatives of groups are denied.

Mr. Prattis

The vote of the Negro, in most cities and states, instead of being a decisive factor, is a spendthrift, wasted vote. It can be well understood why Negroes with short sight vote as they do. In the North, East and West, most Negroes vote with the Democratic party machines. Between 75 and 80 per cent of them "give" their vote to the Democratic party. Why? Because the Democratic party is ascendant in most of the metropolitan centers where Negroes are congregated and Negroes are tolerantly tossed crumbs from the Democratic table.

■

THE DEMOCRATIC party does not have to bid for the Negro vote. It has this vote in its pocket. This is a solid asset obtained at the cheapest rate. It should be amusing to Democratic party leaders to realize that they have Negro voters in such a vise. With the Negro Democratic vote in their pockets, the Democratic party leaders can work for "party unity" and maintain the control of the voteless Southern states over the Congress. Negro voters in the North help to keep the Eastlands, the Talmadges, the Robertsons, the Byrds, and others, in power.

I would never suggest that 75 or 80 per cent of Negroes vote for the Republican party. I think that the only way for the Negro to develop real bargaining power, in either party, is to come near splitting his vote down the middle so that nobody can be sure of his vote in advance.

■

THERE ARE bad Northern Republicans just as there are vicious Southern Democrats. The only way to get at the bad Republicans is through building strength in the Republican party. If 45 per cent of the Negro vote in the big cities of the North, East and West, went to the Republican party, you could bet that the party leadership would do something about its "bad actors" from the rural sections.

Negro voters are challenged this year to liquidize their vote, to let nobody take them for granted. They ought not to hand this vote on a platter to the Democrats. They should put a sizeable portion of their voting strength in the Republican party as part of the strategy of making both Democrats and Republicans recognize the value of this vote. They should make both parties pay in terms of undiluted first-class citizenship.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Dixie Voters

THE EFFECTIVE use of the ballot by Southern Negro voters cannot be based upon the same pattern required for Northern Negro voters. In the North, where there is a two-party system, the Negro should make his vote felt in both parties. He should keep himself in a bargaining position with both parties. He should not ever let either party feel it has his vote "locked up." It is stupid for 80 per cent of the Negro vote to go to the Democratic party.

Mr. Prattis

In the South, there is what amounts to a one-party system, the Democratic party. For many years, Negro political leaders clung to the Republican party. They were paid off with patronage from the White House. This "rotten borough" support of the Republican party did not help the Negro one whit on the state or local level. He was left at the mercy of the local and state politicians in the Democratic party and of "lily-whites" in the Republican party who wanted to take over the leadership.

■

IF THE growing number of Negro voters in the South is going to be effective, it seems to me that they must make their weight felt as Democrats in the Democratic primaries where the issues on the state and local level are usually settled. They must become sufficiently strong in the Democratic party to be the "balance of power" between candidates who are bad for them and candidates who are good for them.

This support of Democratic candidates, on the state and local level, must, it would appear, be done through white leadership at the present. The current preponderance of the white vote is such as to kill off a candidate supported by Negroes if their support is not "covered" by vocal, aggressive white leadership which will recognize its strength comes from Negro voters.

■

BUT EVEN Southern Negro voters who maneuver to elect their friends on the state and local level in the Democratic primaries, do not have to support their enemies in the Federal elections. The worst Republican in Mississippi is better than Jim Eastland and John Bell Williams. In the general elections for President, Senators and Congressmen, Southern Negro voters should exercise their prerogative (even though they are Democrats) of crossing the party line and registering a strong and substantial protest vote against the white supremacists and flout-laws in Congress.

Always, they must think of the man in the White House, whether he'll be good for the nation and good for them. Only strong leadership in the White House can buck the alliances, based on race and color, between southern Democrats and Northern and Western Republicans. This "unholy alliance" is the last great obstacle to first-class citizenship for Negroes. The Negro voter, North and South, can break up the alliance.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Fighter Deluxe

WHEN, nearly 50 years ago, I first heard Hallie Q. Brown, the eloquent and inspired fighter for Negro rights from Wilberforce, I had no knowledge then—that there were two of them; that is, two women built in the mold of Hallie Q. Brown. I have just learned this fact by reading **Forty Years**, a story of the Negro in Los Angeles, of the California Eagle, and of its editor for many years, Charlotte Bass.

Mr. Prattis

There are golden nuggets of history in Mrs. Bass' book which even J. A. Rogers has not dug up. Few persons would think that of the first 46 settlers of Los Angeles, 26 were Negroes, 18 were Indians and TWO were white. Mrs. Bass does not guess at this fact—she names the Negroes.

■

NEGROES IN the East like to think of the Philadelphia Tribune, which has just celebrated its 75th birthday, as one of the oldest of our newspapers. The California Eagle is older. It was founded in 1880 by John Neimore. Mrs. Bass showed up at the California Eagle in 1910. Neimore, nearing his end, was struggling to keep the paper alive. By 1912, the young gal out of Texas was editor and owner.

■

FORTY YEARS gives a newspaper man a feeling of pride when he comes to know that The Eagle, although far from the center of the Negro population, carried on in the tradition of the Negro press. The Eagle was a fighting newspaper. Mrs. Bass was a fighting editor. She took to her heart every problem which the Negroes of early Los Angeles brought to her. She helped them build their churches, to get in schools and hospitals, to fair treatment in prison, to have the right to buy homes where they could afford to buy. She and Loren Miller, the distinguished lawyer, worked together.

IT WAS inevitable that she would run into trouble. Her unadulterated ideas about Americanism got her into questionable company. She was for a solid, united labor front. So were the Communists. She was strongly for civil rights. So were the Communists. Without knowing it, she began to have "association."

She ran for Vice President on the Progressive party ticket. She went to one of those peace conferences in Eastern Europe. She even went to Moscow. She knew little about communism and thought little about it.

As a result, she received a nice letter from Iota Phi Lambda. This sorority had made her an honorary member for distinguished service. But when it began to appear that Mrs. Bass had "association," the sorority revoked the membership and asked her to send back the pin it had given her. Such things happen in crazy, mixed-up times.

How can you buy **Forty Years?** I don't know. Mrs. Bass lives at 4073 South Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Value of Vote

IF THERE WERE some magic way to get over to the masses of Negroes the long uphill struggle which has been made in the western world to make each man (and woman) a citizen and to guarantee to each the right to vote, some understanding of value of the vote might come to those Negroes who don't fight for the vote or neglect to exercise the right once they have it.

Mr. Prattis

In the city-states of ancient Greece where the theories of politi- cal democracy were first developed, most of the inhabitants were disfranchised. In Athens, for example, this applied to women, to all foreigners (who could not become citizens) and to slaves. The profound discussions of the great Greek philosophers, centering around democracy, considered only the upper and middle classes.

■

IN THIS GREAT land of ours, all native-born men and women are citizens. All foreigners can become citizens. There are no slaves. Each citizen is entitled to the right to vote. This is a precious right, for it gives each citizen some voice, some responsibility in the governing of himself and, also, through the vote the opportunity to battle oligarchies and dictatorships which are incipient in all forms of political organization.

Many Negroes in the North are not using their vote wisely by giving the preponderance of it to one party, the Democratic Party. Democracies do not function well when one party has all the strength. The South is an example of that weakness. The individual citizen must vote for men on the basis of their records and what they stand for, not on the basis of party. In final elections, every voter should be an independent voter, exercising his right to vote for the man of his choice and not be bound by party loyalty. So-called party loyalty is an organizational shibboleth, not a responsible citizen's guide to democratic action.

■

ALTHOUGH THERE is much talk about the Negro's right to vote, thousands and thousands of Negroes do not register and vote where they have that right. This is true, North and South. They leave voting to others. They don't want to be bothered with the issues. They have to be "paid" to come out and vote. Transportation has to be provided to get them to the polls. This factor of indifference is indeed puzzling. Why don't all the Negroes in Atlanta who are qualified register and vote? Or in Chicago or New York? I just don't know.

I do know that if this precious right is not exercised, small but powerful groups, will inevitably take control from the people. Once the people begin to surrender control of their government by not voting, the descent to dictatorship, despotism and disfranchisement swiftly ensues.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Racist?

WHAT IS a racist, or what is racism? The term is as loosely used and inadequately understood as "mob." Gov. John Patterson of Alabama, referring to "demonstrations" or gatherings for prayer and hymn singing, vows that the Government is not going to give in to a "mob." Are citizens, peaceably assembled, as provided for in the Constitution, a "mob"?

Mr. Prattis

Obviously, it is incorrect to apply the term "mob" to any peaceable assembly of the people, indoors and outdoors.

There are metropolitan newspapers which have sought to pin the label of "racist" on Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. This clearly indicates that the term "racist" means one thing to editors of New York daily newspapers and something else to the people Congressman Powell represents. If the editors had called him a demagogue, in the modern sense of the term, they might have struck nearer the mark.

■

IS A "RACIST" one who feels that his race is superior and other races inferior and tries to propagate such doctrine? Is a "racist" one who inspires his own group to feelings of pride in itself without derogation of others? Is a "racist" a member of a minority group denied rights and privileges by law and custom, who protests against such restrictions and demands equal rights with other citizens? Is a "racist" simply one who writes and talks about race?

It seems clear that the term can mean any or all of the foregoing depending on who and what you are. To most Negroes, a "racist" is one who thinks his race superior and other races inferior, and tries to spread such belief. New York editors, and many others, would not only include the white or yellow, or black, supremacist in the term "racist," but also those who teach racial pride and seek racial equality. There are others who go further and conclude that any discussion of racial problems is "racist."

■

IN THIS WRITER'S opinion, the term "racist" is one of reproach and is intended to denote those of any race who feel that they have a divine right to prosper and to improve themselves at the expense of other races. "Racism" goes further than teaching race pride or protecting racial rights. it exploits weaker races and denies rights. It attempts to destroy the basis for pride. It is not mere consideration of what this or that race is doing, but determination on the part of one race to restrict other races.

Black men, of course, can be as guilty of racism as white. But the term should not be used lightly. When Powell appeals to those who are wounded even as he is wounded, he offers succor for their suffering, not incitement to exploit others.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Communists

I AM NOT a professional anti-Communist. I abhor that breed almost as much as I do the Communists. Each of these species would control my thinking and my behavior. I want to be free to do my own thinking. I even want to be free to oppose Communists in my way. And I want to be free to promote democracy as I see it.

Mr. Prattis

For a long, long time I have recognized the difficulty of fighting an idea which, burnished, becomes what they call an ideology. That's what the Communists have and that's what they have been selling. Also, they have developed extraordinary skill in taking advantage of other people's weaknesses. They have been on the offensive and their approach has been positive.

■

I HAVE LONG wondered when we, the American people, would divest ourselves of some of our smugness, quit being on the defensive, package our own ideology attractively and launch a positive soles program to the entire world. When, I have asked myself, are we going to oppose an idea with an idea and aggressively take advantage of the other fellow's weakness?

It seems to me that the Moral Re-Armament group is the only, or the principal one, which has recognized the necessity of defending freedom with a positive ideology.

That would pit the world of those who believe in God, regardless of race, color, creed or nationality, against the world of those who don't believe in God. They would range those who are trying to do God's will against those who reject God.

■

THE MORAL RE-ARMAMENT people, under the leadership of Dr. Frank Buchman, have brought what they believe to be God's will to bear upon man's affairs, from those which involve individuals and families to those which involve nations and humanity. And, with a quet persistence, they have achieved results—all over the world. Each day this group becomes a force to be reckoned with more and more.

A shoft while ago, you saw a picture with Mrs. Daisy Bates and Governor Orval Faubus shaking hands in Little Rock. But you did not know that the Moral Re-Armament leadership had been to Little Rock and to the homes of Governor Faubus and Mrs. Bates. Nor did you know that Mrs. Bates and her husband had been to the headquarters of Moral Re-Armament at Mackinac Island, Mich.

What kind of vision did Mr. and Mrs. Bates see at Mackinac Island? And what happened to Governor Fabus when these Moral Re-Armament people visited his mansion. A kind of unity was born, the kind which Moral Re-Armament seeks for the entire free world, or the entire world.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Not an Incident

NO MATTER what the German Government says from Konrad Adenauer on down, the contemptible defacement of a Jewish synagogue in Cologne or so-called Nightists cannot be regarded as a mere incident, the work of irresponsible pranksters. It must be taken for what it is, the disturbing sign that anti-Semitism is not only rife, but growing, in Germany.

Mr. Prattis

The situation of some Germans, including the government, in respect to the Jews, is much like that of some Americans, including the government, in respect to Negroes. The Federal Government has no policy against Negroes and that is true of most of the states. But most white Southerners and a goodly percentage of white Northerners are anti-Negro, to say the least. They don't like Negroes, they think Negroes are different and inferior, and they are determined that the Negro shall not have a white man's chance in this country.

■

THIS IS TRUE of a very large percentage of the German people where Jews are concerned. The government may express regrets over the past with some 6,000,000 Jews murdered. And some Germans (such as Krupps and Farben) may attempt to compensate some Jews for their losses. But the average German is anti-Semitic. He is afraid of the Jew and he has been taught to hate the Jew.

How do I know? Well, there are some Negroes over in Germany. They have returned to tell the story. You know they would be on the look-out for prejudice of any kind. You ask them about prejudice against the Negro, especially the "brown babies." And you're told that if these youngsters grow up as Germans, and are trained in German schools, they'll get along all right. They'll become part of the German community.

■

BUT NOT SO the Jews. The basic German attitude toward the Jews is similar to (but worse than) the basic American attitude toward the Negro. The ordinary German, if you're not looking, doesn't want the Jew around. There is a sort of common understanding not to give a Jew a break, socially or in business. As late as today, Germans are forcing Jewish merchants out of business by not patronizing them.

Adenauer's apology for the desecration of the synagogue was like Eisenhower's apology when Ghana's finance minister was refused a cup of coffee. It spelled out the government's position but it did nothing to alter the attitude of the people. Pious statements mean little.

In Germany, as in the United States, the government and the best people are challenged to combat racial hatreds with all the resources at their command.

Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

A White Man's Chance

IN "THE Negro Vanguard" (Rinehart & Co., Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16, N.Y., price $6.95), Richard Bardolph, professor of history at the Women's College University of North Carolina, Greensboro, has delved seriously and deeply into the background, social, economic and ancestral, of more than one thousand Negro notables in this country since 1870.

Mr. Prattis

Under the protection of fellowships, Prof. Bardolph has done a vast amount of research which is supported by sound scholarship, an inescapable penchant for objective evaluation, and a rather amazing perception of the relationship of background factors. The result, "The Negro Vanguard," is the most thorough, comprehensive and challenging study of Negro achievement yet published in this country.

■

THERE MAY be those who will question the manner in which Prof. Bardolph has related the achievements of many Negroes to financial help and guidance given these Negroes by their white relatives and by white friends. I do not. The facts speak for themselves. I do not believe that because many Negro notables have been mulattoes (with wealthy fathers or grandfathers) that Prof. Bardolph has tried to prove that an infusion of white blood has been responsible for Negro achievement. The contrary is true in too many instances and the proofs are cited. My reading of "The Negro Vanguard" gives me the impression that Prof. Bardolph has proved without questio-

that there is a substantial percentage of Negroes, regardless of their color, who, given the white man's chance in terms of economic backing, guidance and social environment, will make distinguished records in their areas of endeavor.

■

PROF. BARDOLPH has divided the time since 1770 into periods of 30 and 35 years and, on the basis of his vast reading and his interviews with contemporary personalities, has selected the Negro leaders, heroes and achievers. Of course, there are going to be Negroes who complain that he has included some he should not have and has overlooked some he should have included. But that point is minor. He has absolutely the best list of Negro notables ever assembled between the covers of a book and, in terms of what he set out to do, has done the most competent job.

This is a generation of Negroes which, in spite of everything, is losing touch with its past and the personalities of the past. Prof. Bardolph has produced the evidence to show that there is much more to be proud of than to be ashamed of in that past. The lives of Negro notables of the past, compounded of struggle and sacrifice, should make the blood of Negro youth today, with its opportunities, tingle. "The Negro Vanguard" should be required reading for every Negro above the age of 10.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Gun in Hand

AT THE age of 92 (which he will be Feb. 23), Dr. W. E. B. DuBois stands at his cabin door, gun in hand, defying the world (or system) of which he is a part. This he does in the second volume of his trilogy, **Mansart Builds a School**, published by Mainstream Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y., $4. I want to write four statements about this book.

Mr. Prattis

1. Dr. DuBois is the victime of some of the worst printing which has been the lot of a distinguished writer. I don't know who proofread the manuscript, but whoever did the job should be fired.

2. Dr. DuBois uses the novel form to write about his life and times. In doing so, he recreates much history and much biography. He trains the candid camera on personalitie of the almost-forgotten past, personalities he knew well. You learn about the early days of the NAACP and the Urban League, as well as the individuals, white and colored, associated with the beginning of these organizations, and why there came to be two organizations. Some of the personalities are named outright. Others you have to guess at, but not very hard. If you want to know what Dr. DuBois thought of many of the men who worked hard with him, you can find out.

3. **Mansart Builds a School** is a crammed compendium of all the insults, large and small, suffered by black men and women since they first set foot on this continent. DuBois has written out of an awesome sensitivity, a flaming bitterness, if you please, but any sensitive Negro who reads this book will know that DuBois has known, and smoldered, when you and I have been hurt to the quick. Yes, he is angry, but he has suffered with us and he has tried to find words with nuclear power with which to blast our enemies. Although not quite the DuBois of old, one is still treated to those flights of poesy encouched in moving, beautiful prose.

4. In **Mansart Builds a School**, Dr. DuBois projects his social and political convictions. They are convictions long held by him. He has always been what we call a radical. Radicals are supposed to mellow off, to become conservative, but not DuBois. He stands at the door of his shack, shotgun loaded, ready, anxious, to take a shot at big business, at organized labor that does not make sense, at a political and economic system which makes some men wealthy and keeps many men poor. The DuBois theories are not those popular in the America of today.

Those who know Dr. DuBois and are aware of his great sense of humor will read **Mansart Builds a School** and get the feeling that he is having great fun digging up the past, transforming our denigrators into pin-cushions and serving as an expert witness for socialism.

He ought to use his gun on the guys who printed the book.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

Party Obligation

ONE CAN understand why nearly 80 per cent of Negroes in metropolitan centers have given their vote to the Democratic party, but understanding why doesn't make the fact make sense. The same would be true if (as they once did) gave such unbalanced support to the Republican party. Neither party should be able to count the Negro vote in advance. If such is the case, Negro voting leadership loses all bargaining power.

Mr. Prattis

The reason Negro voters have given overwhelming majorities to the Democratic party in the cities of the North, East and West, is because most of the jobs, appointive and elective, they have received have come from Democratic machines in control of these areas. But the jobs which Negroes have in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Los Angeles and San Francisco, are not worth 80 per cent of the Negro vote.

■

TOKEN JOBS are usually given by the Democratic party to older Negroes and sentiment is whipped up in the precincts and districts to support the party in order to retain these jobs. In terms of the size of the public payroll and the merits of Negro job-seekers, the Negro does not begin to get his fair share. This is certainly true in a city like Pittsburgh, where he does not get his fair share of jobs.

There are rascals in the Democratic party, most of whom are in the South. There are also rascals in the Republican party, most of whom are in the North. The rascal Democrats of the South and the rascal Republicans of the North are the Negro's worst enemies. But the Negro cannot drive the rascals out of either party by staying out. In the North, East and West, he must become an unpredictable factor in both parties and help drive the rascals out. In the South, particularly in the primaries, he must get at the rascals first through the Democratic primary and vote Republican in the general election if rascals win in the primary.

ALSO, NEGROES must develop independent political leadership. Jobholders, either elective or appointive, cannot give objective leadership. They must serve their masters. The leadership must come from Negro business and professional men, and especially a clergy freed from mendicancy. This leadership must work to liquidize the Negro vote so that it can be steered, on the basis of principle and group welfare, in the direction of either party. This leadership must also be prepared to pay the costs. Negroes who are not jobholders and desire to lead must dig into their own pockets and help the party which will do their people the most good. Beggars can't be choosers, but he who pays the piper can always call the tune. Republicans and Democrats have bills to pay and they will listen to anybody who helps them balance the budget.

Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

"Trickeration"

DAVID LAWRENCE, editor of U.S. News & Report, chief spokesman for the former slave states, persists in projecting the theory that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution was not legally adopted. He says it was forced down the throats of the states which had been in rebellion and is therefore invalid. Lawrence could not continue to question the validity of the 14th Amendment if there were not a body of public opinion, North as well as South, which is complacent about what he writes.

Mr. Prattis

Indeed, former slave states have a plan for this presidential year. They intend to have their cake and eat it too by electing presidential electors who are not pledged to any candidate. So far, states which have a total of 69 electors, are behind the plan. They obviously intend to hold out on the candidate chosen by the Democratic Party.

THIS MEANS, of course, that if the Democratic candidate is to win, he must get a majority of all the electoral votes (537) or 269, minus the 69 hold-outs. If the Democratic candidate fails to get a majority, or if the Republican candidate fails to get a majority, the election will be thrown into the House of Representatives. There, each state will have one vote, regardless of size.

The slave states, in this situation, may expect to control from nine to 11 votes. The two candidates, Republican or Democratic, must battle for a majority of 26. But if the South withholds 11 votes, the candidate seeking the majority of 26 must seek it from the 39 states which had pledged electors.

At this point, either of the two candidates may be given "the works" by the group which controls the 11 rebel votes. While the two candidates seek a majority from 39, the leadership of the 11 states will demand the best bargain it can get—from either party. In such a situation, the President would be horse-collared before he took office.

WHAT WOULD happen to Negroes? There's no way of telling. Any bragain would certainly be based on fewer, rather than more, civil rights for Negroes. The bargain might call for the repeal of the 14th Amendment. Such things can happen—and quickly.

In 1860, most Negroes in the United States were slaves. In 1866, all were legally freed by the 13th Amendment. This was a tremendous change not even contemplated in 1860.

Of course, times have changed (in the world as a whole) and no one can conceive of a return to chattel slavery. But it is conceivable that the former slave states, with the whip in their hand, could and would check the progress of the Negro toward first-class citizenship.

The "trickeration" that might be tried by the former slave states is a reminder that the Republican party could be a very present help in time of trouble.

History Shows . . . 31a Negro

By J. A. Rogers

The Pittsburgh Courier

A. SIMPKINS of Atlanta, Ga., chairman of the Committee to Protect the History and Culture of Colored and Colonial Peoples, writes me in protest that Hannibal, greatest military genius of all times, was shown in the movie of that name as a white man. He says, "Disgusting as it is to see the black brother patronizing jim crow theatres it is even more disgusting to see them there when famous black characters are passed on to them as white." Now when oppressed minorities and colonial peoples are rising up everywhere and need the inspiration from their history, Negroes should protest to the movie-makers and boycott the theatres where such false history is shown, he says. In Harlem, the house showing that picture was picketed.

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Mr. Rogers

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BEFORE the invention of the doctrine of white superiority, about 1600 A. D., Hannibal was known as a black man. Peter the Great called his famous Negro favorite, Hannibal. Pulsky, noted authority on ancient portraits, says the portrait usually given as Hannibal, wasn't him at all but "the ideal representation of a hero" from the silver coins of Dernes of Phoenicia. On the other hand, there are several genuine coins of Hannibal which show him an unmixed African. Babelon, noted authority on coins, says, "The Negro of the coins in question has a definite characteristic which leaves no doubt of the ethnographic intention of the engraver; he has rings in his ears, a flat nose, thick lips and hair arranged in rows of knobs ...Hannibal won a victory on the spot where the money was struck, and it was contemporaneous with the battle..." In my World's Great Men of Color, Vol. I, I've reproduced some of the coins and given sources.

■

HANNIBAL is still "the greatest of all military geniuses." His tactics are taught at West Point and other military academies. Napoleon called him "the most audacious, the most astonishing genius, so bold, so great in everything who, at 26, conceived what is hardly conceivable, and executed what one may truly call the impossible."

A society like that of Mr. Simpkins' is much needed at this stage of the black man's history.

Authentic portraits of many of these famous Negroes, ancient and modern, appear in the newly published "Facts About the Negro," which is compiled from the 26 years of "Your History," feature in The Courier. The facts were supplied by myself and the illustrations by Samuel Milai. It is published by Lincoln Park Studio, P. O. Box 4670, Pittsburgh 6, Pa. This is the first of a series.

History Shows . . By J. A. Rogers

WITH the Civil War Centennial a few weeks away, books and articles on that war continue to multiply. LOOK announces a series on, "If The South Had Won The Civil War: How a slight turn of fate might have changed the destiny of the North, the South and the world." I don't know what Look is going to say that "turn of fate" was; but Lincoln said most positively it was the help of the Negro. I've given that in "Africa's Gift to America," and more directly in my pamphlet just out," The Civil War Centennial: 100 Years After."

Mr. Rogers

I'VE SHOWN how America couldn't have been the great nation it now is if the North had lost the war. Lincoln was in such despair that that after the third consecutive defeat of the Union, he wept, not knowing what to do. In midsummer 1862, he said, "We had reached the end of our rope . . . we had played the last card . . ." The only thing left was to call on the Negro for help. He said, "The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black men on the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once." What he later said of the role of the Negro in saving the Union is so devastating to white pride, North and South, that it is either wholly or mostly omitted from Civil War books. Now after this, do you think the Negro will get the credit he deserves in the Centennial? The only work in which I've seen justice done is "The Lincoln Encyclopedia" section, "Negro Troops, Importance of," pp. 226-28. I looked through 27 new books on the Civil War, including "Europe Looks at the Civil War," and saw mention mostly of slavery.

WHAT'S WORSE, the South is planning to steal the show. While New York has contributed only $10,000 to the Centennial and the U. S. $100,000, Virginia is spending $1,600,000, and Texas $2,500,000. June Guild, white Southern author, says she'd wager "every gold ingot in Fort Knox that the politically shrewd South is planning to fight another anti-America, anti-Negro vilification campaign with it."

The pamphlet gives the exact facts. It is 3,000 words, and is illustrated. One picture is that of the Union panic and defeat at Bull Run. It sells for 10 cents, plus 10 cents for mailing, etc; 100 copies, $7, by mail, $7.75. Negro groups could buy it; sell it or give it to their members, who, in turn give it to some white person. This gives everyone a chance to get into the act. More on this very important matter next week. Please write me c/o The Courier, 15 West 125th St., New York, N. Y.

History Shows . . By J. A. Rogers

THE BIGGEST ISSUE in the political campaign was "America's prestige abroad." That is, her military strength compared with Russia's. Yet a question equally important—one that is being used to undermine America's strength—was omitted, namely, America's prestige in race relations.

Mr. Rogers

What happens to the Negro in America is important to those white nations who want to do business in Africa. To most Africans a white man is a white man. Russians were mobbed in the Congo; so were Americans. Both were taken for Belgians. It is to the interest of European whites to make it known they aren't Americans; to say there's no color prejudice in their lands. For this reason racial incidents in the U.S. get wide publicity in European papers. In Paris in 1956 I told how minor incidents in Kentucky and Tennessee overshadowed the two then burning issues in France, Algeria and the Suez Canal.

■

KHRUSHCHEV'S address to the UN Oct. 1 was an example of this exaggeration, and it got world-wide publicity. I quote from Soviet News of London: "In America Negroes are lynched and hanged only because they are black." Now lynching has fortunately ceased, that is, as we knew it. From 230 in 1892 it fell to two in 1950 and one in 1951. He said also, "In America there is a sharp line between whites and Negroes." Of course, there is some color prejudice everywhere but it isn't always sharp. Even in the South the jim crow car has disappeared in some parts and there is some school integration. He said also that Africans who haven't "a document of the United Nations cannot stay at a hotel, or get a dinner or lunch in a restaurant for whites." This is not wholly true in cities like New York, or Chicago. I have seen Africans eating in downtown New York white restaurants and have attended affairs given by Africans where they were served by white waiters and waitresses. As for accommodations in hotels I can name several where unmixed American Negroes are readily accepted. What I try to do here is to deal with the merits or demerits of the situation as they exist.

With Russia's drive to capture especially Central Africa as well as Latin-America, a rise in America's racial prestige is very important. It is regrettable that this was omitted in the campaign. With the growing power of the darker races America is doomed if she continues to pussyfoot on this issue. It is to be hoped that the new administration will have the courage to make a frontal attack to end it once for all.

31a 1960

History Shows . . 31a.

By J. A. Rogers

FIDEL Castro's move from a white hotel to Harlem's Hotel Theresa made world news. And when he and Khrushchev hugged each other there that was still more. Castro is clearly trying to win American Negroes. So was his invitation to them months ago and the now-cancelled Joe Louis agreement.

Mr. Rogers

Castro's revolution has lessened color discrimination in Cuba. But I don't see how it can help Negroes here. If his dictatorship survives it will be a miracle. Not only the United States but most of the Latin-American nations are against him. He's falling back on Russia and China, who, if they get a foothold will eventually dominate there. But the meeting of the two dictators in Harlem was good, things being what they are. It warned white America to watch its step.

THIS MUCH is certain. The vast majority of Negroes are going to remain here. They cannot, even if they wish, tear up roots and leave. In 1865, when Lincoln proposed sending all Negroes to Africa, Gen. Butler told him that Negro babies were being born faster than he could build ships to take them. That's even more true now. The so-called Negro is an integral part of this nation. He enters into all phases of its daily life. And when Castro seizes American businesses in Cuba he is hurting both so-called races here. There are certain to be Negro stockholders in those businesses, too.

As I see it today, the fate of color discrimination is largely up to the Negro, himself. What's needed now is an awakening of one and all to the fact that the fullest rights of American citizenship is theirs. And they will be satisfied with nothing less. Bars are falling everywhere. I never believed I would live to see such changes. I give the jim-crow car even in the worst part of the South five years at most. I recall, too, when the great dailies and magazines were anti-Negro. Today most of them have fine, constructive articles on the race question.

■

WHITE AMERICA has certainly become more friendly, more ready for the truth. For instance in 1917 when I sent the Chicago Public Library a free copy of "From Superman to Man," it was returned. The same with the New York one. But now, the latter buys everything I have and last week ordered 16 copies of "Africa's Gift to America," making a total of 18.

To match Castro's spectacular move here, what if America does something equally striking such as naming a Negro to a full Cabinet post and filling the next vacancy in the Supreme Court with one.

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History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

CHARLES S. JONES of Chicago writes me, "I have been reading your column and your books for over 10 years. Since you have to publish and sell your own books, what I want to know is why don't Negro leaders and organizations get behind you and use the information to tell America and the world that the Negro has earned first-class citizenship."

Mr. Rogers

Mr. Jones' letter came just as I was about to tell that what he urges had been done by one Negro truly interested in his racial group. He is John J. White of Detroit, owner of the Gotham Hotel. He sent me a cashier's cheque for 130 copies of "Africa's Gift To America," all of which he gave away. "We would like," he wrote, "to place copies of 'Africa's Gift To America,' for the reading pleasure of our guests." He said that guests sometimes carried off his books, "but if they are passed on for others to read, we are happy for our efforts."

■

NEVER HAVING heard of Mr. White before, I made inquiries, one person said, "He's a grand soul." Another told me of the Negro Hall of Fame in his hotel, all painted by Negro artists. Mrs. Irene Graves of Detroit wrote me, "His hotel is the finest Negro-owned and operated one in the country . . . his busy life encompasses many philanthropic activities, helping both young and old. His Christmas dinner for the aged and his annual party for retarded children are among many. He received a plaque from B'nai B'rith and the Detroit Citizens' Committee. The Gotham boasts 100 per cent NAACP membership, thanks to the untiring efforts of John White."

While in Cleveland recently, I decided to go on to Detroit to meet this remarkable and benevolent man. He is happily still young. When I thanked him for his help and encouragement, he spoke as if he had done nothing at all, and even talked of getting more books to be sent to colleges. Later when my friend, E. Earthmon Fort, took me about the city, I received congratulations from several to whom Mr. White had given the book.

■

THE GOTHAM HOTEL is all that Mrs. Graves said of it. I stopped there that night. The bed was most comfortable and the service tops. The food was excellent, and the roast beef perfect. Everything reflected the spirit of its owner. On both sides of the lobby was his Hall of Fame, unique, I believe, in America. Yes, John J. White is truly "a grand soul."

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

WILL THE white man survive in Africa is the big question of the day. Alan Paton, white South African, and foe of his country's racial policy, thinks that while "there is no longer any room on the continent of Africa for any white person who considers the color of his skin entitles him to special privileges" and while Africans will no longer stand "racial arrogance" that "white people with contributions to make will always be welcome" as they now are in Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sudan. "The desire for independence and freedom is the most powerful motive in the continent today and this desire is intimately associated with hatred and resentment of past white arrogance," he says.

Mr. Rogers

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AND THERE you are. But at the bottom it is ot a question of color but of injustice. Dig deep into the unrest in any part of the world today, from Russia to Spain to Cuba and you'll find it began in the exploitation of one class by another. After the 40,000,000 white slaves of Russia were freed in 1861 czarism continued and out of that came communism even as the recent race riots in Jacksonville have their roots in continued oppression of the Negroes after they were freed in 1965.

In the Latin-American lands the upper class exploited the lower even after independence. Dictators arose to get rid of this but they in time became oppressors, like Batista, who started splendidly. In Spain oppression was awful under the monarchy. Civil war was the result.

OPPRESSION in Russia or Spain differed from that in Africa or India in that the symbol of the oppressor was a so-called white skin. In the 15th century Europeans invaded Africa, and thanks to their superior weapons were able to establish exploitation based on color —something new to humanity. Africans then be it noted, were as cruel to one another as whites were to whites in Europe. In the slave trade Africans were the hunters-down of their own people. Some, like Tippoo Tib, Sebehr, and DaSouza, were monsters. The Arabs, white, black, and mulatto, were as bad, pehaps worse, slavers than Europeans, but unlike them, they had no color line to speak of. Thus Moslem lands are today not plagued by color. On the other hand, as in the Congo, the whites are having their mark of superiority used against them. But with the more humane and useful type of whites now going to Africa this will go in time. Kindness and respect for others win out every time whether in Africa or America. Color prejudice is not natural to man.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

COLUMBIA University has started a course on the lives of prominent living Negroes. These are to be interviewed. Dr. Louis Starr, director of the course, says there is "pathetically" little information on Negro autobiography and "the fact that race is the common denominator of this broad subject may strike scholars a century hence as curious. We hope it does. They will find in these warmly human pages much that will stimulate their curiosity."

Mr. Rogers

"Curiosity is far too mild a word. It will be rather "gross infantile stupidity" that mere color of skin has such force even in vital affairs of this nation. Remember how the color question gummed up the United States Senate recently in that filibuster! In fact many Europeans already feel that way about present-day Americans.

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TAKE THE case of Rafer Johnson, who carried the American flag at the Olympics and on whom the U. S. pinned its hope of coming out on top. In an interview with Time, he tells of his bitter experiences in Hillsboro, Tex., where he was born. Described as a "most remarkable human being as gentle as a child and yet tremendously competitive," Johnson, in a rare flash of anger, said, "I don't care if I never Texas again. If my family had stayed in Texas, I not only would not be representing the U. S. in the Olympic games—I would not even have gone to college." In California he met prejudice, too. Now think how much farther he would have gone if he hadn't had to use up so much time and energy fighting this imbecility!

THIS ORAL history is a good beginning for a written one; that is, the general history of the black man through the ages. But the going for that will be tough. The common belief is that Africa had ways been a land of awful savagery and cannibalism and that any worthwhile Negro history begins with slavery in America. That has been repeated so much for the last 300 years that perhaps to most white American scholars it has become a fact. They don't need to do research on it. They know it. One Columbia University professor, a noted anthropologist, in a review, dismissed my "Sex and Race," Vol. I, in a short paragraph saying, "I had proved too much." What if I had given pictures from European museums and proof from great European scholars. That amounted to nothing. He knew it wasn't so. And that was that. My reply was that if I had given too much, it was because he and his kind had covered up too much.

History Shows . . . 31 a Negro

By J. A. Rogers

The Pittsburgh Courtier

THE UNITED STATES won 34 gold medals in the Rome Olympics. Of these Negroes took 12, or over a third. This is all the more outstanding when they had less than a seventh of 281 American athletes, that is, 43 to 238 white. Base it on percentage of population and the whites should have won at least 32 instead of only 22. Avery Brundage, chairman of the games, rightly said, "If it weren't for our Negro athletes, we'd be a second-rate power in track and field."

Pittsburgh Pa

Mr. Rogers

Sat. 10-1-60

TRACK AND FIELD are the events of the games that count most. Though Russia took 43 gold medals, America led all the nations in these two features, thanks to the Negroes. Rafer Johnson, winner of the decathlon, greatest one of the games, emerged as "the greatest athlete on earth," and Wilma Rudolph as "the fastest woman on earth." Ralph Boston jumped further than anyone who has ever lived; Lee Calhoun, the greatest hurdler on record, and Otis Davis beat the world record for the 400-metre race. In boxing Cassius Clay, Edward Crook and Wilbert McClure, all won gold medals. And by the way, an Ethiopian, Abeba Bikala, as dark as the unmixed Rafer Johnson, won the marathon. the game that demanded the greatest stamina.

The Rome achievements are also nothing new. Since 1932 American Negroes have distinguished themselves at the Olympics. At Los Angeles that year, Eddie Tolan won both the 100 and 200 metres; in Berlin 1936, Negroes took 6 first, with Jesse Owens winning four gold medals; in London, 1948, they took 6 firsts; Helsinki, 1952, 10, and Melbourne, 1956, also 10.

NOW THE above are but a part of the immense contribution made by Negroes towards making America the foremost nation on earth. And it gives the lie, direct and hideous, to such books as "The Negro: A Menace To American Civilization," where they are pictured as a dying and degenate race. They still are by the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Council. In fact I believe that that propaganda colors the thinking of most white Americans. And it is more or less deep in the psychology of millions of Negroes. But the simple truth is—and I can give proof that no minority group in history has so much to its credit, has achieved so much, as the Negro in America. Is it not time then that no Negro should hang his head; that one and all should feel that opportunity to achieve is not a gift from good white people, but a right they have earned by blood, sweat and tears.

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

RIOTS in the Congo Republic are being extensively used to prove that that is what happens when black people are given their freedom. That Ghana, Guinea, the (French) Congo, Gaboon and other African republics are orderly and that whites and blacks live together in peace is ignored. Time (July 8) said, "With a primeval howl, a nation of 14 million people plunged backward into the long night of chaos." A gross exaggeration! Time adds, "There seems no logical explanation for the madness that swept the Congo."

Mr. Rogers

Now what happened between white and black in the Congo is but a pin-prick compared with what white oppressed, who gained their freedom, have done to their white oppressors. Take the Russian revolution of 1917. Czar Nicholas, his wife and children were driven into a basement, machine guns were turned on them, and all traces of their bodies were obliterated. Aristocrats were butchered, and White Russians (nothing to do with race) had to flee Russia for their lives, precisely as some whites are fleeing parts of the Congo. Most Latin-American revolutions, principally Paraguay, Guatemala and Haiti, were characterized by similar violence when the ruling class was downed.

MOST CONSPICUOUS of all was the French Revolution in the period known as "The Terror." Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and others of their court had their heads chopped off. So many aristocrats suffered the same fate that the buckets of their blood poured into the Seine made it run red to the sea. The beautiful Princess de Lamballe, though found innocent by the tribunal, was seized by the mob, beaten to death and sexually mutilated in a manner too horrible to relate here.

Now at this time there were tens of thousands of Negroes living in Paris, most of them slaves brought by their masters from Haiti. The whites regarded them as fellow-victims of the ruling class and they made common cause with the whites. Some of these blacks, like Zamor, were pampered favorites of royalty and the nobility, but to save their own lives they had to testify against them. Zamor, favorite of Mme. DuBarry, was called "an innocent child of Africa," whom she had perverted. Aristocratic white women were given to black soldiers to be raped. During the trials, women would sit with their knitting while they shouted for death to those on trial. Among the most vociferous of these was an African woman named Berse.

Where now does race come in in all this?

■

BELGIUM, ITSELF, is largely responsible for what happened. The Congolese could not vote. Politically, they were treated like children. Then Belgium saw it had to get out. Kasavubu, Lumumba and others with no governing experience were placed in power. Is it any wonder they need UN help?

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE HOTTEST ISSUE at both political conventions was civil rights—whether Americans of a darker hue should enjoy the same rights as those of a paler one. All this after the Constitution, supreme law of the land, decreed nearly a century ago that they should. What each party aimed at was how to get the votes of Negroes and at the same time, those of the Negro's enemies — certain Southern whites. It was like trying to ride two horses going in opposite directions at the same time. In short it was the same straddling as at previous conventions.

Mr. Rogers

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THE 15TH AMENDMENT gives Congress the power to enforce itself by "appropriate legislation." Now if either party had said something like this, "We shall enforce the rights of every citizen with the same vigor and impartiality that we enforce the income tax, which knows no color-line," then we should know it meant business at last. And that either party showed any "liberality" was a joke. C. L. Sulzberger in an excellent article in the New York Times (July 27) shows up this pretense. He says, "There is nothing 'liberal' about civil rights. Civil rights are a matter of decency, common sense, and conservative respect for our own legal charter." And even more, he says. "Civil rights, indeed, constitute a keystone of our foreign policy. The latter can never fully succeed in its efforts to lead the free world unless we grant to all our citizens the right we want for others.

"This embarrassing point has largely escaped debators on each side of the argument. They all accept as a cliche' the assumption that the era of colonialism is over. They are properly proud of the United States' record in this vital respect of our policy." But, he adds, America does have colonialism—at home. "We must recognize that our colonialism is not in foreign lands but our own. And if we do not wholly recognize this let us admit the fact that other nations do."

WE MUST ALSO consider the Communist nations, he says. "Let us regard ourselves in the same international mirror we hold up to Soviet Russia . . . Using this same mirror of veracity how can we forever assert the honesty of our philosophical intentions for others if the tarnish them for ourselves . . . Civil rights are no longer solely a concern of domestic policy. They have become a cardinal aspect of foreign policy." This blemish on our national image, he says, "must be entirely removed if we are to appear abroad as virtuous as we seem to feel . . . We should begin to do to ourselves as we would have done to others. This is an essential problem for the next administration, whichever party leads it."

And Americans, regardless of color, who really have the interests of their country at heart are going to see to that.

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

WHEN it comes to downright meanness, white people of Fayette County, Tenn., take the cake. Because the Negroes won the right to register as voters and are doing so they suddenly find themselves without homes, businesses and even food for their children. The whites, only 8,000 to the 18,000 colored, are in economic control. Under orders from the white citizens' council, they have closed down on the Negroes. One prosperous filling-station was not only refused gas but had its 1,000-gallon Amoco tank taken away. Negro grocery-stores are forced to close as supplies were refused them, and white groceries wouldn't sell anything. Negro sharecroppers were not only turned off their farms, but electricity for their refrigerators and homes were shut off.

Mr. Rogers

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CAR LIABILITY insurance has been cancelled; banks refused loans; installment dealers took back their goods; Negro teachers dismissed, and even juke-boxes on credit were taken away. To get food some must hitch mules to their car and drag it to Memphis 43 miles away. One father of seven, whose children were subsisting on parched corn, was arrested for not paying the $4 road tax and sent to prison. These rural people have large families. One has 16 children.

Of course, there are some humane whites in the county, but if they sell to Negroes they, too, will get the same treatment.

President Eisenhower has been appealed to. But he can do, or has done, nothing. This you all, is not Hungary, Korea, Vietnam, or what have you, but America. The Red Cross also declared it can do nothing. It says its charter, granted by Congress, specifies relief only where acts of God, nature, or national disasters are involved. The FBI finds itself powerless. So let the children starve.

■

THE ONLY relief so far has come from the NAACP and the National Committee for Rural Schools in New York. Together they have sent in $5,000 in food. And at that the plight of these folk has been much publicized. It was on television, in Time and other magazines. The New York Post is carrying a series of first-hand articles on it. And of course ,it has been given much publicity in the European, African, Asian and especially the Communist press, where it is made to appear not as happening in backward Tennessee, but in the United States.

But the Negroes are carrying on bravely. Their spirit, says the Post, is, "We're walking to freedom. And the road can't get too rocky when freedom is the goal."

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

SIXTY-NINE Southern towns have ended jim-crow lunch counters. It is said most did it voluntarily because jim crow was "hurting America as leader of the free world." Oh, yes? Well, it was because it was hitting them where it hurt most — in the pocketbook, as say, the picketing of Woolworth stores in Northern cities.

Mr. Rogers

This success of the sit-down strikes proves the truth of the old saying, "He who would be free must strike the first blow." If ever the time comes when Negroes awaken to the fact that they are 100 per cent human beings and that as citizens they have earned the right to unrestricted opportunity, then discrimination will go. Even with unorganized and scattered effort, it has been losing out. New York, Boston and Philadelphia had jim-crow cars once, but a few self-respecting Negroes attacked them and they went. Remember, too, Montgomery, Ala. With organized effort, it would go in less than a year because millions of whites, even in the South, are ready for the change, too. I never believed I'd live to see white and and black clerks working side by side in the great department stores of New York, or that one could ride free of jim crow in Virginia and Tennessee.

■

COLOR PREJUDICE is not natural to man. Whites and blacks have been living in harmony in North Africa for more than 8,000 years. They so lived, too, in Southern Europe when the Moors ruled there. Negro slavery lasted longer in England than it did in the United States, yet there was very little color prejudice. The prejudice there was on religion, even as it was the first one in America. Color prejudice really began with the French in the West Indies and the English in North America. The first Negroes in Virginia suffered none. They used to import white people over whom they had control. Prejudice started as largely economic. That is, to build up feelings against the Negroes so that they could be kept to menial labor and with fullest exploitation. Today in the South, the motive is chiefly political. Color prejudice is used by politicians to swing themselves into perpetual office.

■

I HAVE REASON to believe that a great number of Southern whites, although they live in prejudice as a fish in water, are free from it. I have met many who were more liberal on the matter of color than some light Negroes to dark ones. Some of these whites do step out, but the majority fear economic and social reprisal and are silent. Here are potential allies in the Negro's drive for equality, though.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

CONGRESSMAN ADAM Powell, as we know, has been carrying on a determined fight to get a non-segregation clause in the Federal bill to aid education so much so that many white liberals consider him a "pest".

Mr. Rogers

Half-a-loaf Negroes wish he'd stop. Recently as reported in The Courier, he sent a telegram to the President promising not "to offer the Powell Amendment during the forthcoming consideration" of the bill if the President will use the power which he has "not to allow any Federal funds available under the forthcoming bill to be channeled to any school area in defiance of the 1954 Supreme Court decision."

In other words, all that Powell asked was a guarantee from the President, Attorney-General Rogers, and Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Flemming, that they will o[illegible]e Supreme Court decision enforced. The reply to that from Gerald Morgan, assistant to Eisnehower, was a masterpiece of evasion and runaround. Result: the Powell Amendment is in again.

THE COURIER called Powell "the irrepressible Adam Powell, Harlem's pride and joy Congressman."

Which he certainly is. In the recent primaries he swamped his opponents. Which proves that Negroes are getting increasingly tired of compromise. It's said you must stoop to conquer.

Keep that up and soon you won't be able to stand upright. That last civil rights bill was a mockery. A cartoon showed Eisenhower waiting for news of its "birth." Then a nurse comes out and announces, "It's a mouse." Compromise on civil rights and soon you'll have none.

For the past 25 years I have followed with great admiration Mr. Powell's bold stand for equality.

And, recently I had even greater cause to consider him "a pride and joy congressman."

Hearing that I was pushed to pay the printer for my last book, "Africa's Gift to America," he ordered a hundred copies and had me come Sunday morning to autograph them.

■

HIS CONGREGATION took them so fast I had to return the following Sunday with more.

In his street-meetings he also told the people to go to the bookstores for it.

Still more, he mentioned it in his speech in Congress, with particular attention to the fact that it was a Negro master-builder who erected the Statue of Freedom on the Capitol in Washington. (I've given his name).

My friend, doctor of music, Melville Charlton, was delighted at the news. He wrote me, "You have the right man. Now if only other leaders will do like Adam."

When I thanked Dr. Powell, he said modestly, "This is a part of my education program. America must know more of the Negro's wonderful contribution, especially the youth. True and uncensored Negro history is a morale builder. We need it."

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

NINETEEN sixty-one is the centennial of the Civil War and the Centennial Commission is preparing to have it fittingly observed. But will it be one of rejoicing that the Union was preserved? Or of Southern propaganda against the Negro? June P. Guild, white Southerner, says (Crisis, Dec. 1959) she thinks it will be the latter. "Every gold ingot in Fort Knox may be safely wagered," she says, "that the South will attempt to use the centennial as a superior chance to spread misrepresentations of law, history and science as they are related to American Negroes. I hope and pray the centennial does not become a colorful picture of Southern propaganda. Yet, already the signs are multiplying that the always politically shrewd South is planning to fight another anti-America, anti-Negro vilification campaign . . .

Mr. Rogers

"Actually there is in the South at this time so much massive resistance to Federal law and the right of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution, that we are experiencing "Down Here," a period similar in many respects to pre-Civil War conditions. "Everywhere," she says, "you can hear people saying 'Eisenhower, Warren, even poor old entrapped Governor Almond should be taken out and shot.'" It is the Confederate flag, not the Stars and Stripes that will be honored at the centennial she thinks. Confederate flags "worn, flying on cars displayed in stores, has reached epidemic proportions . . ."

■

AND AS WAS said in this column, the South already has a "hero" for the occasion — a manufactured one, an impostor —Walter Williams, known as the last veteran of the Civil War . . . though his birth certificate shows he was only a little over nine when the war ended.

Now in all justice who should be the star of this centennial? I'll let Lincoln, himself speak. Telling why it was necessary to use the Negro soldier, he said, "Midsummer, 1862, things had gone from bad to worse until I felt we had reached the end of our rope, that we had about played our last card and must change our tactics or lose the game." Secretary Seward replied, says Lincoln, that in using Negro troops it "would be a case of the Government stretching forth its hand to Ethiopia instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the Government." Lincoln says the objection made him hesitate another six months but continued defeat of the North made him "determine to wait no longer."

He added, "The colored population is the great available and yet unavailed of force for saving the Union. The bare sight of 50,000 armed and drilled black soldiers upon the banks of the Mississippi would end the rebellion at once."

Now the question is what are Negroes going to do about this centennial. Are they going to let their enemies steal the show? **Please follow this next week.**

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

LAST WEEK I mentioned the National Centennial Commission voted by Congress for the 100th anniversary of the Civil War. I said also that the enemies of the Negroes in the South are fixing to steal the show and have even set up an impostor, Walter Williams, as the last survivor of the war. Glorification of those who fought for slavery is the chief strength of anti-Negro propaganda and the South wins out every time with it. Williams, the phony, was very highly honored by Congress recently, and Robert E. Lee, the traitor, who fought for slavery, was placed in the National Hall of Fame, New York City. A friend of mine just from the South tells me that from the activities there now you'd think that it won the war.

Mr. Rogers

■

BUT THE NEGRO is in reality the star of the Centennial. Lincoln said five times that he provided the balance of power that won the war. But for the Negro it's a 100-to-one bet there'd be no United States today but two nations—a North and a South. But to most Negroes the Centennial probably means nothing. There's no immediate economic benefit or amusement in it for them. But the could fact is that the Centennial will be observed. There will be great parades and speeches. And if Negroes do not take the initiative and speak up for their part in it they will be forgotten. There may even be Negroes on the commission but that will help little, if at all. They'll meet what Dr. James E. Allen, sole Negro member on the George Washington Centennial, did. When he told how Phoebe Fraunces, a Negro girl, had saved George Washington from being poisoned by a British spy, the white members of the commission ruled that it was better to leave out "race" altogether, equivalent to saying that all concerned were white.

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NOW SINCE the Negro has [illegible] sea, and in the air, we are still in the forefront among the people of this world.

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HAPPINESS, however, eludes us, as we find ourselves trying to maintain our shaky balance of leadership in a world where bottom rails are fast coming on top, where men who wore chains a few years ago are becoming chief spokesmen at today's council tables, where slander and insult are poured without reserve on our chief of state, and where the tenacles of Communism still are stretching out despite the ring of military bases we have erected around the world. It may be that none can write today, words that will grip hearts and fire the imagination with the intensity that Jefferson and Lincoln's words did. What shall we do now, when one of our biggest friends of World War II is our biggest headache in 1960?

Most of all, we cannot enjoy contentment within this 1960? as we face the awsome segregation problem within, now compounded by the wave of sit-ins which signifies the Negroes' determination to resist . . . The stars added to the

History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

INDISCRIMINATE killing of whites by blacks in the Congo and that of blacks by whites in South Africa are equally distressing to humane individuals. But in both cases the cause is one and the same: Injustices practised by white people. Take the case of Dr. Albert Schweitzer at Lambarene, Gabun, a near neighbor of the Congo Republic. He and the whites with him are there not as white people but as human beings. The blacks love Schweitzer and would defend him with their lives. In Ghana, Nigeria, also, there is little friction between the so-called races.

Mr. Rogers

The Belgian Congo has a most horrifying history. And in this century, too. This territory, 80 times the size of Belgium, was given to Leopold II, a lascivious monster, as his own private estate by the European powers—a territory very rich in rubber and ivory. In 1903 a British consul there, Roger Casement, sent in a report of the treatment of the natives that shocked the civilized world. Congolese who did not bring in enough rubber had their hands chopped off. Pictures of this were submitted by the inquiry that followed as well as in E. D. Morel's "Red Rubber," "Curse of the Congo," and other works. A Belgian inquiry followed but as late as 1908, another British consul, Thiesinger, reported, "The system which gave rise to these abuses still continues unchanged and so long as it is unaltered the condition must remain one of veiled slavery." The Congo finally went to the Belgian state.

But most of the system remained. While in the neighboring French colonies the blacks voted and had their representatives in the French Parliament in Paris, the Congolese could not vote. In French and British West Africa blacks are officers in the army: in the Congo, all are only privates. As for education, there was very little of it. Of the 13,000,000 Congolese only 16 are college graduates. In short, the recent terrifying experiences of white women and children there arise from the evil seeds sown there by the Belgians themselves. Happenings in the Congo will give the South Africans an idea what will happen to them some day when the blacks gain power as they surely will. They are asking for it, too.

■

THE GREATEST peril facing the so-called white race is that glorifying of a pale skin over all the rest of darker humanity which began some 200 years ago. Before that whites and blacks had lived in harmony. For over 3,000 years they have been doing that in North Africa and Egypt as well as in their contacts in Southern Europe. The first great offenders were the United States and the French in Haiti. Today they are in the order named: South Africa, and the United States. Every evil brings its retribution. Unless something is done white some day will be where black now is. There was a time when the whites were nothing at all. That they could be again is not impossible.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh Pa., Oct 29/60

THAT Negroes are getting together in an organized, scientific effort to solve their problems was strikingly exemplified by the 14th annual conference of the Capital Press Club of Washington, D. C. Leading newspapermen, educators, writers, historians, civil rights leaders and others, gave vital, thought-provoking addresses—all so able and practical that it would be difficult to select any for special commendation.

Mr. Rogers

The three panels of the day centered on what is the image of the Negro in the minds not only of the whites, but of the Negroes themselves; and what could be done to correct or lessen present distortions. It was made clear by some speakers that these distortions have thrived for centuries and have become so imbedded in American psychology that the big job is how to replace this with the true picture of the Negro and what he has donce since he came with the Spaniards in 1512, or 448 years ago. Until the present dominant image is changed, progress in a solution will lag. The role the Negro press should play in bringing about this change, chiefly through Negro history, was stressed by several panelists.

■

THE MEETING ended with a dinner at which awards were given for scholarship, civil rights leadership, advertising, newswriting, photography and four other fields. All affairs were held at the Willard Hotel, a city landmark from which Negroes were once barred except as servants—proof that the image is changing. I remember how once, if you were in downtown Washington, you had to come uptown to get even a cup of coffee. Another striking change is in housing. I was the house guest of Capt. Darwin E. Smith, USA, retired. His home at 5901 Seventh St., N. W., is in one of the finest and loveliest residential districts I have ever seen, with beautiful homes, rose gardens and shaded streets. Colored and white homeowners live in harmony here and set an example for most Northern cities. There is never any talk of lowered values when a Negro moves in, Captain Smith said.

■

CAPTAIN SMITH served in the Ninth Cavalry and in World War II. For his services France awarded him Chevalier of the Order of Merit. He has traveled much, is an enthusiast on Negro history and kindly offered to be my agent in Washington. At a reception given for me by him and Mrs. Smith I met some prominent persons.

■

I ALSO visited the national museums and in all found only the story of white America. In the Natura' History Museum, which has a great pageant of America's growth and settlement, the only Negro I saw was one in shirt sleeves rolling a barrel for a white man. And there were hundreds of Negro visitors, some of them children, taking in this falsified history.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

The Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh Pa., Sat. 8-9-60

THE UNITED STATES has at last condemned atrocities in South Africa. It had been silent so far chiefly because of its own Jim Crow and of American investments there. But now, with the rising power of the Africans and their strength in the United Nations, it is necessary to try to get on their good side. South Africa replied sharply that America should mind its own business. But in the present world unrest what's happening in South Africa is not only America's business but that of the rest of the white world.

Mr. Rogers

For centuries Europe has been dependent on Africa and it is more so now than ever. This is true, chiefly, of England, France, and Belgium. The Belgian Congo is 80 times larger than Belgium and without it Belgium would have been of no more importance than Luxembourg. And not only economically but militarily do the white nations of the so-called free world need Africa. Lord Mountbatten, head of the armed forces of Britain, said recently that Africa was the key to NATO. America is the backbone of NATO.

Another reason why America had to speak out at last is the use American business rivals are making of Southern jim-crow in Asia, Africa, and Latin-America, and even more so by the Communists. One Vienna newspaper, friendly to America, had a cartoon on the front page showing a gorilla-like white man refusing service to a Negro girl.

CONGRESSMAN Diggs recently startled the House by reading excerpts of what Communist and non-Communist papers are saying of the filibuster. Among them were some from China and the United Arab Republic. One Cuban daily said that Negroes in America were "treated like dogs" and that Eisenhower's plea for world peace "comes from one bathed in the blood of these unfortunate people."

More and more South Africa is finding itself alone. Prime Minister MacMillan on his recent visit there told them flatly they could no longer count on England for help. There's a boycott now in England on South African goods. Two years ago the South Africans walked out of the United Nations for very much less than this massacre of unarmed blacks at Sharpesville. Seventy-two were killed and 182 wounded. What will its delegates do now?

■

YEARS AGO I predicted that tyranny in South Africa would end in one of two ways: The blacks massacring the whites as the Haitians did the French whites in 1791, or that England would gather the blacks to the north, march on the South Africans and give them another licking as in 1902. I think the latter is more likely.

Pittsburgh Courier Sat. 6/18/60
Pittsburgh, Pa. 3 Stamps

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

LAST week, I said that the National Museums of Washington, D. C., have no record of Negro achievement.

In the Civil War, 21 Negroes won the Congressional Medal of Honor, yet in the exhibits of that war, all they had was a Negro slave loading a musket for a Confederate. In the many exhibits of the growth of America there was only one Negro, perhaps a slave, rolling a barrel.

Mr. Rogers

There was plenty on the Indian though. Then I came to a certain status and I knew why the Negro was given no credit whatsoever. The statue is that of Ales Hrdlicka, curator, and a notorious racist.

The curator of the American Museum of Natural History of New York, Henry Fairfield Osborn, was even more anti-Negro. He was often attacked by white liberals, once editorially in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune. In an exhibit of the evolution of man, Osborn has a white one as the highest type.

Yet, white scientists, like Von Luschan, and as far back as Schopenhauer, had said that the white man was an evolution of dark-skinned man.

DARWIN SAID man originated in Africa, and the researches of Leakey, Broom, Dart and others, have amply proved that.

As for civilization, when Egypt, whose people were black, according to Herodotus, was at its height, Europe was peopled by savages, some of them as the British, being cannibals.

The nearest to any kind of white culture was Greece. The later famous, Athens, says the Encyclopedia Brittanica was at that time but "a miserable village, while the Piraeus consisted only of a few huts."

JULIUS CAESAR of 55 B. C wrote of the savages he saw in Germany, Britain and France. And over a thousand years later, Sayed, a Moorish historian (1029-1071 A. D.), said of most of the Europeans, "They are by nature unthinking and their manners crude. Their bellies protrude, their color is white and their hair long . . ."

I must note here that the Field Museum of Chicago is different racially from those above-mentioned. Its curator was Prof. Amos Dorsey, a true scientist, and author of "Why We Behave Like Human Beings."

Now most Negroes are indifferent to how they are portrayed in these museums, but are not their children absorbing these falsehoods and having the same feeling of inferiority built in them as their parents had? These Negro children are taken through the museums on guided tours. I have seen them there by the hundreds.

If the whites will not include Negroes in their museums, then the Negroes must create their own. The Afro-American Historical Society, 8716 Harkness Road, Cleveland, Ohio, wrote me that it is anxious to start such a museum.

The president, Icabod Fluellen, says the society is willing to pay for competent help and advice.

Pittsburgh Courier 3 Stamps
The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-25-60

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

AT A recent Harlem rally, considerable feeling was exhibited against color prejudice.

One speaker (a woman) was vehement. Her language was strong. I overheard someone say, "Why does she rant and rave like that. Doesn't she know that all white people aren't bad?"

Mr. Rogers

I, on my part, saw in her a frustrated soul—an utterly frustrated one—pouring out its bitterness against a life-time of fruitless struggle.

Of course, all of us in this life have our trials. White people have their frustrations, too. But in this woman's case, as in millions of other Americans, dominant society had set an impossible goal. It says, "Before you can consider yourself a 100 per cent human being, with all the rights and respect due you, **you you must change the color of your skin.**"

Now there are some who can bear this with patience. It is their nature. But it is equally the nature of some others to be impatient, to fight injustice, to strain against barriers that keep them from reaching that state of excellence that life urges them on to.

That is how I saw this woman. In short, one to be understood rather than blamed.

■

YES, THERE are good white people, many of whom are much more outspoken and active against color prejudice than very many Negroes. This type of white people opposed slavery and the slave-trade, and suffered persecution, imprisonment, and even death. Without these humane whites, the lot of the Negro in America for the past 350 years would be far worse than it was, and is.

But a majority of whites has made a so-called white skin a symbol of evil t Negroes (as Hitler set up his swastika). So, as many whites see in a so-called black skin something either evil or objectionable, so many Negroes see the same in a white one.

To make it worse, some whites indulge in physical violence. They bomb homes, schools, churches; use the courts to harass Negro leaders, and even murder.

In the South color prejudice is written into the law. Many whites feel that when they attack Negroes, they are only upholding the law and in some cases even good Christian principle.

NOW "ANTI-BLACK" and "anti-white" are a great threat to the future peace of humanity.

Thirty-seven years ago Lothrop Stoddard wrote his "Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy," predicting what would happen to the whites who, for the past 400 years, had been invading dark men's land and creating there a bad name for themselves.

Before him an East Indian (I do not recall his name now) made the most terriffic blast against the white I have ever read, predicting how the dark races are going to avenge themselves.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE BURIAL of Walter G. Williams, bogus Confederate veteran, on Dec. 19, with national ceremonies, was widely hailed by press, radio and television as proof that North and South are again one. The New York Daily News even suggested that the body of the last Union veteran, Albert Woolson, be dug up and he and Williams be placed in the same grave in a memorial in Washington. Williams, as was said in this column, was proved, after extensive research by Lowell K. Bridwell of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, to have been an impostor ,that he was only eight when he said he enlisted, but Southern politicians, with a bill through Congress, signed by the President, made him a general, gave him a fat pension and made the day of his death national mourning.

Mr. Rogers

■

NOW THE NORTH, seeing eye-to-eye with the South on the Civil War, would be bad for the nation and the Negro. It was this getting together in the 1870s that spelt woe for the Negro who, as Lincoln said several times, provided the balance of power that restored the Union. This readmittance of the rebel states into the Union brought die-hard Confederates to Congress, which power they used to get the Negro as near as possible into slavery. The Confederate Constitution, March 11, 1861, had made it clear that slavery was right. Alexander Stephens declared then: "Our new government is founded on slavery . . . its cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not the equal of the white man." These politicians came to full power under Woodrow Wilson in 1915 and have taken the lead since then. With them came jim crow in the Federal offices.

This provision in the Constitution of the Confederacy is still upheld by the Confederate bodies, the Ku Klux Klan, White America groups and White Citizens Councils. The aim is to keep Negroes from voting and, by the poll tax as a requirement for voting, to limit the number of voters, thereby making it possible for anti-Negro politicians to nest in Congress and get control of important committees through seniority.

■

ARTHUR KROCK, veteran political analyst, points out that the South is apathetic to the Presidential race and explains, "It is easy to understand why the Southerners are not concerned over who is elected President so long as Congress remains Democratic and the seniority rule is undisturbed." He asks, "What will the non-Southern (Democratic) party majority do about the seniority system?" Answer: Very little, judging by the past 40 years, even though Northern Democrats are for civil rights.

As regards Williams, Napoleon said history is a lie agreed on. Here we have a clear case. Williams has been proved a liar but the honest historian will have a heck of a time saying he is. Lily-white politics! What injustice is committed in thy name!

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE NAMING of the first African cardinal we have heard of in the past few hundred years is a reminder that some Africans held higher positions in the early Christian Church than any cardinal now does. At that time the highest ranking churchmen were Bishops. The first was Bishop of Rome (later Pope). But there were African Bishops and others who attained greater fame than perhaps any Bishop of Rome. Among them were St. Augustine, Origan, Clement, Cyril, Cyprian and Tertullian. St. Augustine was Numidian. There was a saying, "Black as a Numidian." His mother, St. Monica, is often depicted as black.

Mr. Rogers

A cardinal at that time was only a priest in the service of the Bishop of Rome. The Catholic Encyclopedia says, "It became the usual designation of every priest belonging to the central or episcopal church." Bishops of Rome were later all called Popes. Of these, there were at least three Africans: Victor, Gelasius and Melchiades. Their names are in the Liber Pontificalis (Book of Popes). Melchiades is buried in the Catacombs of San Calixto.

■

PREJUDICE AGAINST color or national origin was strongly opposed in the Roman Church. Bruno and Vanini were burnt alive for saying that blacks and whites weren't of the same origin—"sons of Adam." La Peyrere narrowly escaped the same fate with his "Pre-Adamites" showing that groes existed before Adam. merican slaveholders welcomed that book). When Pope Vitalian wanted someone to head the Church of England, he chose Hadrian, an African, who is spoken of as a Negro. (See sources in Sex and Race, Vol. 3, p. 4.). Another, St. Diman the Black, was Bishop of Ireland. As late as 1811, Moussa, an unmixed Negro, was Bishop of Paris. (See portrait in Sex and Race, Vol. 1.) As for saints, there were several as Moyses the Ethiopian, "a gigantic Negro" (Baring-Gould, "Lives of the Saints," Vol. 9, p. 348), Benedict the Moor, and St. Maurice, chief saint of Germany. Hitler had his picture taken out of the coat-of-arms of Coburg.

■

BLACK WAS very significant in the early Christian Church. It was an earlier inheritance. The first gods and messiahs were black, including Christ. I've given immense documentation on that from the works of leading white scholars. The oldest known representation of Christ and the Virgin is that of Nuria, Spain, known as "Queen of the Pyrenees."

Catholicism in Europe is still free from color prejudice. I found it so. Not so in the New World, especially the United States. Still, I am wondering which had the more to do with the choosing of this African cardinal: The rising power of Africa: or the spirit of Christ?

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE OTHER night I went to the world's dullest, most boring show — and it was non-stop at that. Yet, for days and nights it had had longer lines in waiting than any rock-and-roll. Busloads of folks had come from the other states to see it. When I got there the line was so long I gave up hope of getting in. In little time the line behind me doubled. Still I was able to get in in only 28 minutes. Why? The show was so very, very dull that a whiff of it was enough for most. I stuck it for nearly two hours which makes me a glutton for punishment. What was the show? The filibuster (really filibluster) in the Senate against civil rights.

Mr. Rogers

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THE U. S. SENATE is called the most dignified deliberative body on earth but when I got in I had to hold my nose to keep from bursting into laughter. Of 100 senators there were only three on the floor — two listeners, one talker. The talker was none other than our dearly beloved friend, that great American patriot, Eastland of Mississippi. Rather paunchy, balding, and fat-faced, he was talking, to use an old phrase "in his beard." All you saw was a movement of his mouth. Before him was a pile of sheets of white paper, each one about double typewriter size from which he would appear to read about 10 words then put aside — tactics to keep him awake. He had been "speaking" for hours. From time to time, however, he would lash out by voice and gesture against communism. The U. S. Supreme Court was in the Communist plot, he said, and its rulings on civil rights were "crap" and "tripe." This brought guffaws from some in the galleries. Turning about, he denounced them, too, as Communist sympathizers. In the time I was there he must have swallowed a gallon of water.

THEN CAME a breather for him — a roll-call. Senators roused from their cots came in and answered their names drowsily. Americans of 1960 against Confederates of 1860. Should the Americans fail to get a quorum at any time the bill will be lost — a bill that Olin Johnson of North Carolina Calls "a Communist plot to destroy constitutional government" and to show the world "the weakness and deterioration of our democratic government." Long of Louisiana, attacking Javits of New York spouted scripture and quoted Christ on "hypocrites."

These 18 Confederates were of course, battling for their jobs. To kill time they read from best sellers or any book handy. You heard nothing; you saw only movement of lips. All very boring; all very fantastic, yet of world significance. The issue is whether in this supposedly most democratic country on earth certain citizens should be barred from exercizing their rights at the polls because of color of skin.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE COURIER celebrates its Golden Anniversary this year. Those of us who can look back to its birth will remember what an awful time that was for Negroes. 1910 saw a lynching almost every week. That year had 61 and the period 1907-1916, 608. 1917, soon after America entered the war "to make the world safe for democracy" saw some 500 Negroes massacred in a riot at Springfield, Ill. As for the white newspapers, with the exception of two, they were unfriendly and even openly hostile. Negro crime was featured and with a small "n." It was conditions like these that made the founding of The Courier a necessity.

Mr. Rogers

■

AND ALTHOUGH it was dedicated to the fight for Negro rights and to offset lies against their group, many Negroes, taught to despise themselves, looked down on a Negro newspaper, and even boasted they never read one. Compared with a rich and powerful white newspaper, what was a Negro weekly? But foreign-born whites, who, thanks to their color, had every right denied a darker citizen, saw the necessity of having their own press. Among foreign-language publications today (some of them dailies), are Jewish, Italian, Greek, Polish, Spanish. If these need organs to create a proper impression about themselves and to instruct their groups, how vastly more do Negroes.

In the past 50 years The Courier has been a militant fighter for fullest citizenship rights. It has been in the forefront of every fight. I recall the part it played in getting Negro officers in the first World war and in the founding of a camp to train them at Des Moines.

THIS ISSUE is devoted to Negro education. What can be more important than this! The Courier has always taken a lead in this, especially in what is so very essential—a knowledge of their history and what America owes to them.

The opposition to Negro rights is still very powerful and active. The White Citizens Council, for instance, sends its newspaper free to every college and high school. Full-page ads attacking Negroes and calling them "savages" appear in liberal white dailies. In January, 1959, such one was in some 30 Northern dailies, including the New York Times, Wall Street Journal and Christian Science Monitor. The cost, some $200,000, was, the ad said, subscribed by Southerners.

White newspapers are far more liberal than in 1910. But there are things the most liberal of them dare not say lest they offend their readers and advertisers. This, alone, makes The Courier a continued necessity. The first step towards winning any cause is a fearless newspaper supported by all.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE DAUGHTERS OF the American Revolution are on the warpath, again. Remember how they barred Marian Anderson from singing in Constitution Hall? How they had Ras Imru, Ethiopian ambassador, removed from his seat after they had invited him there with other diplomats? Now it is text-books! They have accused even Mississippi of subversion and integration in its text-books. Of course, to the DAR, the worst disloyalty, the worst anti-American ism, is any history, however true, that does not give a beautiful picture of white supremacy.

Mr. Rogers

Mississippi officials hotly deny the charge, but its Senate, by 37 to 9, passed, last month, a bill giving its governor full control in the selection of text-books.

■

TAKE UP almost any text-book and here are some of what you will find: That the Pilgrim Fathers came in search of religious freedom; that they were the last word in holiness; that they did so much for New England. ALL LIES!

They came for the same reason other immigrants did—to make a living.

Bradford, their own governor, says they were a physical failure, and that severe laws were necessary because many were drunkards and practised fornication and adultery. And, he adds: "But that which is much worse, sodomy."

Also, the text-books say that the Revolution was fought in the sacred cause of freedom. But John Adams, one of its leaders, says that "molasses was an essential ingredient in American independence." Why molasses? Rum was made from it, and with rum, America was buying human beings, gold and ivory in Africa and, thereby, taking away England's most profitable business.

THE Revolution was fought over which of the two should exploit Africa.

From most accurate records, we learn, too, that America's earliest settlers weren't gentlemen, but convicts. Another very popular belief is that Lincoln freed the slaves. His plan after the war was to let the masters keep them another 20 years. These and scores of other falsehoods I've exploded in my "Africa's Gift to America."

Why do you want to dig up all that?, some will ask. Because present history is a glorification of the white, and a degradation of the blacks. But for that, I don't think I'd ever have troubled about it.

■

NEGRO YOUTHS use white text-books. Thus they belittle themselves. Parents must do something about it.

May I say I've carried on in this field alone and unaided for 45 years. I've had to publish and sell my own books always with the printers' bill. I've been reluctant to ask for help, but I'm sure some individuals or groups will see that it's everybody's business, and pitch in and help.

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

WHAT ARE THE prospects for a color-free America in 1960? They look no brighter than 1959. The South is still in the saddle in Congress, and Negroes are still divided over petty issues although it's an election year when they could have so much power. However, things look bright for the decade just begun, even brighter than 1950, one which saw much progress.

Mr. Rogers

Among the events which helped make it so were integration in the Army; the appointment of Brigadier General Davis to a command in the Far East; and that Negroes are again being awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor. Three were in the Korean War but none in World War I and II due to Southern jim-crow power. The highest they got was for distinguished service. Eighty-one Negro aviators got the Flying Cross in World War II. France, however, gave her black soldiers the highest—the Legion of Honor. Among them was Gene Bullard of Columbus, Ga., for service to France. In the Civil War, the Indian Wars and the Spanish-American War, Negroes won 41 Medals of Honor.

■

A FEW HIGHLIGHTS of the last decade are the Supreme Court's integration order; U. S. troops in Little Rock; the Federal judgeships of William Hastie and Irvin Mollison; the election of Harold Stevens to the New York Supreme Court; the Nobel Peace Prize to Dr. Ralph Bunche and his post in the UN; four Negroes in Congress; increase of Negro professors in white colleges; the bus boycott in Montgomery and elsewhere; stronger voice in labor, like that of A. Philip Randolph; greatly increased influence of the Negro press, the NAACP, and the growth of Negro business.

Much of the progress was made by individuals principally in the theatre, entertainment, and the concert stage by Harry Belafonte, Dorothy Dandridge, Eartha Kitt, Sidney Poitier and others. Marpessa Dawn, hitherto unknown Pittsburgh girl, won first prize at the famous Cannes Film Festival with her role in "Black Orpheus." On the world concert stage was Philippa Duke Schuyler, who was acclaimed on all the continents. In grand opera there were Matiwilda Dobbs, Leontine Price, Muriel Rahn, Gloria Davy, Camilla Williams and others. Nancy Streets was elected a beauty queen. In sports, Negroes shone with such players as Althea Gibson, who was tops in tennis, and others as Willie Mays, Hank Aaron, Ron Burton in their fields.

■

THESE AND OTHER individuals who should be mentioned would space allow have done their part in building "racial" prestige. Now it's up to the general colored public. Will it see that the first and most important thing for its own good is to join in the fight against the racial exploiters?

History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

WITH the Berlin situation quiet, the focus, especially of the so-called free world, is on Africa. In the dailies are such headlines as "Africa's March to Independence is Swift"; "Africa's Continent Aire"; "New African Nations Changing UN Line-up," and the tours of UN Secretary Hammarskjold and Prime Minister MacMillan. However, racial idealists should not expect all to be sweetness and light even among those African peoples not under outright white domination. Stability is hardly going to be achieved without friction and even bloodshed as now between Lulua and Baluba in the Belgian Congo. In Ghana, Nkrumah is meeting bitter opposition from Dr. Joseph Danquah, who lost control of the nationalist party to him. Last year two members of Parliament were sent to prison under conditions that would be considered highhanded in England or the United States.

Mr. Rogers

■

THE SIMPLE truth is that there are rival economic interests, more or less bitter, in even the most advanced nation. Thus, we should not expect Africans to act as if each had a single mind regarding white rule. Nehru had the same trouble in India with the native rulers who preferred to remain under Britain. Indian Moslem and Hindu went off into separate republics. In Ethiopia Haile Selassie once had the same trouble with the Ras-es. His own son-in-law defected to the Italians. Look, too, at Latin-America lands! How divided most of them, even white Argentina, are.

Certain white American racists are using conflict among Africans, as proof that black peoples, including those of the United States, are incapable of self-rule, so let's dip a bit into American history. In their revolution, great numbers of Americans, known as Torias, wanted to remain under George III. They opposed Washington and were largely the cause of the war's dragging on for eight years. Read, too, the minutes of the 1787 Convention and the bitter disputes—disputes that finally broke out into four years of bloody civil war. The South wanted to keep the Northern capitalist from getting the chief profits of Southern slavery; and the North wanted to retain control in Congress by keeping new states from getting into the power of the slav bloc there. Moreover, there's no certainty that even the most stable nation will not some day break out in civil war. England had two very big ones.

■

NOW LET'S TURN to colored USA. What would happen if all its leaders, religious, political and otherwise were forced under a single Negro authority as is happening to African chiefs? I predict that the new African nations will achieve stability before certain ones in the "free" world.

History Shows

THERE'S sharp disagreement between Police Commissioner Kennedy of New York City and Congressman Powell on the appointment of a Negro as Deputy Commissioner, a post left vacant by a Negro who had succeeded another Negro. Mr. Kennedy replies that he appoints not on color, but on merit. Most commendable. Th Rev. Eugene S. Callender of the Church of the Master speaks for all right-thinking Americans when he says in a letter to the New York Times: "If our society were truly democratic it would be most offensive to members of such society to select people for public office or to perpetuate people of one race or religion in a particular office just because that office was previously held by a member of that race or religion. However, I am sure that you will agree with me that our society is far from being completely democratic. Negroes and Protestants, for instance, are not selected by the Tammany overlords . . ." He gives proof.

Mr. Rogers

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NOW THE simple truth is that nowhere in America is anyone, regardless of color appointed to public office on sheer merit, but on patronage. This is vastly more so in the case of a Negro. I doubt whether President Eisenhower or Mr. Kennedy could buck this without great opposition. The truth is that anyone of strict probity, who will not take orders from politicians or be influenced by them in anyway, hasn't a chance of being elected to public office. It is certain that if Mr. Kennedy were to appoint a Negro to another high post, he would have to contend with much opposition. On the other hand since two Negroes already had the job, opposition would be less if he appointed a third. Since color prejudice runs the whole show, Congressman Powell is right. The same holds true of a successor to Hulan Jack.

■

ONCE NEGROES lose these big jobs, they never get them, or their equivalents, back. I remember three such posts—Minister to Haiti, Register of the Treasury and Recorder of Deeds. I once visited the offices of the last two and saw the white men and women working under their Negro chief. The Register of the Treasury had his name on the paper money of the United States. Then came Woodrow Wilson to office in 1913 with his horde of jim-crowers from Dixie. These three jobs were given to whites and jim crow set up in all the Federal offices, separate washrooms, etc. Today, a white woman has her name on the paper money. It's very hard to believe that her appointment wasn't influenced by the power of women in politics.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE sit-down strike against lunch-counter discrimination by determined Negro students in cities of five Southern states couldn't have come at a better time. For two reasons. First, the world-wide publicity it is receiving is particularly disturbing to the so-called free world, England and France are already worried over what's happening in North, East, and South Africa, and even West Africa. Now when in America, the head of this so-called free world, its own citizens have to fight the same thing as the Africans are fighting, it aggravates the situation for those Europeans who have any holdings or other commercial interests in the darker land, because what happens in America is charged to these white people, too. Note: It was the whites who began is by setting themselves apart. And what ammunition it gives, too, to Russia, who more and more emerges as a formidable opponent.

Mr. Rogers

■

COMING NEARER home, it is being used in Latin America, especially Cuba, America's now biggest headache. Castro's recent invitation to 50 leading colored Americans and his warm reception of them, as reported by William G. Nunn of The Courier, is clear indication of this. Castro is reported as being strongly opposed to jim-crow. The chief of his air force is a Negro.

Second effect of the sit-down strike: This is election year with a strong civil rights bill coming up. With Nixon the assured Republican candidate, the fight will be between Northern Democrats and Southern ones. The Northern ones are going to be stronger than ever against discrimination while the Southern ones know that a jim-crow candidate could not carry the North and West. Hence, we find a former racist, Lyndon Johnson of Texas, turning his back on his former jim-crow chums and declaring he's not a Southerner but a Westerner. In short, he's seeking a bigger job than jim-crow assures Talmadge, Eastland, Russell, Elender, Sparkman, Stennis and others.

■

IT SEEMS to me that if the white students had any vision of a better America for their own good instead of attacking the Negro ones as some are now doing they'd pitch in and help the Negroes. This race business has plagued America for 300 years and can only make more strife, can only prevent Americans from uniting for the common good. And what can these white students get out of jim-crow? Only the feeling that they are superior thanks to their so-called white skin—a "distinction" they share with the worst rapist, murderer and rogue who also takes pride in the same thing.

There's an old saying, "He who would be free must strike the first blow." These Negro students are doing just this though the odds are terific. There's nothing finer than courage of this kind. All honor, all respect, all gratitude, and we hope, support to them.

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE now-you-die now-you-don't treatment of Caryl Chessman shocked humane people the world over and brought about a reprieve, heinously guilty as Chessman was. Here now is a case which deserves as much merciful attention: that of Henry Winston, a Negro. As secretary of the Communist party he was found guilty of plotting to overthrow the Government and was sentenced to four years in 1950.

Mr. Rogers

I reported that trial for The Courier and was convinced that the so-called plotting amounted to no more than talk; that the defendants were only exercising their right of free speech. Moreover, I felt then, and even more so now, that America runs no danger whatever from overthrow within by communism. Communists have always been comparatively few. Their biggest years were 1936 and 1940 when they ran a candidate for President. Both times they got less than 60,000 votes. During the war they were in some favor. Communist Russia and America were then allies. But soon afterwards they got so little support that their paper, the Daily Worker, folded.

■

ALMOST EVERY country has a larger percentage of Communists than America. And with far less fear and trembling. In 1950, soon after our Communist trials, I saw a great Communist rally in Trafalgar Square, London. The police were out in force. To stop the Communists? No. To see they had the right of free speech. Again, in Italy at the 1956 elections I saw "Vota Communists" signs strung across the streets, one of them a few yards from the Vatican. As far north as Sweden, I found the Communists much stronger than in America, with freedom to speak. In short, I am convinced as I can be of anything that Winston and the other defendants were jailed to satisfy a bugaboo. I say that anyone who next to racism is opposed to communism.

Winston skipped bail and went to Mexico. Knowing the circumstances I couldn't feel he was wrong. He came back and was given three years more. He served his first four, and applied for parole. This has just been denied though he's a sick man. He has lost an eye, is threatened with the loss of the other, and has just undergone a dangerous brain operation at Montefiore Hospital where he is under guard. How heartless, how inhuman can so-called law get? Will America be better off if it exacts its pound of flesh from this afflicted man?

■

MOREOVER, VERY, very few Negroes become Communists. The few who do so are driven to it by racial injustice. Most of those who find it unbearable take to "nationalism." The guilty ones, the real threat to America, are those now fighting civil rights in Congress and the millions who support them. Surely, the merciful ones, here and abroad, will speak up for Winston.

Mr. Rogers

times it's so comic, it makes me jovial. I have a collection of such incidents and some day I might put them in a book. There's that Brooklyn minister, obviously Negro, who put on a turban, went South, spoke with a strange accent, and met no jim-crow. A New York daily had his picture and his story. I remember also the case of Tony Simpon, an almost unmixed Negro, who posed as Prince Antonio Apache, Indian chief, and was received in New York high society. One New York daily called him "the latest lion of the smart set." Theodore Roosevelt received him at the White House and consulted him on Indian affairs — the same Roosevelt who was later severely attacked because he dined Booker T. Washington there. Tony was finally exposed when he was "scalped." Someone pulled off his "Indian" wig.

I MET one of these fakers personally and had many a good laugh with him and his wife, also Negro. Quite dark and Negroid, he called himself Chief Red Cloud. I met him in Paris where he was fooling rich Americans and getting money from them. Once I saw him at his hotel with all his Indian trappings off. "White folks," he said, "are so dumb, why shouldn't I live off 'em!"

Then there are the cases of white men who have posed as Negroes. One was the late Prof. H. B. Moens, a blond blue-eyed Hollander, who came to America to study the race question. Moens gave me many a laugh and tells his adventures in "Towards Perfect Man," for which I wrote the introduction. In the South he would ride jim-crow without darkening his skin, tell conductors he was a Negro, and was allowed to remain. He would take Negroes into Washington society and pass them off as Indonesians and the like. But of such exploits, even working at shoe-shining. Photos show how he darkened his skin, treated his hair and was later the subject of a Cortioned in Time, several dailies, and was on television. He sampled Negro life in many ways, adventures national attention and was men- object of a Cor- ry.

THE LATEST of such experiences are those of John How- ard Griffin, white novelist of Dallas, Tex., who posed as a Negro for weeks in the South. He tells his story in "Sepia" of Fort Worth, Tex. It attracted na-

History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

WHAT'S most irritating to me about the American "race" question is its total lack of the most ordinary common sense—its flouting of even the most elementary courtesy. You don't like a man because of his looks—a thing that might be excusable only in a three- or four-year old. Really at times, I feel like I am up against a bunch of idiots.

Still some-

History Shows . . . 31a

By J. A. Rogers

A NEW ENGLAND university recently tested the mental capacity of 50 Negro GIs against 50 white ones. The Negroes were found to be just as intelligent but were lacking in what is most important for success—self-confidence.

Mr. Rogers

The reason is clear. The Negroes grew up in an environment where they were, more or less, made to feel inferior; that there were certain heights to which they could not aspire. Racially, yes; nationally, no. The ambitious white boy can aim for the Presidency. He can think of Lincoln or Andrew Johnson, poor whites; or of Harry Truman who didn't go to college. What Negro mother ever thinks of her son's being President. Remember the Negro song, "You'll never see a President the color o' me." That feeling is still true. Frederick Douglass, Booker Washington, George W. Carver, who came up from the bottom, were fundamentally as great as Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Giannini, who also came up the hard way but they were always considered only Negroes. Jim-crow placed them below the most worthless white.

■

EVEN IN THE most civilized Northern community the Negro finds limits to his visions and aspirations. In the South it is largely jim-crow—the back-door entrance to life from birth till death which is a far greater handicap than aspiring whites.

Coming to integration, what is the real purpose of the fight against it? To maintain white pride and self-confidence at the expense of the Negro. Whites and Negroes must not compete in schoolrooms and in games lest the Negroes win and prove the dogma of white superiority false. They must be kept apart even if the whites lose. The Oak Park Zoo at Montgomery, Ala., a favorite spot for white children, was recently closed and the animals sold because Negroes were ordered admitted by the court.

Again on Jan. 11, the Georgia Legislature applauded when Governor Vandiver declared he will close the schools rather than integrate; that is, far better white children should remain untaught rather than have the fiction of white superiority in them upset. It's clear those politicians were thinking of their jobs and not the future of the children.

WHEREIN LIES the self-confidence of the whites? Knowledge of their past. And where the lack of self-confidence in the Negro? In ignorance of his past; of his immense contribution to the making and saving of America and what is due him.

I wish there was as much eagerness among Afro-Americans to know their history as I saw in African youths in Africa and Europe. A recent letter from Maida Springer, a devoted worker in labor, and who had a labor office in Tanganyika, reminded me of this. She told of the hunger of the youths there for knowledge. "I took your set of books which includes World's Great Men of Color to Tanganyika two years ago. The young men read these books hungrily. I wish it were possible to supply every trade union and public office with a set of these books . . ." she said.

History Shows

PRIME Minister MacMillan, while in Africa, made it very clear that his government is against South Africa's atrocious treatment of its black people. The treatment most horribly exemplified last month in the burial, alive, of 440 blacks forced down into a mine that had been declared unsafe. And what were the wages of these men? A total of less than 80 cents a day!

How long will this glaring tyranny last? We hear a lot about Hungary, Korea and heaven knows where else, but South Africa is far worse. However, powerful forces are building up against these robbers: the African peoples, the Communist nations, the United Nations, especially the Afro-Asian groupings, as well as the liberal European newspapers, especially the English ones. On the South African side seems to be West Germany. At least Heinrich Leubke, Bonn food minister, on his visit to South Africa last year, praised segregation there.

■

AS FOR the United States, while it opposes colonialism it has never come out boldly against injustice in South Africa. The reason might be because of the large American investments there, and certainly because the South, as a whole, is pro-South African. Hodding Carter, Mississippi editor, made this clear in an article on his visit there last year, which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post: "We Never Felt More at Home."

After praising South African hospitality to the skies and saying that blacks are better treated in the South, he comes up with this bit of logic, "If any of this should make us feel more virtuous than the whites of South Africa, we might ask ourselves one question: How would a majority of the 160,000,000 white Americans react if the 18,000,000 American Negroes became more than 500,000,000 multi-tribal, culturally disparate and long-exploited people, pressing suffocatingly upon the driver's seat?

History Shows

THE OUSTING of Dr. Richard von de Ross, prominent South African, and his family from his home in a white neighborhood because of his very slight Negro strain, shows that the new South African racial law is operating precisely as Hitler's Nuremberg against the Jews. This provided that if a German had a Jewish ancestor as far back as 1802, he was not an Aryan.

Mr. Rogers

But the South Africans are far more ridiculous and severe than the Nazis because South Africa was founded on the mixture of white men and black women. When the whites arrived in 1652 they brought no women. Eleven years later there were only 13 white women and a century later less than 10 per cent were European women. White men took the black women freely. Marriage was prohibited with them, but not with their mulatto offspring. But one or two white men did marry black women, one of whom was Eva, a Hottentot, a prominent figure in the early history of the colony. One Governor, Simon van der Stel, had a Negro mother. These mulattoes were made "white" by law for the express purpose of helping to keep down and exploit the blacks.

THE OLDER the South African family, the greater the certainty that it has a Negro ancestor. Some of the most noted Afrikaners, as they call themselves, were of visible Negro strain, among them Baron de Villiers, Chief Justice; H. C. Hull, and General Erasmus. So was the Rex family which claimed descent from George IV's son by a black woman. Lord Grey, Earl of Stamford, married Martha Soloman, a Negro woman in South Africa, and their daughter, Lady Mary, married a white man and was a society figure (see Burke's (Peerage). The South African Year Book, 1927-28, gives 774 mixed marriages for 1920-28, of which 199 were Negroes and white women.

The white women, according to writers of that time, had a peculiar fondness for the black men, especially the Zulus, who were said to have the finest physiques on earth. White wives of white men had mulatto children and white daughters had children by the blacks mulatto children by white women were legally white). I have given all these sources and more in Sex and Race, Vol. 1, chapter on South Africa.

■

GEORGE FINDLEY, noted South African, in 1936, estimated that of the two million called white, at least 700,000 would be classified Negro in the USA. "It is surprising to note," he said, "how frequently the discriminating slogans of 'White South Africa' and 'keeping the native in his place flourish in the mouth of those who in their own person hardly exemplify the doctrine."

When the whites were struggling upwards, they didn't care with whom they mixed. Now that they are rich and powerful they talk of race purity. Black labor has furnished at least 90 per cent of the wealth.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE APPEAL for funds to defend Martin Luther King and "The Struggle For Freedom in the South" is a reminder that the Negro is fighting jim-crow is against a double disadvantage. He has to put up the money earned at less than the white rate to fight it. On the other hand, it costs the oppressor nothing. Since it is the law, the taxpayer foots the bill, including the Negro taxpayer.

Mr. Rogers

Negroes have been fighting their case in the Supreme Court for over 65 years. That and cases in the lower courts have cost them hundreds of millions of dollars. Added to that is the enormous amount of time and energy used in discussing this most unjustifiable of all evils. How much more profitable it would have been to this nation if that energy had been used in some practical field. Think, too, of Americans like W. E. B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson Carl Murphy, George S. Schuyler, P. L. Prattis and others, who have devoted a lifetime to fighting this evil. Had they entered some other field, instead of merely being "great Negroes," they might have been world figures like some whites less capable than they. What I personally find most irritating in this race question is the incredible stupidity on which it is based—the most inane assumption that a certain lack of pigment is God-ordained proof of superiority.

■

"What fools these mortals be," laughed Shakespeare. This applies with double force to supporters of this belief. While Communist Russia is devoting its time and energy to pursuits that will put it on top of all, America entangles itself in this barren question. For two months now the United States Senate has ditched everything else for it. Truly "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

■

The really bigger losers in race question are the whites. It has been a tremendous handicap to all, except the political rascals who are profiting from it. Keep up this injustice and time will come when the whites will be where the blacks now are. That a white skin could be despised in place of a black one is far from being impossible with the rise of the dark races. Therefore, it is in the interest of the whites to contribute liberally to this fund. Agencies that give money for fighting injustice abroad should be busy with what's happening at home. So should the foundations. Also enterprises that use Negroes to make money, as the producers of "Porgy and Bess" and the record companies. America as the world leader in justice and freedom for all is being made more and more a mockery by this most ridiculous question of color.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

I SAID many years ago that a sure way of bringing about better racial understanding is through motion pictures that presented the more commendable side of Negro life. Such a picture has appeared at last—Sergeant Rutledge, a Warner Bros. production. I call it tops in this respect. It is not only exceptionally daring, but is based on authentic Negro history. A preview audience of leading Negroes and white friends burst into loud applause at its end and called it terrific. Which it really is.

Mr. Rogers

The period is the 1870's when a great problem was how to protect the railroad and the white settlers from Indian attacks. To this end ex-slaves and Negro veterans of the Civil War were organized into a Ninth and Tenth Cavalry. They were most effective. Fourteen of them won the Congressional Medal of Honor. General Butler, famed Civil War leader, who reviewed them, gave them highest praise.

■

THE STORY is this: Sergeant Rutledge, one of "the bravest of the brave," is accused of the rape-strangling of a white girl. He is innocent, but knowing that the charge alone means lynching, he deserts, which, of course, is taken as positive proof of guilt. While soldiers hunt him, he comes upon a lone house and enters. A white girl is inside. He seizes her, clamps a hand over her mouth and throws her to the ground. A very tense moment. Is he going to attack her? No. Indians are near and he's only trying to save her, which he does.

Caught and brought to trial, this girl defends him warmly. But he seems doomed. He has killed the raped girl's father. His gun proves that. The father seeing him beside the raped girl was sure he had done it and fires two shots at him. Rutledge kills the father in self-defense. However, when hanging seems sure for Rutledge, a buck-skin coat with burnt-in initials is introduced. The initials are those of the real rapist, who, is exposed in a most dramatic moment. And he's not a Negro. He's a white man.

■

THE PICTURE grips you from start to finish. It is in wonderful color. The scenery is enchanting, the laughs are many, and the acting throughout is beyond any praise of mine. Woody Strode as Sergeant Rutledge is magnificent and Juano Herandez very good as Skidmore.

Warner Bros. deserves warmest thanks for this film. It is certainly a departture from accepted belief. And it is going to meet with great opposition from racists. I'm sure that Negroes and their white friends will, in turn, make it a box-office success. Its premiere is May 25, RKO Palace, New York City.

History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

TIME, IN A full-page article on Congressman Powell, says, "At 51, Adam Powell has the capacity to become a worthy leader of his chosen people—if his talents are matched by the character of a Thurgood Marshall or a Ralph Bunche."

There are many who agree with Time, who think Powell erratic. Time adds: "But he sees his role in the drama of desegregation through small-bore eyes. Says he, 'I'm an irritant. That's it! I see myself that way. People say I passed this bill and I'm the author of that law. But I see myself as an irritant. Just to keep on turning the screw. Drip, drip, drip, makes a hole in the marble.'"

Mr. Rogers

■

VERY GOOD explanation of why he is thought erratic. Best thing I've heard for some time.

That's just the way to handle politicians like Eastland, Talmadge, Byrnes, Byrd, whose chief goal is to keep the Negro citizens from their civil rights in order that they may retain their own political standing. When it comes to so-called race, such can no more be reached by reason and common sense than a mule or any blind force in nature. They know what they want; their future depends on it and they drive for it regardless, though some know it isn't right. What effect, then, would the conduct, the gentlemanly amenities of a Thurgood Marshall or a Ralph Bunche have on them. No, they need a stinger like Powell, who doesn't mince words to deal with them.

Powell's trial makes one thing clear. His political enemies, plus the Klan and the White Citizens Councils, were out to get him and were able to pressure the Internal Revenue Department into helping them with their dirty work.

The income tax can be used not only to reach gangsters but to harass and frighten anyone any time who opposes those in power. Judge Bryan threw out two of the three charges against Powell, and I rather suspect he would have done the third, but he thought it more politic to let it stand. His charge to the jury was very clearly in Powell's favor. The jury voted 10 to 2 for acquittal.

■

FURTHERMORE, THE defense made it clear that in such a small sum—$3,500—the taxpayer is usually called in first for questioning. Powell wasn't. Powell said also he had no hand in making the return for his wife. It was done by a competent tax attorney with details supplied by an aide of Powell's. Very busy at the time, he had signed the return in good faith.

That farce cost the government $100,000. One of its witnesses was brought all the way from Europe. The cost to Powell was $75,000, not to mention the annoyance and loss of time. But it was a clear-cut victory. Thanks to his enemies, he is more powerful than ever.

Our Neighbor to the North

What Do Canadians Think of the United States?

31a heading

By Carl T. Rowan

Mr. Rowan, author, lecturer and prize-winning reporter on the staff of the Minneapolis "Tribune," has traveled extensively in Canada in recent months.

New York Herald Tribune

"YOU Americans—you worship the buck more than anything," the man said. "You think we're a bunch of hicks. You think you can bring $10 in here today and take $10,000 out tomorrow. You're greedy."

"We resent being tied to your foreign policy," the woman said calmly. "(The late Secretary of State) Dulles took us to the brink with him so many times I almost had a nervous breakdown."

New York

"Americans think they are so superior," said a pretty high school senior. "We felt sorry a free nation didn't get a satellite up before the Russians, but we were kind of glad that the United States didn't. The kids at my school sort of felt, 'Goody, Goody—that's one up on the superior Americans.'"

5-31-60

I heard these remarks recently, not in Cuba, Russia or China, but in our friendly neighboring country, Canada. They are but a sample of the caustic comments that have become commonplace in what a Congressional committee two years ago called "an erosion in the traditionally excellent relationships between the United States and Canada."

Canada's Prime Minister, John Diefenbaker, will visit the United States this week. Although such broad matters as foreign, defense and economic policy are likely to dominate his discussions with President Eisenhower, it seems an appropriate time for Americans to consider what Canadians think about us.

P. 18

We may learn from the criticisms of a friend something about the ingredients of the "Hate America" campaigns being waged in hostile lands.

How much of our international trouble arises from a natural resentment of "bigness?" Quite a bit, judging by Canadian opinions. Our northern neighbors say we Americans are power

The author

happy, too, in that we tend to ignore the "little guy" when important decisions must be made.

Not only have we taken Canada for granted, they say, but we often have made selfish decisions without regard for the undesirable consequences on Canada's well-being.

More disturbing, perhaps, are the things Canadians say about us that tend to express doubt as to the United States' rightful claim to world moral leadership.

I heard many Canadians speak of what they regard as "cultural and moral decay" in the United States—as evidenced by a high divorce rate, a shocking number of illegitimate births, outbreaks of racial persecution and violence and such "aberrations" as the rock 'n' roll fad.

Probably a majority of Canadians not only believe that their culture is superior to that of the United States, but that Canadian culture is being corrupted by the television programs, movies and magazines that drift across the 49th parallel.

Canadians frequently cited the stories about the television quiz show "fixes," the vicuna coat and deep freeze scandals, as evidence that United States culture is shot through with political corruption and dishonesty. They express fear that, because international labor unions in the States also dominate the Canadian scene, Canada is "being infected" by labor boss corruption.

I heard many Canadians attribute these real or imagined ills of American society to the fact that Americans are too unsophisticated, too immature, to cope with a level of affluency never before achieved by any society. They say money has become the All-American God.

As some Canadians see it, the dollar has become the foundation not only of our foreign policy, but of our immigration regulations as well.

A government official in Ottawa made this scalpel-sharp dig: "What irritates us most is this gold-tinged virtue of the United States—what we refer to sarcastically as your dollar chastity belt. Even while you refuse to admit Asians to your country, you are pouring out money to international organizations in the pretense you want to 'help' them.

"No country ever did more for mankind more clumsily and wound up being more hated."

This man's remark was a reflection of the broader feeling—and I saw evidence of it everywhere—that their cousins to the south are babes in the woods when it comes to world politics.

And Canadians frequently express fear that United States "stupidity" will involve Canadians in a war they don't want to fight. Why? Because, as Canadians see it:

United States policies toward Communist China are unrealistic, dangerous and an unnecessary economic as well as political burden on Canada.

The United States has been too inflexible in its dealings with the Soviet Union and has been capable of only reacting with distrust and suspicion toward Soviet proposals.

Americans are more vulnerable to "anti-Communist hysteria," less responsible in the use of scare phrases like "fellow-traveler," "Communist-liner" and the sort, than are Canadians.

Canadians feel that since they are almost helplessly tied to the foreign aid defense policies of the United States they have not only a right but an obligation to criticize and complain wherever it seems justified.

This should not be interpreted to mean that Canada has become an "enemy" of the United States. Americans will find that in person-to-person or family-to-family relationships, the Canadian is as friendly as ever.

It is when the Canadian refers to this image of the composite American that opinions become harsh.

At a social gathering in Edmonton, Alberta, after several guests had run through a long list of stereotypes usually used to describe American tourists, the hostess explained:

"Understand, now, we're not anti-American; we're just pro-Canadian."

What she meant was that, to maintain national self-esteem, many Canadians have come to cherish anything Canadian that is superior to the United States version.

Thus criticism of a Canadian institution becomes palatable if it is couched in terms of a dig at the United States. An example of this is the remark by a Nova Scotia publisher: "We in Canada today have the second worst educational system in the civilized world."

Every one knew by implication who is supposed to have the worst.

Most of these gibes at the United States are merely a reflection of Canadian frustration over the fact that so much of Canadian life is dominated by the giant neighbor with which Canada shares a continent.

Many Canadians concede that the mass denigration of United States culture, education, morals and what-have-you is an expression of Canada's inferiority complex, its dependency on the United States in economic, defense and other matters.

No doubt one of the things Prime Minister Diefenbaker and President Eisenhower will discuss is what can be done to lessen the dependence and minimize the inferiority complex—and thus make it possible for Canadians to speak more kindly of their neighbors.

izzy rowe's Notebook

31a Negro

The Pittsburgh Courier

Facts and Fancies . . .

NEW YORK CITY—The fact that Cong. Adam Clayton Powell has extended his hand of political power to the embattled liquor salesmen of Harlem, has the boys feeling victory. At a recent meeting at his church, Mr. Powell, in his usual outspoken manner, told liquor retailers that they have until April 1, to straighten up and buy right. Unless they stop their practice of bias buying, he told them, they will be the biggest fools in town. After that date, the congressman threatens to hit them with up to 100,000 pickets.

In talking to Louie Brown, who used to dance with the Cotton Club Boys, but now is selling the "hard stuff" for an easy living, I was told that the move against white salesmen getting all the "gravy sales" in Harlem had to be taken because liquor firms just won't give our lads a chance to sell in white neighborhoods. It's amazing how much discrimination there is in the beer and liquor industry in view of the large amount of spirits the "brother" imbibes.

■

THE ACCEPTANCE AND rejection of the "Porgy and Bess" film by our folks all over the country has left this pinch-hitting scribe all shook up. In one place, the "race" pickets to keep the brother out, and in another he walks with the sign to get him in. The latest startler has been called to my attention from Louisville, Ky. Last week, from the shank of the woods, an organization for social action, took a bus load of white and colored theatregoers across the line in Indianapolis' Lyric Theatre to view the Sam Goldwyn flicker. This move by the Unitarians was a visible protest against the downtown theatres in L'ville which bars colored patrons. When "Porgy and Bess" opened in that city, at the Brown Theatre, only whites were admitted through would-be colored patrons' picket lines. If our memory records are straight, it was in Texas that Negroes used the picket line to keep folks out of the theatre where "Porgy was trying to make it with his Bess." If you think that I'm confused, then you should have been near the listening post when H'wood wheels got to turning on this subject here last week. It was then that we learned that Samuel Goldwyn, who made this picture with as much heart as dough, is very hurt by the whole thing. It was his hope that "Porgy and Bess" would have opened a way for "us" in the city-of-make-believe. However, the pros and cons have mushroomed so big, many of the well-meaning producers out there have brushed aside intended subjects as "too hot to handle." "Porgy and Bess," which many expected to make a bundle for the Samuel Goldwyn non-segregated foundation, will just about break even in America. However, it will make much loot in Europe where it is expected to [illegible] of the current films set for the International [illegible]

JUNE HAS BEEN SET as the starting date for the Hollywood version of Lorraine Hansberry's sensational folk-drama, "A Raisin in the Sun." Currently at the Belasco, the play probably will remain on the B'way scene until that time, after which most of its present cast will move to the tinsel city to re-create the award winning roles they made famous on the stage . . . Gloria Lynne took time out from her ear-treating, eye-opening performance in the Copa Lounge to do some of the same for early morning tee-vee watchers of Joe Franklyn's wake-upper via Channel 7. I just happened to tune him in between Ehlers coffee and Mom's biscuits because, as a rule, these eyes find it hard to focus on morning tee-vee, 'cause most shows are just awful and not worth the two cents worth of electricity. What a time for some sponsor to come up with a hot type of integrated show. Bet it would open more eyes than cold water, and shake up more folks than the Frisco quake.

■

The management of the Harlem Club in Atlantic City is planning an appeal against the New Jersey Liquor Authority's ruling that it was illegal to work a city cop in the place. It is the feeling of those who operate the spot, that the man was there in the interest of peace and was, therefore, performing his duty. The authority has closed the spot for 45 days. Meaning until mid-March.

■

SINCE THE JAMAICAN Tourist Commission resented what Joe Louis said about Cuba and the Negro, it is strange that to my knowledge, no member of the race press was invited on the junket which took VIP's to Ocho Rios for the opening of the plush, new Marakeesh Hotel. Anyway, Joe's complete statement was that though Negroes are welcome in a few other countries, Cuba was the only one which invites them, openly . . . "The Cool World," which is in Philly, hoping for a warm breeze from the critics before its opening here Monday of next week, is expecting much out of Billy Dee Williams. This was the youngster whose screen impact added lustre to Paul Muni's great emoting in "The Last Angry Man." The "Cool World" crew gave him the role originally held by Gene Boland . . . Frank Lazama has put his Spotlight Bar and Grill on the block with a 35-G's asking price . . . Marguerite Belafonte is negotiating for a piece of property on Jamaica's (B.W.I.) north shore.

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IN HIS HARLEM numbers' fight, Rev.-Congressman Adam Clayton Powell has asked for the removal of a few police brass. Among them are Pat Whalen and James Nidds. It might interest the congressman to know that the "Boys" would like nothing better than to dispose of Chief Nidds as commander of Manhattan West Patrol. In fact, at one time, they were offering big money to anybody powerful enough to get the job done . . . All the "zanzies" are expected to turn out in full, Easter Sunday, when Etta Moore and Lena Rackley put on their "Flair in Fashion" show at the Shalimar by Randolph . . . That affair at the Waldorf, Thursday, was Personal Products' way of announcing a new series of national Alma John's radio shows for its wares . . . And this is the Billy end of the Rowe family, waiting for Izzy at 2091 Seventh Ave., NYC 27.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THERE IS GREAT merit in the Calls for Freedom Campaign being conducted by the Non-Partisan Crusade to Mobilize Negro Voters to get out a maximum vote. It is proposed that after each Negro votes, Nov. 8, he then call on, or telephone five neighbors or acquaintances, urging them to go to the polls and vote. In view of the fact that there are an estimated 9,998,000 Negroes of voting age and that they vote in almost every state, including most of those in the Deep South, the potential vote is tremendous. Especially is this so in states like New York, with 761,000 potential; Texas with 624,000; Illinois with 567,000, and Michigan with nearly 300,000, maybe, more. Obviously, no amount of calls can get out many of the 613,000 potential voters in Georgia, save in the large cities. However, the idea of calling upon them to vote on election day is a good one, and anyone who wants to do it certainly can do so at a nominal cost. Not unexpectedly, this campaign was bank-rolled by whites!

Mr. Schuyler

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FOR SO LONG, it has been a great anomaly that in so many areas where Negroes are free to vote, and are the most vocal about civil rights, a distressingly large proportion does not either register to vote! Had they always turned out in their thousands on election day, the Negroes would have been much farther ahead, politically. It is surprising that even with the total vote we do have, we have, proportionately, so few elective and appointive jobs and so little voice in government. This, coupled with the astonishingly small influence we wield in business, commerce and finance, to say nothing of the arts and sciences, is an indication of how far behind we lag, for a group of nearly 20,000,000 people, with nearly a $20 billion annual income, and with greater freedom and opportunity than any of the world's black folk.

OF THE 23 prominent Negroes who signed the Call to Freedom petition, I note the names of eight preachers, four politicians, three social workers, two editors and a couple of labor bureaucrats. It is indicative of our low estate in the fields of endeavor most important and influential in America that the name of not one Negro banker, merchant, industrialist nor scientist appears on the list. Apparently, the few that exist were not regarded as important enough to solicit.

For the last 40 years, the Negro leadership has characteristically put the cart before the horse, emphasized the secondary, underscored participation, rather than production, and we still are in economic servitude, crying for a break, instead of making one. We have slept numerous bets while listening to shallow pates. I go along with the need for more Negro voters, but I would like for those who have assumed positions of leadership to come up with some year-'round program of economic advencement which would give Negroes something concrete for which to vote.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

WHATEVER one may say against Fidel Castro and his fellow Communists who have enslaved the Cuban people and obediently enlisted them in the ranks of Red colonialism, he must be credited with having demonstrated anew the brilliance of Kremlinite propaganda. The timing for rushing in fake high dudgeon from the Shelburne Hotel in midtown Manhattan with his sleazy gangster entourage to the Hotel Theresa in Harlem was masterly. It bore all the usual earmarks of one of those "spontaneous demonstrations" for which the Reds always plan so carefully, such as the almost immediate visit of that arch-imperialist, Nikita Khrushchev, to Castro in his new quarters and the romantic embrasure in front of the Negro hotel for all of the world's photographers to see. Probably no important newspaper on either side of the Iron Curtain failed to carry that priceless picture and emphasize that it was taken in the heart of the Negro community where Fidel had "fled" through loudly-trumpeted preference. This was supposed to show the love of the Red bosses for the Negro. All other delegates to the U. N. "shunned" Harlem: i.e., they preferred to stay at hotels closest to the U. N. (and this includes all of the African delegations who, presumbaly, have no color prejudice.)

Mr. Schuyler

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REPORTERS AND photographers held 24-hour vigil in front of the Negro hotel, and every time one of Castro's Red hoods ate in the corner restaurant or went for a stroll, it was duly reported and/or photographed. Castro himself was pictured gorging a steak surrounded by black bellboys and Negro Cuban officers and staged to show that the executioner of thousands of Cubans of all colors and creeds was without prejudice of color or race (which is unusual in a white Cuban, especially one from Oriente Province like Castro where color lines are as rigid as in Mississippi).

Told that Eisenhower had pointedly not invited him to his luncheon with other Latin American leaders, The Beard intoned, "I will be honored to lunch with the poor and humble people of Harlem. I belong to the poor, humble people." This from the man whose family owns one of the largest ranches in Oriente Province and who personally has a half dozen palatial homes grabbed from their rightful owners. "Harlem," he continued, was his "oasis" in a desert. Meanwhile, his aides violated their diplomatic immunity by distributing revolutionary "literature" inscribed with such slogans as "In Harlem, Free Land of America." This must have sounded odd to Negroes who long have been told by street corner agitators that Harlem is a slave pen. What a superb jiving of the blacks, U. S. and African!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THE AUGUST 1960 issue of the Population Bulletin (1507 M St., N.W., Washington, D. C., $0.50) is so full of statistics pertaining to the urbanization of Negroes and predictions as to their dire future in our cities that it deserves a careful perusal.

Mr. Schuyler

The colored brethren are inevitably and inescapably penned in our urban centers from which there is no escape, and the urban crisis is growing more, not less, acute. Our citizens are dying because of the population explosion (greatest among Negroes) and the soaring cost of living which enables the cities now to do little more than maintain their services. Inadequate housing, traffic congestion, juvenile delinquency, crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, broken homes, unemployment and political corruption grow apace, and Negroes are the greatest sufferers from these urban ills.

DURING THE 1960's an estimated investment of $1,100 per capita will be necessary to provide the basic city services, or $33 billion for the anticipated population. Local government will be weakened as it must depend more and more upon Federal and State handouts. There will be more interdependence, regimentation and regulation. It will be impossible to keep up with educational demands. Dependency of those above and below working age will soar. A resultant decreased production will lower living standards. The vast Negro migration after both World Wars was a huge traumatic experience. In 1900, 89 per cent of Negroes were in the South. In 1950 only 66 per cent were there, and 61 per cent of them were urban. Negro urban population now is 67 per cent. To further complicate matters, Negroes are breeding faster than whites (who have great facilities for escape). As the great cities die, the Negro inhabitants increase. From 1940 to 1958 Negro natural increase rate was 80 per cent compared to 70 per cent for whites.

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IN 1940 NEGRO and white increase was 12.9 vs. 8.2; in 1958, it was 23.5 vs. 14.0. Thus blacks are increasing 60 per cent faster than whites, and at the present rate they will number 33 million in 1980, and 50 million by 2,000 A.D. Meantime Negro death rate has dramatically declined, while he produces more live births than whites, his rate having risen from 18 to 37.

Meanwhile, Negro socio-economic status is static in all metropolitan areas, with a highly disproportionate number in prison, on relief, in low-paying jobs, in public housing, and cursed with family disorganization, crime and shady practices, increasing psychological problems and intellectual stunting.

How to cope with these vast problems or how to escape them is the real task confronting the civilized colored minority. Neither "marches," picketing, sit-ins, demogoguery nor denunciations of white folks will solve them. Only Gargantuan noodle work and organization will do it.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IN A RECENT New Leader article, author Jeromy Larner quotes a Virginia State College student sit-in leader as saying, "The church has always been a kind of public forum for the Negro. Maybe that's because it's the only place he owns lock, stock and barrel." While this is far from being entirely true, there is enough truth in it to serve as an indictment of American Negro leadership in view of the fact that it is nearly a century since Emancipation. There has been scarcely any organized opposition to Negroes acquiring ownership of buildings, farms, homes and business enterprises, but one must reluctantly agree that for twenty million people in the richest country in the world, Negroes own very little. That they could own much more "lock, stock and barrel" is indicated by the ability of many hundreds of thousands to own a little. The inference is that Negroes would be much freer and have more respect and rights if they played a much more important role in the American economy.

Mr. Schuyler

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BOOKER T. WASHINGTON and a number of others were entirely right in stressing the necessity of acquiring businesses, factories and farms. They foresaw that in a business economy like the United States, the issue of abstract rights was academic for a group which was an insignificant economic force in the community. Integration is a fine ideal, but one has to have something with which to entegrate either in technical skills, professions, business enterprise or finance. If the twenty million Negroes are unimportant politically, it is because politics is here and everywhere simply a reflection of economic interests, and without much of the latter there can be little of the former.

■

SAVE FOR the moribund National Negro Business League, where is the colored organization or institution that has stressed this point and done something to win over those homogeneous millions to such a policy and program? To be sure, the insurance companies, banks, savings and loan associations, newspapers and cosmetic companies have spread the gospel of thrift, investment and business administration, but few of the noisy leaders have given it any attention. These latter have been busy for the past two generations crying for somebody to give the Negro house a roof without any concern for walls and basement. The so-called victories they have won have actually been superficial, phyrric and transparent. The result has been frustration which has served mainly to enervate group potential and waste talent and hope. Any group that owns little "lock, stock and barrel" except churches is not going anywhere—fast.

The World Today

By George S. Schuyler

NO NEGRO HEROES? The Navy is dipping "impartially" into Civil War history to name new ships after heroes but so far only white heroes have been found, although there were many colored ones . . . Texas Democrats have disowned their party's national platform. So have all of the others, but they are not honest enough to say so. People who swear by party platforms need psychiatrists . . . A patent fraud is Kennedy's 2-day national conference on Constitutional rights and American freedom (Oct. 11 and 12) in New York, aimed at corraling Negro votes. There are some Negroes who will actually fall for this. Why not hold the conference in Mississippi?

PHONY SCHOOL ISSUE: In New York City professional agitators have been "bugging" the board of education for years about "segregated" schools. Finally they wore down opposition and transfers were granted to all Negro and Puerto Rican kids who wanted them to "white" schools. So what happened? With 3,000 openings the board got only 384 applications, and most of them did NOT come from heavy Negro districts, as expected. So?

AFRICAN LEFTIST Plotting: At last the plotting of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sekou Toure of Guinea and Modibo Kieta of Sudan have been exposed, with documentation, and Congo's Col. Mobutu has invited their troops "out," pronto. They've been scheming to put Khrushchev's boy Lumumba back in the saddle. I told you so, but you were brainwashed . . .

■

NEW AFRICAN STATES: New African states voted into U. N. last week show immaturity in thinking they can be neutral in the East-West struggle between slavery and freedom. They can't. No one can . . . Eisenhower's gesture in flying Panama's flag with ours on the Canal Zone will avail nothing. The Latins want to take all and give nothing—not having anything to give!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS distressingly clear that many of our prominent folk are singularly lacking in political realism although they have been studying the business most of their lives. Recently my friend, A. Philip Randolph, cold-watered Negro participation in politics with the statement that neither of the major parties would effectively fight for civil rights legislation. Since strong civil rights laws is the only reason for the colored brethren to vote at all, as Negroes, this was tantamount to discouraging them from voting at all. This scarcely goes along with the widely heralded campaign to get out the Negro vote. Mr. Randolph dreams of a third party like the Labor (Socialist) Party in Great Britain; but since there is none here, and is unlikely to be, it seems to me that Negroes will have to develop political power where they can do so most effectively, as in the wards and districts they control by virtue of residence. It is from these "ghettos" that our Federal, state and local officials have come. To be indifferent to voting because the probability of strong civil rights legislation and enforcement seems remote, is to ignore all of the other considerations and issues with which the Negro voter, as an American, should be concerned.

Mr. Schuyler

■

MY HEART SANK when I read a quotation from my friend, Roy Wilkins, to the effect that Negroes will vote on the candidates' qualifications and records, and not along party lines in the November presidential election. Here is political unrealism again, which has been assiduously promulgated by the liberal-labor clique for many years, and which has done so much to confuse the American voter. When are we going to face the political facts of life?

No man or woman in America can become a candidate for anything without first having been nominated by some organized group to which he or she obviously becomes beholden both during the campaign and after elected. In any legislative or executive office it is impossible for the author of any bill, no matter how liberal or humanitarian, to get it passed without the majority in Congress or Legislature voting for it, and then it is usually the result of a partisan (organizational) deal. Neither St. Peter nor Beelzebub could ignore the party caucus. So, if Negroes in November are only going to vote for honest, qualified men who have always professed to love the Negro, and not for parties (although how this can be done I wouldn't know), then they might as well stay home on election day. It is noteworthy that for all of the dirty pre-convention in-fighting between the various Democratic and Republican factions, they are all now united behind the two major candidates. Whichever wins it will be a party even more than an individual victory.

Views and Reviews . . .

By George S. Schuyler

WELL, WELL, WELL! A New York Negro named Glester Hinds who heads the People's Civic and Welfare Association of Harlem said at a meeting of the group in mid-July that "we must drive the hoodlums from the streeets so decent citizens may no longer be afraid to venture out of their homes to take a walk. This can be done by putting more police on the beat and giving them a free hand to use their nightsticks." He urged attending police officers of six precincts to "take off their gloves to deal with hoodlums" in order to combat the rising tide of crime; that crime was a problem not only for Harlem but for the whole city.

Mr. Schuyler

The association dwelt upon the problems caused by loitering and gambling, and it appointed a committee to examine ways and means of increasing cooperation between local citizens and the police.

■

IN NEARLY 40 years in journalism and as a resident of Harlem during that period, I cannot recall any prominent Negro making such a demand. Usually the hoodlums are encouraged by the yells of "police brutality" from professional agitators and circulation-seeking Negro newspapers every time one of the riff raff gets a deserved head-whipping or is plugged while racing across a rooftop with a suitcase full of somebody else's clothes or stomping some woman on a street corner.

Generally, our folks in positions of leadership have almost sought alibis for the raft of criminals infesting our neighborhoods who are as vicious as those to be found anywhere. Mr. Glester Hinds is unique in stating aloud the evil in our midst and urging that something drastic be done about it. He is right in believing the answer to be more and tougher cops and faster and more frequent convictions, in Harlem and elsewhere.

■

NEGRO crime statistics are a disgrace to the race. Anyone visiting a police court or sitting on the grand jury is appalled by the preponderance of Negroes. The jails and prisons are packed with them. They constitute a disproportionate number of the drug addicts, prostitutes and juvenile delinquents. White people can more easily than Negroes escape this jungle. The Negroes have to live in it, and in sheer self-defense, to protect their wives and children, they must cooperate with the police to keep the Negro districts disciplined, orderly and safe. This should have been said over and over again, and acted upon, but instead, so-called spokesmen have condoned conditions or blamed them on the ever-convenient race problem. In consequence the police have let up, ignored violations not permitted elsewhere, and otherwise coddled the Negro criminal element for fear of being denounced and probably transferred for alleged brutality. The loiterers, bums, wine-bibbers, delinquents, criminals and ne'er-do-wells should be chased out or at least curbed and controlled by any effective means. How else can our communities escape savagery?

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AMERICANS ABROAD — Fall guys in the Congo tragedy are the millions of ordinary Congolese who are jobless and hungry because of the selfishness, ignorance and incompetence of their leaders with illusions of grandeur. Apprentices have no place in sorcery or government . . . What is increasingly obvious is that far from there being an increase of nationalism in Africa, there is an increase of militant tribalism, sleeping since the Europeans came. Nationalism is impossible without any real nation, and African nations are not indigenous but white creations for administrative conveniences . . . Tubman of Liberia, Nyerere of Tanganyika and Tshombe of Katange seem the most realistic leaders of all. They know that poor, hungry people cannot afford to be neutral in today's world. The idea is absurd anyhow because World War III has been going on since 1946, and everybody is forced to take sides . . . Current surprise is the abortive insurrection in Jamaica which is enjoying greater prosperity than ever before in history . . . Tom Mboya says U. S. is "not applying itself realistically to the problem of education in Africa." All it is doing is giving college scholarships to several hundred young Africans!

AFRICANS HERE: Representative Powell launches a development corporation to aid new African-Asian nations as well as the West Indies. Undoubtedly he will soon start a move to aid his constituency! . . . If democracy means majority rule, then Arkansas Gov. Orval E. Faubus winning a fourth term means that the White Citizens Councils are democratic. He got 58 per cent of the vote cast . . . One swallow doesn't make a summer but three Negro girls winning admittance to previously all-white public swimming pools in Charlotte is indicative of a trend. So is the restaurant capitulation in Greensboro and Norfolk and the conviction of a young white man in Grenada, Miss., for raping a 16-year-old Negro girl.

Views and Reviews . . .

By George S. Schuyler

IF ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, "The Messenger of Allah to the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in North America," would stop spouting prejudice and hatred of white people, plus the most outrageous black chauvinism, I could go along with him. As it is, when I hear his disciples be hallowing racism which sounds like the rantings of a Ku Klux Klan Kleagle, it is just too much to swallow. You don't lessen racial prejudice and discrimination by outdoing the spokesmen of Negrophobia in slinging racist billingsgate. You don't help yourself or the country by appealing for more racial segregation. You don't make Negroes economically self-sufficient by preaching an absurd escapism. You don't defeat intolerance by spouting intolerance. You don't broaden minds and sharpen intellects by denouncing broadmindedness and intellectualism.

Mr. Schuyler

■

SO LONG AS the Temple of Islam is preaching protection of women, warning against over-indulgence, urging cleanliness, neatness and personal discipline, no one can quarrel with it; but when the Messenger and his followers inveigh against interracial marriages and associations, and ask for a jim-crow reservation for Negroes, that's going too far.

This is simply one of the worst features of Garveyism all over. Moreover, it distorts and misinterprets the teachings of the Koran in which these people profess to believe. The Koran does not preach racial chauvinism. Islam is not opposed to interracial association and marriage. There are as many white Moslems in the world as there are black (that is to say, in the Balkans, Turkey, Pakistan, Soviet Russia, Arabia and North Africa). Islam is like Catholicism and Buddhism in being international and interracial, and it is a travesty to act as if it were not. There is enough prejudice, strife and hatred in this world without encouraging more.

■

UNDOUBTEDLY "The Messenger's" teachings have wrought a great transformation in the lives of thousands of young men and women, but so have the teachings of Jesus Christ, for a longer time and to a greater extent. A little more charity, humility and fraternity would be much more becoming in Mr. Muhammad and his followers, and in all of us, for that matter.

In the rising tide of hatred of white people, as such, they have been charged with committing every crime in the book against Africans here and in Africa, including the launching of the slave trade. Disciples of "The Messenger" really have a field day there; but with a characteristic ignorance of history, they do not know or will not admit that the Moslems of Europe, the Near East and Africa started the slave trade seven centuries before the white Christians who, incidentally, were instrumental in bringing it to an end!

One would like to see more enlightenment and less ignorance and fanaticism in the Temple of Islam. It could do so much better than it has.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IN PERUSING Negro press comments on developments in the former Belgian Congo one is startled, and distressed, by the apparently purposeful omission and distortion of historical facts in order to miseducate the Negro reading public. Commentators have chosen to disregard the backgrounds of both Messrs. Lumumba and Kasavubu, the sharp, bitter and traditional divisions within the ranks of the Congolese politicians, and the clear interests of the Congo people as distinct from those of the tribal strife and mutineering that has made the country a shambles. An effort was made to excuse the robbery, rapine, arson and murder committed by a few blacks against the tiny minority of white technicians and administrators, on the specious ground that the Belgians did likewise in the early days of occupancy, from about 1890 to 1908. All this has been said to promote the Leftist line that the Belgians should leave, instanter, because they are to blame for everything that has happened!

Mr. Schuyler

■

EVERYBODY WHO knows history, knows that bad as was the administration of the Congo under King Leopold, it was an improvement over the anarchy that prevailed before it took over. Prior to 1890, and for some time afterwards, the big boss of the Congo (independently, and later, under Leopold), was the notorious Negro Moslem slave trader, Tippo Tibb of Zanzibar, whose forts and barracoons dotted the land, and whose raiders decimated the population. Neither the Belgians nor other European exploiters had anything to do with it. Indeed, one of the strangest paradoxes of history is that the Moslems (mostly non-white) almost are ignored completely as ravagers of the Africans since the Seventh Century. Writers have a responsibility to acquaint themselves with the facts, and the guts to present them.

■

SINCE 1908, when the Belgians took over, they have done an unparalleled job of ending the slave trade, pacifying the country, developing its great resources, establishing a welfare state, and making the blacks the most literate population north of South Africa. True, it did not introduce universal suffrage until one year ago, but what African country, save Egypt, had it before 1950? French colonies have had it only since the loi cadre of 1957, the same year the Belgian Congo inaugurated municipal elections, and a black woman was elected mayor of Leopoldville (The Courier carried her picture). Simultaneously, racial integration was ordered by the government, and more widely obtained than in our South. It is a fact that there have been no atrocities in the Congo for over 50 years—until it got a black government!

Let us have more objectivity and honesty in writing, and less conscienceless propaganda.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

COMES NOW the Rev. Amos H. Carnegie, president of the newly incorporated Afro-American Cooperative Association, [illegible] Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn 16, N. Y., with the aim of establishing supermarkets in Negro neighborhoods. This is predicated on the sound assumption that such districts will be with us for many years, perhaps many decades, probably forever. The association has already purchased a site in Brooklyn's Stuyvesant area, and is now trying to sell 10,000 shares of preferred stock at $10 a share and 90,000 shares of common stock at $10 a share. It is promising to pay 6 per cent interest two years after opening the first supermarket. The Rev. Mr. Carnegie is a persistent fellow who for many years has been trying to get the Negro community to act logically and realistically, to no avail. Whether he can get this latest show on the road is problematical. His hospital scheme was logical, too, but it never got off the ground, although Negroes needed (and need) hospitals like a whale needs fish.

Mr. Schuyler

■

REV. CARNEGIE points out the obvious that 20 million colored folk spend $6 billion yearly for food which is sold to them largely by white people who do not live, spend or marry into the Negro community. He points out that the one million New York Negroes spend over $300 million yearly for food, but have yet to own or operate a single supermarket, although they eat every day. There is little danger of contradiction if it is stated that the same thing is true in all the important colored communities from coast to coast. Indeed, if one were seeking evidence of Negro inferiority, one would only have to consider how pitifully little is their economic stake in this properous land where the right to own is inherent and enterprise is free.

Not only should Negroes own a supermarket in Brooklyn which has over 300,000 Nebut in every other colored community with 5,000 or more Negroes. There ought also to be a department store, just to name another of the thousands of enterprises we do NOT have, save in miniscule number.

■

I ASKED Rev. Carnegie what had been the response of the swarm of preachers who infest Brooklyn. He said not a half dozen (and Brooklyn calls itself the City of Churches and boasts some of the largest congregations in the country), had cooperated in any way. This did not surprise me While our reverend clergy are now plunking the social gospel theme and pant for Negro political power through wholesale voter registration, I hear very little from them about the economic gospel, which is the soundest of all.

One wishes the Afro-American Cooperative Association, Inc., well; but its plan is so sound that I imagine Homo Africanus will run true to form and stay away in droves.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

ALTHOUGH it believes in the inferiority of the Negro, I have long had an interest in and an admirtion for the achievements of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, because it has accomplished more than all of the Negro churches put together.

Mr. Schuyler

Since the cult of the Mormons (which included polygamy until nearly the turn of the century) stressed cooperative economic effort, they early incurred the enmity of their neighbors by their success, and were chased from place to place until they decided to find themselves a haven in the wilderness of the West. They did, and they have prospered.

Their theocratic society in Utah is rigidly disciplined and coldly pragmatic. Their bishops are businessmen, farmers and professionals who devotedly serve the church without salary, and must continue to follow their private business.

The church officials are economic conservatives.

■

THE MORMON church owns or controls thousands of business enterprises inside and outside Utah.

These include merchandising, banking, insurance, broadcasting, publishing, food processing, hotels, restaurants, real estate management, public utilities, oil companies, etc., all competitive and run for profit.

Each member contributes 10 per cent of his or her income to the church, with the result that even during the depression there were no Mormons on relief.

They divide themselves into wards of 650 persons presided over by a Bishop. Each ward keeps a filing system up to date by visiting every home monthly.

A ward census is made every five years. A group of wards is called a stake, headed by a president. At the top is the First President, the 12 Apostles and associated officials, numbering 32, constituting the General Authorities.

THERE ARE less than 600,000 Mormons, as contrasted with 10,000,000 U. S. Negro church members. Many of the 40,000 Negro churches are palatial.

In the main, preachers are well paid, increasingly well-educated, well-nourished, and well-staked when they go off to conferences and vacations. Most of their members are unskilled workers and many are on relief, but they are very vocal about civil rights and integration, and the equality of man (whatever that means).

The Mormons are mum about these matters because they don't believe in any of it. All they have ever wanted is to be left alone, being sure of taking care of themselves, which they have done for a century. They are bigoted but basic.

Does any Negro church organization operate even one technical school where young people can acquire the skills necessary to success in our technological civilization.

Does any own a bank, department store, hotel or any worthwhile economic enterprise except a publishing house or a casket factory? I wonder.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS GRATIFYING that a Negro American Labor Council has been formed and seems to be a going concern.

It is particularly gratifying to me because I have been advocating such an organization in this column off and on for the past 30-odd years. As early as 1922 when I was a member of that old labor racket, the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers Union, and was aware of the gross color discrimination and exclusion which was general throughout the labor movement, I saw that a national Negro organization was the only way to get some fair-play. I said so when I had space to say so, but of course, when the history is written there will be no mention of my advocacy. I am accustomed to that, but I just thought the readers would like to know.

Mr. Schuyler

■

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, founder and organizer, took particular care at the Detroit meeting to disavow any embracing of the doctrine of black nationalism as implying endorsement of racial separation, but this was just an exercise in semantics, what the Bolsheviks call Aesopian language.

I am afraid that not to be for black nationalism in the kind of struggle in which Negroes are engaged is to declare unilateral disarmament.

Black nationalism or racial separatism has been here for three centuries and will be here in 2,000 A. D.

In short, it will be here as long as white nationalism or the doctrine of racial separatism from Negroes.

■

ASSUMING that racial integration is a desirable goal, it will not come by delivering orations in favor of it or by loud wails that it is un-Christian for groups of people to live apart. To get equal rights and treatment (which is the only thing Negroes really want) it is necessary to have power which can be applied where and when it is needed. The NNCL will give organized Negro workers that. The sooner they complete the organizing and begin to lobby, pack union meetings, play rough politics and demand to get in on the ground floor in the labor racket, the sooner will conditions improve.

■

EVEN THE SO-CALLED liberal white unions with their token integration and a few soft berths to a few trusted black place-men, have largely been kidding the Negroes.

The less-vocally liberal unions have scarcely moved at all in a quarter century, as any observant colored worker knows who just looks around him.

Mr. Randolph sought to mollify the white labor brass by denying that the NNLC is "at war" with organized labor.

There is nothing to be gained by pussyfooting. Yes, the NNLC is at war with the hustlers, gangsters and racketeers running the unions because these leaders have served the Ku Klux membership by excluding dues-paying Negroes from most of the advantages and rewards of labor organization.

They will continue to do so until forced to stop, and only the organized Negro union members can stop them.

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

The Adam Clayton Powell blast at Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph as "captives" of behind-the-scenes interests has the ring of authenticity and may be Adam's soundest statement of the year.

What a few wise Negroes detected long past is now becoming generally apparent.

That fellow-traveling Southern professor who was ousted recently says indignantly that he is not a Communist, but unfortunately, his Communist-front record is formidable. Those chickens always come home to roost.

I warned the boys to be careful 'way back in the 30's and '40's, but to no avail. Now they know what I meant.

Commenting on the civil rights records, Roy Wilkins praises Nixon and Symington but says "we don't endorse candidates." Why not, if their records are good? Since the association urges Negroes to vote **against** candidates whose records it doesn't like, why not urge the people to vote for those who are "right?"

■

PATRICE LUMUMBA, Congolese firebrand, demagogue and darling of the Belgian Reds, becomes the first Congo premier. This caused jubilation in Moscow. May be tough times in store for "free" Africa.

African states conferring in Addis Ababa urged diplomatically to boycott South Africa and its commerce. This will not do what they think it will—it never has. Friendship, not feuding, is what will save Africa.

Our brilliant State Department suddenly finds that Castro is a dictator and that it may be necessary to halt the flow of Cuban sugar to the U. S. A. It certainly takes our white folks a long time to wake up!

Mau Mau butcheries were not entirely in vain. The celebrated "white" highlands of Kenya are no longer barred to black ownership.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

INDEPENDENCE DAY coming so soon after the summit conference collapse and the Tokyo debacle reminds us that if Americans expect to remain free they had better clean out the Washington bureaucracy, especially in the State Department where park the intellectual authors of a long chain of criminal fiascoes that have cursed our foreign policy since Roosevelt was mousetrapped into recognizing the Soviet Union.

Mr. Schuyler

Presidents and Secretaries of State come and go but this clique remains.

The much-vilified and maligned Senator Joe McCarthy was quite correct in his indictment of this fellow-traveling crowd. Many others, including ex-ambassadors Spruille Braden and Joseph Grew, have told Congressional committee of the little soviets within the department which have hatched a long succession of wierd policies inimical to the national interest.

They have been aided, of course, by associated collectivist professors and publicists who dream of a Red Christmas.

■

IT WAS this permanent subversive gang that persuaded Eisenhower of the need to hold and attend summit conferences against his better judgment, and to make long journeys to hostile lands even against the advice of the Secret Service.

A President should never be placed in a position of humiliation. Moreover, there is nothing to negotiate with the Kremlin goons who have repeatedly announced that America must be destroyed throughout the past 40-odd years.

Necessary to any fruitful negotiation is some similarity of moral and ethical standards, some recognition of diplomatic and social amenities, some willingness to compromise, else why confer?

Having violated every treaty it ever made since 1918, why should anybody value the pledged word of the Soviet-camorra?

These criminals are completely amoral, and yet our State Department clique continues to act as if they were like normal human beings. Unless this element is purged we are faced with ultimate disaster.

ON ITS ADVICE Roosevelt torpedoed the London Economic Conference (1933) which might have averted World War II; lied us into that war and master-minded the Pearl Harbor massacre; rushed us prematurely to the aid of Stalin's goons before the Wermacht had whipped them sufficiently to remove the Soviets as a post-war menace to civilization.

This clique dictated the strategy of attacking Western Europe instead of the Balkans which would have stopped the Red hordes from entering Central Europe.

It engineered the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam pacts which lost for us the fruits of victory, and dictated the insane Morganthau Plan for making industrial Germany into a cow-pasture and actually sent German factories and mills to Russia to strenghten that world menace, along with screamingly reluctant masses of Russians the Nazis had taken prisoner and who yearned to stay where they were.

It was this clique whose policies lost us China and helped create the Communist hotbed in Japan. On the record it is certainly time for a treason trial in Washington in self-protection.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS SINGULARLY distressing that one hears scarcely anything about the National Negro Business League nor the various Negro Chambers of Commerce which once were frequently in the headlines. One wonders why. Have we acquired so much knowledge of business and industry that such organizations are no longer needed? Of course, I have not been around the country very much lately, but from what my informants tell me there is a tremendous lag of Negro business behind that controlled and owned by other groups, even within strictly Negro neighborhoods.

Mr. Schuyler

Even more, I am told that Negro-owned businesses catering to the general public remain few and far between. This, too, in face of the fact that since World War II our people have had wider and more important employment than ever before, and thus are presumed to have acquired sufficient knowledge and skills to enter the general business field. During these 15 years, too, the income of the Negro community has almost tripled. Whereas in 1947 when The Pittsburgh Courier pioneered with its report on "The Negro Market," the group's income was stated as $7 billion annually, it is now about $20 billion.

■

SINCE MOST of the pioneering in Negro business enterprise has been on the part of those who have had more enthusiasm than knowledge of business practices, the proportion of failures has been and is high. This would seem to make even more necessary some local and national organization interested in helping these businesses become more successful in marketing, display, selling and the personal touches which enable small businesses everywhere to survive. One has only to see and patronize some of these Negro businesses to see that they could stand a whole lot of advice and direction; and I think this would be acceptable if it came from representatives of the local Negro Business League or Negro Chamber of Commerce.

PREOCCUPATION with legalism and civil rights has kept the NAACP from interesting itself in this broader aspect of "advancement," while the National Urban League has ignored it altogether, even though its motto is "Not Alms But Opportunity." A vast increase in the number and quality of Negro-owned businesses would do more to advance the Negro than a hundred court battles or mass demonstrations. And such an advance would also provide great opportunity to do away with alms.

Similarly nothing has been heard about this from the Southern Christian leadership group which proclaimed its goal as revolutionizing Negro life in Dixie. Teaching the Negro how to cast his dollar daily in the right direction for group advancement would seem far more important than casting his ballot once yearly in the contest between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

The Pittsburgh Courier

COMES now World War II veteran Isaac M. Stotts of Vandale, Ark. with a 14-page letter interspersed with numerous references to Biblical texts, taking strong exception to my columns of Dec. 5 and 12, discussing African realities vis a vis the pending departure of the Caucasians.

Mr. Schuyler

Mr. Stotts was irked because I did not take too seriously the loquacities of many of our recent African visitors; held to the view that the black countries staying within the French Community were wise, and that when the departure of white power created a political vacuum, there would be a struggle of black leaders (divided by tribalism, regionalism, religion and ideology) to determine who would hold power. Mr. Stotts says the white man went to Africa and exploited its natives, that European history is replete with unrest, uprisings, and wars, that African self-rule and continental unity is in the cards (with one president for the continent), and that he is against colonialism and imperialism.

■

THE TROUBLE with most of the people who are now enamoured of all things African and see visions of a Promised Land, is that they are ignorant of history, African and otherwise, and know less about social, economic and political realities. They are being deceived by the flights of political oratory from many of our bathrobe-gowned visitors playing upon the general ignorance here.

Most of the former French colonies have elected to stay within the French Community not because they love the French but because they need the advantages such a community gives to largely impoverished, illiterate diseased and industrially backward people. It is for the same reason that Ghana, Nigeria and other former British colonies will remain within the British Commonwealth, including hated South Africa. If these blacks are not Uncle Toms, why are the French black leaders? Mr. Stotts, who was once abroad and returned, will note that few U. S. A. Negroes seek to escape white rule, albeit they are victims of worse jim crowism than most Africans ever were.

■

SAVE FOR THE Portuguese, Africa has been ruled by Europeans for much less than a century. This rule disrupted some societies milleniums-old, interfering with the mutual butchery and enslavement characteristics of mankind everywhere. Only the incredibly naive suppose that within my lifetime white rule has extirpated the hatreds, prejudices, animosities and rivalries so long engrained. Hardly anyone has lectured and written more on African history than I, and urged the end of imperialism, but how could I swallow the buncombe that African tribalism is dead (or will soon die) and that these 200 milion people do not need white help?

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Rep. Adam C. Powell continues to broadcast lists of numbers drops, bankers and runners in Harlem, and to insist that the local police crack down. Why, all of a sudden? (Adam knew the score years ago (like everybody else) but has just now grown indignant. Has his tax difficulties got anything to do with it? One wonders! . . . Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas will make headway toward the Democrat Presidential legislation by his present tack of backing civil rights and Federal commissars to check the vote in the South. If he can "sell" the non-Southerners among his party's top brass, he's in, regardless of Kennedy, Humphrey, et al. This is the man to watch! . . . Hulan Jack, Manhattan's Borough President, and his henchmen are now whistling in the dark, hoping against hope that he will be as lucky in evading the law as a certain other New York City biggie. As the popular song goes, "It Ain't Gonna Be That Way."

■

UGANDA mobs may not be civilized, but they know how to deal effectively with gatherers of exorbitant taxes —they've been killing them! . . . Venezuela's Betancourt regime may soon be on the lam if frequent riots continue. It sowed the wind and will, as usual, reap the whirlwind . . . Cuba's Castro getting more desperate as things get tougher as a result of his communist policies. More former supporters and henchmen flee to freedom daily . . . Retreat of colonial-imperial powers from African territories continues apace, bloodlessly, but quarrels between Africans of different tribes and backgrounds grows bloodily. This should prove most educational to outsiders who have been naive. Worst examples are Belgian Congo and Cameroons, with other areas that could be named, space permitting.

—1910–GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY–1960—

Views and Reviews By George S. Schuyler

The Pittsburgh Courier

TUSKEGEE Institute's 46th annual report to the American people on developments in race relations covering 1959, is a printed six and one-half page document which is quite sobering. In 1959, it says, these relations "did not change appreciably." The opposition to equality of treatment, obligations and duties was adamant on the part of the white dictatorship. The South did only what it was compelled to do, and nothing more. All of the liberalistic baloney about the effect of maintaining second-class citizenship had no influence whatever on the White Citizens Council mentality which prevails in the South, as it always has. No matter what the church groups had to say or did, "there were no momentous accomplishments." Liberal whites were in the dog house and the burden of fighting for fairplay was borne, as usual, by the Negroes, but about this noble effort and meagre accomplishment, the "free" Southern press, radio and television were mum.

Mr. Schuyler

■

THERE WAS some slight state and local government compliance in desegregation, but in toto it actually amounted to little. On the other hand there were a rash of laws passed to make desegregation difficult or impossible, to hinder the Federal Government in every way and, of course, to discourage Negroes aiming for full citizenship. It is no easier for a Negro to vote in the South than it was in 1958, despite the toothless Commission on Civil Rights. The Ku Klux Klan which was virtually dead has had an ominous resurrection. Because of the Cracker dictatorship, there can be no public debate of any of these fundamental issues in the South. The Cracker spokesmen and leaders will not debate and will not permit communications media to be made available to anybody presenting the side of fairplay and law and order.

■

SINCE RACE relations encompasses more than voting and school desegregation, the Tuskegee Report on 1959 is woefully deficient. It would have been instructive to learn something about housing, employment, upgrading, recreation, travel and other areas of activity where contact between colored and white exists. A one-sided or one-sectored picture can be very deceptive. In this day and time when there is greater interest than ever in race relations, North and South, it is a pity that Tuskegee Institute does not publish an annual edition of the Negro Year Book. None has appeared for a decade which has been one of the most momentous in our history. The over-all picture of the American Negro is not at all discouraging, but the data is scattered in scores of books, pamphlets and reports. A yearly edition of the Negro Year Book is a necessity today.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

CONTINUING discussion of the Great Whisky War in which Negroes are taking a beating in all directions, one cannot ignore the loud clamor for remedies which make the welkin ring. Boycotting is futile, because no power on earth will stop Negroes from drinking liquor. If this happened, the Negro salesmen, bartenders, waitresses, delivery boys, etc., would be the first to suffer. Oozing goodwill is no good because many of the whisky executives, storeowners and barkeepers already have demonstrated their love of the Negro by contributing to Brotherhood Week, joining the NAACP, and mayhap heaving a bone to the Urban League. They are willing to do everything for him except help him!

Mr. Schuyler

If you enter the distilleries and expansive administrative offices of the Whisky Trust, you will find that from the employment angle, they are the Great White Way. It would be interesting to know the exceptions to this generalization. These boys are eager for the Negroes to continue drinking their products but hesitate to provide them with the wherewithal through employment.

■

WHILE THE colored brother will not stop drinking whisky, he can be taught to stop drinking one brand of whisky and choose another. The trouble is that as things are now it is pointless to do this because practically all of the brands are produced by the same gang or by two or three others who are friendly rivals. Nothing much disturbs them in their monopoly, no matter how much disgruntled Negroes yell in protest.

However, there would be panic in the Whisky Trust if headlines announced the U. S. Negroes had begun distilling their own whisky, gin and vodka, packaging it, and selling it, with a healthy budget for advertising. It is much more difficult to make, distribute and sell cosmetics and newspapers than it is to make whisky, and yet Negroes have been doing it for years. It is harder to operate a successful farm than to distill alcohol, yet over 200,000 Negroes do so. It is infinitely more difficult to operate a bank, a credit union or a Federal savings and loan association, and yet look how many we have!

■

FORTUNATELY, there is so much liquor in bond or in warehouses aching for buyers, that a Negro company would not have to own a distillery in order to market liquor under its own brand names. Existing liquor stores and bars would sell anybody's whisky, gin, vodka and Scotch rather than nobody's. If the Whisky Trust in reprisal refused to sell its mountains of surplus whisky to a Negro company, it costs only a few thousands of dollars to erect a distillery, and there are more than enough skilled Negro bootleggers in the South to man all of the distilleries in America.

This is one remedy, and I think we have enough good promoters and salesmen to put it over—if they want to break a new trail.

Views and Reviews . . . .

By George S. Schuyler

AS EVENTS unfold in various parts of the world which I predicted years before they happened. I am reminded of Matthew xiii, 57, "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house."

On Feb. 11, 1939, I here posed the possibility of a Hitler - Stalin pact, which became a reality in August 1939.

Mr. Schuyler

When this unholy coalition of Communists and Fascists (really much the same) precipitated World War II, I predicted on Sept. 9, in The Courier, that the conflict would lead to the freedom of the colonial world. It has not, of course, led to independence, which is something else again.

The Red infiltration and control in many of these lands was predicted in my "The Red Drive in the Colonies" for the Catholic Information Society in 1947, which reads very well today.

■

TRAVELS IN Latin America and the West Indies enlightened me on the Red menace there, plus the combination of inborn prejudices, color complexes, general incompetence and shiftlessness which were duck soup for the Communists or anybody else that would promise the moon for sixpence. Long before the U. S. seemed aware of the gathering storms in the Antilles and environs, I wrote "The Caribbean; The Soft Underbelly of the U. S." for the Spadea Syndicate (Oct. 17, 1953). And on the same date exposed here the Red background of Cheddie Jagan of British Guiana.

Another piece that seemed far-fetched was my "Khrushchev Gets An African Foothold" in the American Mercury March 1959) written immediately after Guinea opted for independence and before Sekou Toure had made the deals with the Red bloc. This annoyed a lot of wishful thinking Africanists, but it has all come true, nevertheless.

■

PRACTICALLY every responsible publication has now switched to telling the people the truth about the Castro dictatorship in Cuba whereas at first he was painted as a Robin Hood saving his people. Even the New York Times which sang his praises and excused his excesses now seems to have seen the light. U. S. Negroes who came back singing hosannas over what he was doing for Cuban blacks are now silent.

Twelve days after Castro took power, Spadea Syndicate carried my "Cuba Swaps the Devil for a Witch" when six million U. S. readers learned for the first time about the true background of this murdered and his associates. A month later I predicted the wave of abortive invasions in "New Troubles Brewing in the Caribbean." Finally, on May 8, 1959, came "The Communist Conquest of Cuba."

So far there have been no torch light parades or drinks on the house for calling the turn!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AN ALARMING state of immortality among our Senegambians has been recently revealed concerning events taking place in Africa. People who on principle are opposed to murder, vandalism, robbery, rape and cannibalism have suddenly risen to the defense of such savagery as justifiable retaliation against white colonialism - imperialism. A Texas correspondent who professes devout Christianity has just written a letter in this tone about the sad events in the Belgian Congo, defending the mutinous soldiers, who tortured, raped and mutilated white men, women and children. What the good lady does not consider is that the mutinous soldiers tortured, raped and mutilated 10 times more black men, women and children not belonging to their particular tribes. Such horrors as uniformed men with knapsacks and pockets full of severed fingers, hands and organs is not to be condoned. Nor is the violation of school girls under puberty, nuns, and sisters sent to teach and heal. How explain away the senseless destruction of vital services?

Mr. Schuyler

■

SIMILAR DEFENSE of savage bestiality was heard during the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya where for every white person killed there were hundreds of blacks. Instigators and leaders of these bands of robbers, torturers and killers were lauded by some Negroes here as heroes. It has become quite smart to honor the Algerian rebels (armed and munitioned by Nasser of the U. A. R.) who have murdered 100 Algerians for every Frenchman and set back that unhappy country's progress.

What Africa needs is less socialist and Communist agitators parading under the cloak of "nationalists" and more foreign investment and technicians to cope with the serious problems which the Africans cannot solve alone, and which Iron Curtain countries are eager to aid only the better to enslave. How can Russia and China save Africa when their own people are hungry, ragged and demoralized?

■

THESE U. S. Negroes' thinking is based on the assumption that because the Africans are black they are just like them. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Aside from a handful of European- or American-educated Africans and those trained in mission schools, the bulk of Africans are Early Iron Age folk bedeviled by pagan superstitions and taboos. U. S. Negroes are civilized people of the 20th Century—even if this does sometimes seem doubtful.

It is inconceivable to the average well-meaning U. S. Negro that the President of newly independent Gabon, Leon M'ba, should have served four years in prison for eating his mother-in-law. Or that Hon. Biaka Boda, former senator in the French National Assembly should have been seated by his constituents because he refused to supply a family baby for a ritual feast. Or that the real rulers of the people are the witch doctors, whom even U. N. delegates fear.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THE CURRENT period in world history will undoubtedly go down as the golden age for non-white American emigrationists. For approaching two centuries a considerable proportion of free Negroes here have panted for a "return" to the sacred soil of Africa, albeit a much greater proportion has advocated fighting out the battle for racial equality in the not-so-fertile soil of the USA. This issue divided Negroes who could make a choice from the birth of the Republic up to the Civil War, and does so even up to the present. It was responsible for the founding of Liberia. And in this connection it is ironical that John B. Russwurm, the emigrationist editor who chose freedom in Africa rather than remaining here to battle for civil rights, is now eulogized and canonized by the Negro press which is generally against emigration to Africa or anywhere else.

Mr. Schuyler

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PRIOR TO the Civil War when Major Martin R. Delaney, the militant Pittsburgh physician and darling of emigrationists, went to West Africa and made treaties with the native kings for lands to which U. S. emigrationists might go, enthusiasm was dampened by ominous reports of enslavement of strange Negroes by local black dealers and their possible consumption by devotees of anthrophagy. Afterwards most Negroes newly emancipated here believed that the probability of making the grade under the Stars and Stripes was vastly improved. To be sure, Chief Sam and then Marcus Garvey excited the dark folk on the emigrationist pitch, and currently some black nationalists have persuaded Southern Congressmen to introduce bills to facilitate emigration to Africa. This has been cold-shouldered by the overwhelming majority of Negroes, and wisely I believe.

BUT NOW things look different to an increasing number of native Senegambians. The slave trade, which was the main ante-bellum fear, has been long since suppressed by the British and French (but not by the beloved Moslems who initiated it). The erstwhile African colonies of the Europeans have become, in the main, independent nations, with their own Presidents, Legislatures and debts. Their Ambassadors sit in the United Nations and bask in the Waldorf-Astoria and the shadow of the White House. Everything is sitting pretty.

So now there is a wonderful opportunity for all of the dissatisfied and disgruntled Negroes who look upon the USA future darkly to go back (sic) to Africa and make a new start. The African spokesmen say they welcome them. The soil of Africa is free for them to kiss upon arrival, and how wonderful it will be to hear no more of their fervent ululations for instant departure. May one inquire what they are waiting for?

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AT HOME: The President's Civil Rights Commission wants $215,000 more than last year so it can find out whether the courts discriminate against Negroes. Hah! . . . Progress note: six years after the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision 94 per cent of the South's Negro students are attending segregated schools! . . . CORE distributing 1,000,000 pledge cards in unions, churches, etc., to boycott F. W. Woolworth stores. There is jubilation in Moscow and Peiping. Of course, the CORE treasury may profit, but very few Negroes . . . The reading minority will find informative "Nasser's New Egypt" by Keith Wheelock (Praeger, $6) summarizing the accomplishments there. Also "Christianity and Communism Today," by John C. Bennett (Association Press, $3.50), a most useful and provocative book.

ABROAD: South African difficulties continue to be due to extremists on both sides who will not face the socio-economic facts of life . . . Behind all of the blague about African nationalism and "emergent nations" is the hard fact that we are seeing a repetition of the colonial scramble of 1880-1900, with the new black leaders playing the same role the old native kings and chiefs played, and as firmly tied to foreign control . . . Ike finally discovers that the Cuban revolution has been betrayed by Castro. This was obvious before Fidel entered Havana, and I said so then. Now the growing underground is crying for his scalp as "worse than Batista" . . . Brazil bidding joint stand of Americas against South African apartheid, but not, of course the Americas' apartheid against blacks and Indians evident throughout the hemisphere . . . In desperation South African Boers asking white immigrants to replace black workers. Now there's wishful thinking for you! . . . American Committee on Africa wants U. S. to boycott South African goods—and thus starve the blacks it is "saving!"

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS most heartening to note in this issue of The Courier the giant apparatus available to U. S. Negroes for the purpose of education of the next generation into whose hands will be entrusted the task of group leadership. The United Negro College Fund has kept us aware since World War II of the extent and importance of these facilities while it is common knowledge that in the past 20 years almost every college and university, public and private, in the U.S.A. (many previously for whites only) have opened their doors to Negro students. And no one who has traveled and/or read the public prints can be unaware of the vast improvement and extension of the public school system available to Negroes, even in the hard-core segregationist South. There is simply no comparison between our educational facilities, say, in 1930, and those available now. In the main they rank on a level with most of their class for whites in curricula, faculty and equipment.

Mr. Schuyler

WITH SO MUCH better schools and colleges open to us, there can be little excuse for the majority of the average Negroes not to have a good secondary education and for a larger minority to go to college. Unfortunately there is indication that with all of these advantages there is a disturbing paucity of soundly routed leadership concerned with fundamentals. There are too few of these people taking and stating the long view of the Negro's position in our increasingly complicated mechanistic world. There is too great a readiness to go overboard for immediate, superficial and propaganda-inspired "solutions." It is distressing to observe people who have had all of the advantages of this fine schooling uncritically endorsing such evanescent panaceas as picketing, boycotts and extremist mass operations which are barren of long range results and ignore vulnerability to retaliation.

A TRULY EDUCATED Negro leadership should not in effect declare war without considering the required logistics. One is a fool to challenge anybody to combat without having weapons with which to fight, and it is criminal to induce the masses to do so. It is definitely not leadership to go about shouting loud, walking hard, and waving an empty gun. Before we need that sort of thing, we need ammunition and resources. We need, for instance, at least 200 or 300 state and Federal savings and loan associations from coast to coast. We need as many consumers' societies and credit unions at least as we have branches of the NAACP, Urban League and CORE, and there should be at least one in every church congregation worthy of the name. We need a national investment corporation capable of financing and administering retail businesses which can compete for the patronage of the general public, as known by the Orientals in our midst who are bereft of our illusions. It is the purpose of education to enable us to do these things.

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AT HOME: It is to be hoped there are enough mature minds at the NAACP top level to prevent the association from being mouse-trapped into the proposed wade-in beach campaign and school voting booth sit-ins. The Negro death rate is high enough! . . . That new birth control pill for women that costs only $10 monthly will usher in a field day in tntimate relations and perhaps bankrupt the abortionists. The chemists are working overtime to perfect one for men . . . Biggest scientific break-through, however, is in Texas where a nutritional tonic for middle-aged men is being produced from the Dominican vigor-builder Pega Palo for only $5 monthly cost. It is predicted that young men will soon have plenty of competition . . . Erstwhile **Arkansas Gazette** editor, Harry Ashmore, now writing on jim crow in the North for the **N. Y. Herald Tribune.** I did this 11 years ago in the **American Mercury!**

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ABROAD: Latest dope is that if economic conditions worsen in South Africa because of strict apartheid, the Nationalists will make the large and prosperous Jewish colony the scapegoat. Interestingly, the New South Wales (Australia) Jewish Board of Deputies decided NOT to pass a resolution protesting apartheid after a Johannesburg rabbi flew there and told them the score . . . Honeymoon between Guinea's Sekou Toure and the Iron Curtain boys cooling off as the big $150 million West European-American baux ite project gets under way with shipment of the first 6,000 tons. Biggest investor in FRIA is Olin Mathieson Co., which has U. S. guarantee against loss. This business dwarfs anything the Reds have offered. So Sekou Toure is proceeding with care . . . South Africa's bid for white workers to replace blacks has miserably flopped. Whites want no part of slave wages, and the Boers can't afford anything else . . . British Somaliland to be free by July when it will join Somalie. All the combined nation will need then is money, food and clothing!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

HERE is a polite proposal which is practical, non-extremist, and should be effective. I propose that every church, social organization, fraternity, sorority and business group in our community buy at least one share in one or another of the great corporations that dominate the U. S. economic community. This would run anywhere from a few dollars to $100 or $200 for the gilt edge stock. This would enable these stockholders to attend the annual stockholders' meetings, question executives as to corporation hiring policies, and thus wield some influence on these policies. For instance, if each of the organizations raising money to bail or defend youngsters who have been picketing and sitting down in stores having lily-white lunch counters, was a stockholder in Woolworth, Kress, or one of the big drugstore chains, it could have a representative sitting (and talking) in annual meetings, bringing pressure to bear on managerial policies. So far the colored brethren has not been able to see this far, but it is high time they did. I would make much bigger and meaningful headlines in the national press. This would be mass pressure in an important and significant way.

Mr. Schuyler

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ANOTHER POLITE proposal is that each of the 40,000 or 50,000 churches, and the thousands of other Negro organizations who are concerned about the future of the Negro in this civilization, collect money for a technical scholarship at some trade school, insisting that recipients take a technical course. In eight months or a year we would have from 50,000 to 75,000 young Negroes trained to take over blue collar jobs that usually pay better than most white collar jobs.

WE WOULD then be in the position to state that we actually had a large cadre of technicians and insist that they be hired. If this was unsuccessful, Negroes could organize unions and companies to bid in the economic market for contracts. It would all be perfectly legal, and the influence would be as effective in the industrial field as it has been in the financial field. In many areas where at one time Negroes could not get mortgages for homes, the whole picture was changed when Negro insurance and savings and loan societies and institutions entered the field. White banks that had been very snooty toward Negroes suddenly discovered that, after all, it was good business to finance Negro home mortgages. Instead, we have been demanding non-discrimination in blue-collar and white-collar employment with nothing to offer except the vague argument of rights. Of course, this is more difficult than the way we have been doing, but I think it would pay off.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

OUR COLORED reverend clergy have been of recent years more vocally assertive than at any time since the turn of the century. They have been making a resounding splash in secular affairs, pontificating on civil rights, voting registration, housing, education, crime, juvenile delinquincy and foreign affairs. And despite the loud and bitter outcries against the charge, have been conspicuous in the Communist conspiracy, its transmission belts and satellite movements. They, along with many of their white colleagues, have done more than their part in confusing the public mind on a multiplicity of questions. A few of the more vociferous of these mouthmeticians should obviously be in the hoosegow.

Mr. Schuyler

MUCH OF this "religious" demagoguery masquerading as leadership is a frantic effort to meet the competition of secular soapboxers who are everywhere cutting a wide swath through the mob. However, in the one secular activity in which the reserved-collar boys should be most concerned, they are dumb and paralyzed. I refer, of course, to the field of business and industry, the basis of our society.

To be sure the parsons must of necessity be church builders; for he who has not saddle his flock with a huge coliseum to pay for and maintain, is like the bear in the mddle of Times Square — nowhere. There seems to be a unanimous and sinister compulsion to give the people what they want instead of what they need. All of which is a far cry from the statesmanship for which the Brother's situation clamors.

■

WHAT IS as obvious as an ugly chick among a crowd of "Miss America" aspirants is that he in this civilization who owns nothing, has no business, training, experience or capital is a gone goose, no matter how many paper civil rights he enjoys or how many votes he has to sell. To understand this basic fact and to act on it to advance the status of the black man in the U. S. A., is statesmanship. The rest is bilge.

Where among our reverend clergy, panting for leadership, do we find such thinking today? Statesmanship is not bellowing what the mob wants to hear, and catering to the jealousies, prejudices, hatreds and vandalism latent in all of us. This is not serving man nor God—except badly. To stir the Negro's belligerence when he lacks the weapons with which to defend himself (let alone attack) in this civilization is criminal insanity and the open sesame to group suicide. There is, for instance, something terribly sad about one of our preacher-leaders going abroad to urge an international audience to boycott the Woolworth stores when he hasn't urged his flock (or any flock) to build any stores, anywhere.

This subject should not only be further pursued, but will!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS curious, to say the least, that most of the historians who write on Africa and the Negro, generally tend to denigrate J. A. Rogers as an "amateur" historian, chiefly because he publishes his own books and has never received a scholarship, fellowship or subvention from any of the various funds and foundations that subsidize U. S. scholars. It seems that if you are not on the Ford or Rockefeller plantation, you don't "belong" to the elite.

Mr. Schuyler

Undisturbed by such cliquism, this ex-soldier of the Jamaican Army has, since 1915, been a demon researcher in race relations and the background of Negroes in Africa and all over the world. Shortly after World War I when we met in Harlem and he presented me with a copy of his first book, "As Nature Leads," it has been my privilege to read all of his works, pamphlets, articles and books. And as one who has read most of the books on the colored brother and his background, I must say that Rogers ranks with the best. He has the facts and knows how to interpret them, and this seems to me to be the true role of the historian, whether or not he has any college degrees. I've read some sorry stuff from those who have.

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LET US consider Rogers' latest opus, "Africa's Gift to America" (J. A. Rogers, 37 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y., $6.35 by mail), which I read the other morning when the New York streets were quiet and the city (or most of it!) slept. There is a 253-page book printed on slick paper and profusely illustrated with rare and unusual photographs. Here is a book which he published himself at a cost of $12,000. In addition to being beautiful, it is crammed with facts about our African background, what we contributed to the making of America, how we saved America, etc. This is a book which enlightened me, although, as I say, there is little of importance written along this line since 1920 about which I do not know.

■

DID YOU KNOW that the first slaves in the U. S. were 100 British whites who arrived in Virginia in 1619? Did you know that the first U. S. Negro poet was Lucy Terry? Did you know that smallpox was effectively checked in the Massachusetts colony by an African? Were you aware that New York Bowery was founded by Negroes in 1635? Had you heard that the first recorded New York Negro marriage was in 1644? Did you know that in 1830 there were 650 Negro slaveholders in New Orleans? Had anyone ever told you that the original Deadwood Dick was a Negro, Nat Love? Did anybody ever tell you that the captain of the ship bringing the first white settlers to Maryland was a Negro, Mattias Sousa? Had you heard that more Negroes fought for Britain during the Revolutionary War than fought for American independence? Or that white people were once sold on Wall St.?

This is just a taste of what's in "Africa's Gift to America," which is perhaps the most startling book of 1959, and Rogers paid for it himself!

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

AFTER the demonstrations, mass meetings, denouncements, boycotts, picketing and general uproar, what? As methods of attracting attention to evils and making their condemnation vocal, these are probably without parallel, but as part of a long range program of group advancement, they are superficial rather than fundamental. Unfortunately, this has been characteristic of Negro strategy for many years. These give the illusion of power but have little of the substance. They are a means of expressing resentment long held in restraint, thus constituting a safety valve. They are spiritually good as a physical expression of manhood and determination, albeit they also strengthen and sharpen antagonism. As usually practiced, they do not add much if anything to group power, and victories so gained are often mostly empty from a long-range point of view.

Mr. Schuyler

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I THINK such periodical uproar should continue as a reminder and warning that Negroes are sick and tired of second-class citizenship and want speedier social change. However, policies and programs are needed which will canalize this resentment into productive channels so that manhood and citizenship will have some stronger base than mere paper rights and privileges. This calls, I think, for a lot of fundamental mass education along economic lines.

Where Negroes have great power and could organize it and use it for the advancement basically of a community of 18,000,000 people, they are not doing it to any great extent. For instance, inside organized labor unions where there are reported to be over a million and one-half Negro members, there is talk of organizing the rank and file, but what progress is being made, if any, seems slight although this could be a great force.

ANOTHER EVEN more powerful economic force is the organization of state and Federal savings and loan associations of which we now have over a score from coast to coast when we could have a hundred. The few banks that we have do not begin to get the patronage of Negro individuals and groups that they should, although the same persons and organizations do bank their money somewhere.

We have not scratched the surface in mobilizing our power as consumers of food, clothing, shelter and beverages of various kinds, but only ignorance, indifference and lethargy stop us.

So after the picketing, "marches," mass meetings and general uproar have subsided, it is always depressing to note that we are standing virtually in the same place, fundamentally speaking. And few of the so-called leaders already hunchbacked with honors and decorations, offer any economic meat to the masses after they have slept off the heady wine of aroused discontent. Is this statesmanship?

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AT HOME: First breach in the lunch counter barrier was in liberal San Antonio where young Negroes were served without incident, sitting down. Next breach was in Nashville. There will be others as store owners see the light . . . Another surprising move was the action of the medical staff of Charlotte, N. C. Memorial Hospital calling for desegregation of its facilities and permission to Negro physicians to practice. If more whites of this type defied the segregationists and spoke out, there would be swifter progress . . . Governor Faubus is asking for a fourth term in Arkansas as a proven champion of states' rights and racial segregation. He may just win again, too, since his lone opponent is an avowed segregationist, too . . . Interesting thing about Southeast Georgians endorsing closing of public schools was that the decision came by such a close margin. Housewives, teachers and ministers were for preserving public schools, while farmers and little business men were for closing them. The housewives may win out.

ABROAD: Haiti last year got $7,000,000 U. S. aid to agriculture, but now its big irrigation project has been halted because the politicians want to make political footballs out of technical jobs in favor of friends. 'Twas ever thus in the Caribbean . . . As predicted here, little Sierra Leone is fearful of plotting against it by the Guinea Leftists who are harboring Prime Minister Sir Milton Margai's dissident brother. Guinea surrounds Sierra Leone on three sides and has recently received big arms shipments from behind the Iron Curtain . . . Ghana's Nkrumah is mad at Togoland's Olympio because he thinks the latter is making a defense pact with France, which would thwart plans to "consolidate" Togo with Ghana. The latter has 14 persons "in custody" for five years without trial on suspicion of serving Togo's plans for conquest. It would be wonderful if all these Africans could get together for the common weal.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THE DEATH of Abbie Mitchell on March 16, in New York City, not only marked the end of the distinguished first lady of the Negro theatre, the concert stage and radio, but sent the student of colored folk in the performing arts down Memory Lane. This one-time secretary of the Negro Actors Guild began her long career as a beautiful and talented soprano in "Clorindy—The Origin of the Cake-Walk" in 1898 at the Casino Roof Garden in New York, sharing honors with Ernest Hogan and Belle Davis. The book was by Paul Laurence Dunbar and the music by the incomparable, Berlin-trained composer, Will Marion Cook, who married her. She also starred in his later production, "Jes Lak White Folks," which acrobatic trap drummer. Parenthetically, back in 1912, long held forth for weeks at the New York Winter Garden. Cook later composed much of the music for the Williams and Walker shows: "In Abyssinia," "In Dahomey" and "Mister Lode of Koal," musical comedies which have not been surpassed.

Mr. Schuyler

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THOSE WHO believe that Paul Whiteman brought jazz to high-toned music surroundings in the early Twenties, should know that The Memphis Students (who were not students nor from Memphis), brought the first modernized jazz band to Proctor's 23rd St. theatre in the spring of 1905, with 20 pieces trained by Will Marion Cook, with Abbie as soloist. It was the first playing-singing-dancing orchestra in history, with guitars, mandolins, saxophones and drums, violin, brass and double-bass. With them Miss Mitchell went to Hammerstein's Victoria, the Olympic in Paris, Schumann's Circus in Berlin, and thence to all important European cities. Ida Forsyne was the featured dancer. "Buddy" Gilmore was history's first before Whiteman or the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Jim Europe's Clef Club gave a concert in Carnegie Hall with 125 performers playing every instrument extant against a background of 10 upright pianos.

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MISS MITCHELL starred in the Lafayette Players in Harlem's Lincoln and Lafayette theatres playing such top dramas as "Madame X," "The Servant in the House," "Within the Law," etc. The list of distinguished Negro show people who acted with her is unfortunately too long to mention here. Before that she had been soloist in the finest U. S. and European concert halls. From the Twenties onward she played leading roles in "Porgy and Bess," "The Little Foxes," "In Abraham's Bosom" (which won the 1927 Pulitzer Prize), "On Whitman Avenue," "Stevedore" and "Coquette," Before she had played command performances of "In Dahomey" before King Edward II of England and Czar Nicholas II of Russia. She pioneered in radio for Studebaker in 1929.

Her influence on the American stage, and especially on Negro performers was profound. She was to everyone the Great Lady of the Negro theatre.

The World Today

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

AT HOME: Setback in New Rochelle, N. Y., where school integrationists lost the fight to prevent construction of a new school which they held would perpetuate the "segregated" pattern. Not surprisingly, a pro-segregationist, states's Rightest won the Florida gubernatorial primaries. Well, there hasn't been any school desegregation in Florida woth mentioning, despite the "liberalism of Gov. Leroy Collins, so nothing new has been added.

In Little Rock "progress" marches on! Whereas there were eight Negro pupils integrated in two "white" high schools this term, there will be 12 next term. At this rate graduates will have grandchildren by the time the city's schools are fully integrated. Now it seems clear that if any thing is done to greatly increase the number of skilled Negro workers, it will have to be done through the efforts of Negroes themselves. It will not be done by mass meetings or singing spirituals, either.

■

ABROAD: New York Committee for World Refugees wants Congress to admit more immigrants to relieve the refugee problem. Of course they refer to white refugees, not to the Arab refugees on the fringes of Palestine nor to the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong.

More trouble brewing in Panama following the presidential election of Roberto F. Chiari, protege of the powerful Arias family (one of the handful of whites that dominates the overwhelmingly non-white population). Look for more pressure on Uncle Sam in re Panama Canal.

Straw in the wind was picketing of U. S. Embassy in Trujillo City, Dominican Republic, by pickets carrying signs reading "Yankee racial discrimination." Now the U. S. Ambassador has been replaced . . . Colored boys fronting for Red Cuba in the U.S.A. may soon find themselves on Uncle Sam's carpet.

Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IN the June Harper's magazine, Louis E. Lomax labors at the mountain of sit-in demonstrations by Negro students in the South and brings forth the mouse of repudiation of the established Negro leadership with the evident relish of a parson surveying a platter of steaming neckbones, Br'er Lomax pulls up his chair, licks his chops and digs in with might and main; but the bones he forks up are pretty bare.

Mr. Schuyler

The fact that NAACP leaders were taken by surprise when the Greensboro students launched their spontaneous demonstration at the lunch counters is cited as proof that the NAACP is "no longer the prime mover of the Negro's social revolt." This blandly ignores the fact that the four pioneering students were members of the NAACP; that NAACP youth councils staged successful sit-in demonstrations in Oklahoma City (August, 1958), St. Louis (February, 1959), Wichita (early 1958), for which they were honored at the NAACP New York conference in July, 1959. To be sure, the NAACP leaders did not know what the four young NAACP Greensboro members planned doing, but does that prove repudiation of the leadership? By the same reasoning a city's police chief is proved derelict because some criminal or crackpot commits a murder!

■

ACCORDING TO the loquacious Louis, the old leadership is repudiated because it has wisely warned against direct action while the youngsters took the opposite step. This is supposed to mean "the end of the traditonal Negro leadership class." Negroes in positions of leadership would be criminally negligent if they urged Negroes to take direct action and to flout the laws, no matter how hateful such laws may be.

Time will tell whether these mass demonstrations of Negroes are or are not wise tactics looked at from the long view which any leader worthwhile must take if his followers are to survive. Theatrical demonstrations are spectacular and understandable but, as an observer at the Battle of Balaclava said when the British cavalry with trumpets blaring, pennants flapping and swords swinging was annihilated by the deadly fire of the Russian cannon: "It is magnificent, but is it war?"

NOW, THE Negro's fight is a real war we cannot camouflage by any asinine pretense of Gandhian non-violence. The Negro's war will always have to be directed by some leaders, and the more experienced, the better. Many must think so with the NAACP gaining in income, membership and branches each year.

Amazingly, Lomax cites Dr. Martin Luther King as an exception to his doxology on Negro leadership; but King and his deluded followers won nothing, except unmerited acclaim. The NAACP won the case. As Al Smith used to say, "Let's look at the record."

Philippa Views Congo, United Features Job

NEW YORK – Philippa Schuyler, whose series on Africa recently appeared in The Courier, is in the Republic of the Congo, just two weeks after her arrival back in the United States from Africa.

It was made known in New York Wednesday that Miss Schuyler was sent back to the Congo by an important American news agency, United Features. She is the first colored woman correspondent ever to be employed by a major news syndicate.

Miss Schuyler is now on the Kasai-Katanga front where civil war is rampaging.

She will return to the U. S. via Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Angola and many other African countries. The date of her return is not known.

A Southerner Speaks 31a

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

AFTER all the roof-raising and howling by the big white papers in Birmingham and Jefferson County about the factual articles written for the New York Times, and after all the slander suits filed against the Times and four Negro ministers in Alabama, now comes the Washington Post writer, James E. Clayton for his share of "hitting below the belt." There is no doubt that all the suits were filed because of the screaming press. Neither is there doubt that the Bessemer Grand Jury's indictment of Salisbury was intended to dissuade other reporters from stating true facts as they exist.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

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YOU SEE, the Southern white man of position is caught on the horns of a dilemma. He hates to give one inch in the rights struggle, and he strikes back in any manner—even makes himself look more silly in doing so. The fact is, the Southern (Deep South) politicians are so confused and scared that they seldom think clearly before acting; they rather act, and then think about what they have done. And they are using the law process, with all its slowness and delaying tactics, to hold on as long as they can.

The Birmingham News has carried two of Clayton's reports in full, as it did Salisbury's articles. And don't forget, Salisbury was right; only much more could have been added. Clayton was, of course, relating the background of what happened, and the reaction. Especially did he point out how the press itself stirred up all the reaction. And he found out that very many white persons thought Salisbury wrote the truth.

Now the News' editor pointed out Tuesday that " . . . The Post is trying to appear objective in its handling of the recital." But in the next words he doubts that Clayton shows "B'ham's reactions and reasons." This is conveyed by a sly phrase here and there, and a manifest appearance, in recitation of events following appearance of the articles, of disbelief that B'ham has or had any genuine defense against Salisbury's vicious reports."

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MANWHILE, trial is now being held in Bessemer, "B'ham's toughest neighbor," writes Clayton, on one incident mentioned by Salisbury. A young ex-Army Wac just testified that 12 men, including four deputies, beat her after forcing her to admit she dated Negroes while in service. Barbara Epsy pointed them out, and a doctor told of long welts on her body the next day. At the grand jury hearing a few weeks ago, I saw the mother of the Negro boy who had her knee broken by a band of white men and one of these was supposed to be a deputy. It is doubtful her knee ever will afain be correct, and it is shameful to see her try to walk. Yet she waited two whole days in misery to testify, while the big shots—like Bull Connor, all the officials of the nearby towns—came and left quickly. I was there.

I have only space to mention how Lyndon Johnson came to town gathered with the big white Demoeratic brass, and put on a cut and dried show which would hardly reflect credit on a ten-year-old. How could he not mention the platform, or segregation—as this is the biggest issue in B'ham? Well, Senator Hill, as moderator, asked some directed questions with answers already in them; and so did a few others. But they kept Bull Connor in back and quiet. One could see from his face that he wanted to ask something about keeping Negroes in their places. The whole thing was artificial.

■

YET, THE EDITOR seeks to show that B'ham is a peace-loving, mature area, capable of objectivity to the utmost. And anything written to the contrary "maligns B'ham which has only asked objectivity and balance in reports about it." The new articles by Clayton—which are about Salisbury articles—"will tend to point a finger at B'ham. New defenses will be in order."

To that I say, Amen! The editor should be honest and tell people that only the defenses of truth, righteousness, and justice, will stand. Reprinting these—as with the Times' reports, will certainly open somebody's eyes!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

WE HEAR much talk these days about the rise of liberalism in this country and the world. The freeing of large chunks of the African continent, the changing of customs and manners in other lands, and the exaltation of human dignity in simple honesty—all these things make us realize that great changes for the better are at long last taking place in our world. It is only natural then for many to seek to become identified with that stream which seems to be overflowing man-made barriers to peace, better health, happiness, and genuine concern about one's fellowmen.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

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WHENEVER I have the opportunity of visiting Northern, Eastern and Western cities, I am deeply impressed with their so-called adherence to the virtues of liberalism. Naturally, there are many groups of various shades professing such virtues, some even to the point where they call themselves radicals. Whether it assumes the radical proportions of paying taxes, picketing a submarine base, refusing to testify or to answer questions before a committee, or whether it is just plain picketing chain stores in sympathy with Southern students, or providing assistance to needy families and people in the North or South, it is called liberalism. Some people call themselves pacificists of various shades. Others call themselves friends and still others just plain "patriots," but they all are liberals.

Those persons in high elective offices who believe or say they believe in standing up for the cause of freedom and human dignity are also classified as liberals. Of course, many forget to be liberal after they are elected. It always amazes me how this great body of liberal people in the North, East and West who continue to support such people who succumb to dementia after they become elected. I am convinced that the main cause of all problems in this world is the fact that we have not solved this business of whether or not every man is a man, and just how much man can every man be.

■

INDEED, ONCE this is solved, there may be no need to picket a submarine base, or no need to fear holocaust from atomic warfare. But I should like to compare this liberalism in short order with that which is found in the South. Here too men call themselves liberals—though not many of them in these days. Others call themselves moderates and still others just claim to be good people.

It may be a shame on our generation that this so-called large body of good-thinking, white Southerners, in an area where religious ideals seem to be so great, can find neither the voice nor the will to speak and act their honest convictions. In fact, I read where one Southern liberal really found out he wasn't a liberal when the sit-ins started. He then became completely against any advance for Negroes. I cannot understand this kind of liberalism, except that it is still paternalism in another form.

■

BUT MOST white Southerners who believe in human dignity would prefer this time to call themselves moderates. Now a moderate will hardly speak out at all, or if he does, it is in a silent whisper to his friends. A moderate while he may not join in a mob against Negroes, also will not join with Negroes in actively for this human dignity in which he professes to believe. He may not picket a school to keep Negroes out, but he also may not campaign to keep the school open so that Negroes may go in. He sits on the middle of the fence, and won't jump off on either side. I have held all along that neither the moderates nor the liberals are deep enough in this fight to bring about human rights. Integration should not be a bad word in the South because integration means Americanism. And until the whole body of liberals and so-called liberals, moderates and other people of good intentions, led personally by the man who inhabits the nation's highest office, embrace freedom without reservation, the land will still suffer the woes of them who love with lips but not the heart.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE INCREASED activity by the Department of Justice with respect to the voting rights of Negroes have done marvelous things for this race of ours. The investigations, the suits filed by the Department on behalf of Negroes, the listening patiently to their complaints of various natures—all these have proved to be a shot in the arm to our sagging confidence in the Executive Branch of Government. Additionally, the stepped-up tempo of rulings by the Federal Government on desegregation, and the commitments by both national parties to the idea of integration, have helped us at long last to feel as if we are about to become full American citizens.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

I wish it could be done another way: that is, the good white people in the Deep South would take control of their governments, and bring them in line with the trend of today's developments. But this appears to be a vain hope, as registrars, and state Attorneys General, and Governors continue to defy the federal edicts to move out. Montgomery registrars have closed shop until "federal police" move out, they say. The Attorney General of the state wanted to "be on hand to observe" the inspection of records. The Governor attacks the FBI, the B'ham Negroes, and the Tuskegee Negroes as being close to Communism.

ALL OF WHICH goes to show that this talk of "handling our own affairs" is hogwash. Look at Louisiana officials: taking Negroes off the rolls, the Attorney General getting himself in contempt of Federal court, and the Governor acting silly enough after Little Rock, to have himself enjoined and his package of laws invalidated. And the schools are being desegregated! How foolish to attempt another Little Rock! Why even B'ham will not be another Little Rock despite John Patterson's "over-my-dead-body" proclamation, and Bull Connor's "these fools ought to know better" stupid phraseology.

Now Birmingham usually excels in things done racially ingloriously. Here the total climate is backward, and even the local Federal district court judges seem to be affected with this social paralysis. The latest Federal rulings reflect this; and the Court of Appeals has twice reversed erroneous rulings by this court. Here, Negroes who are prepared to do the most good for the race do the least good. In fact, many of the Negro ministers who are supposed to be front-line leaders with great integrity, actually do nothing at all to advance their people. By being out in front, certain ones are actually holding back the progress which could be made.

BUT I SAID before that somehow, Negroes have received—even in B'ham—a shot in the arm of their hopes. And they are beginning t show it. On Monday, Oct. 3, in cooperation with the SCLC drive for a stand-in-line registration drive, over 180 Negroes answered our call, and were all in line by 9:30 A. M. Of course, the registrars were shocked, and the next day—as is usual—the police came and took a young preacher, Rev. Mr. Gray who was down observing, by the seat of his pants across the park to city hall. He told me that after they saw his ACMHR card, they held a very long conference with the higher-up boys; then came back and told him: "pick up that mess, put it in your pocket, and get out of here."

On the last of August, we sent 12 affidavits to the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission. On Oct. 4, we sent 16 more, for a total to date of 28. Others are encouraged to attempt registration, and, failing, to complain about it. So I say we are here in this dark, backward, no-man's land, working as best we know to make democracy real. Bull Connor's boys still attend our meetings, despite the suit filed against Bull, and our request to leave. But we'll make it, somehow—anyhow! We must!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

I CAN readily agree with those who say that Khrushchev's tactics at the UN were not at all ethical, and resemble those of a madman. I do not at all agree that he is a madman. On the contrary, he is a master at his trade, and most adept at keeping the sane and good men from making the progress necessary to demonstrate the superiority of their system. Mr. K. knows full well that he will not win votes from Western nations for anything the East proposes.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

The democracies have shown that they are against communism; they have not so well demonstrated that they can perfect liberty and equality for all men.

Khrushchev knows this, and compounds their confusion and frustration. And he can well call for the abolition of colonialism at once, even chiding America that Negroes are lynched, bombed, beaten and denied all kinds of elementary rights here in the very bastion of liberty itself. He knows that those black people just emerging out of colonialism will not ally themselves totally with a democracy that cannot guarantee equality.

■

AT THE SAME TIME Mr. K. can rightfully boast of spectacular success in science and space. He has demonstrated that the dollar, which capitalism glorifies, does not necessarily inspire a zeal and desire to do, comparable to that in the Soviet Union. Even the common man in Russia is willing to compete with and outdo Americans. Our highest officials verify this.

Of course, I am for America, first and last. To help her in her misery, to exalt her in her glories, and to do all I can to correct her faults. That is why I am involved so deeply in the civil rights struggle; why I am in about 15 law suits; why we are sued for millions; why scars of the struggle mark my frame. That is why also I was just convicted again yesterday on charges of helping others to violate a city ordinance. Of course, I appreciate the respect my white opponents—even the judges—have for my ability.

The judge, in cutting the $100 and 180-day fines given to 10 students, and Rev. Billups for aiding and abetting, stated that "these youths had been misled and misused." This is to say that nobody in B'ham had the sense to think whether and how they wanted to sit down on a stool in a store downtown, and when they wanted to do so. They were robots in my hands, and their minds, though all are college students, ceased to function without my manipulating the strings. They are the simple-minded pawns; I am the arch villian.

■

MY FINE of $100 and 180 days was sustained, although no direct testimony was presented against me by the city. The detective who was the arresting officer, detainer of the boys in jail for 18 hours, was allowed to answer questions read to him out of the record taken in City Court. He said that the boys told him I planned it all.

The court paid no attention to a boy's testimony that the detective had told all the boys if they testified against me, he would fix it with the judge and drop charges against them.

Communist drama is in part backed up by these abuses of justice, whether by citizens or judicial officers. Justice denied is justice abused. Of course, I did get one little break, but that was because they couldn't help it. The court had to dismiss the city's charges of "giving false information" against me because their two lying witnesses couldn't be found.

Of course, I resent being called a liar; much more being branded and charged in court as a public liar. We have information that the same officers got these poor Negroes to testify against me in the first place. Small wonder, upon reflection, they would not continue to lie against me for the city. The most ridiculous thing about it all is that the city is out to get me by any and all means. But I guess that's the stuff men and mice are made of. I don't mind their getting me if I can be of help in getting rid of segregation.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THIS column is being written from Montgomery, Ala., the old "Cradle of the Confederacy." Here, for the moment, the rough clash of last minute politicking by Kennedy and Nixon has taken second place to the furore kicked up in the clash of Commissioner Sullivan of the City of Montgomery and the New York Times—"the newspaper that prints all the news that's fit to print."

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Here, at the moment, four of the foremost civil rights fighters of the South—Revs. Ralph Abernathy, Solomon Seay Sr., Joseph E. Lowery and Fred Shuttlesworth—all are being jointly sued with the New York Times. The case is being heard by the Hon. Walter B. Jones, the leading Circuit jurist, and a jury of 12 reputable Montgomery citizens. For two whole days—and now into the third day, we have sat in the ultra modern beautiful Court House at Montgomery, listening as a Jewish lawyer, Nachman, rants and raves that the Times and we ministers maliciously, and wilfully published the ad in the Times with intent to defame, slander and malign the reputation of Commissioner Sullivan, and the other city officials of Montgomery.

■

OF COURSE THIS is only the first suit, and Sullivan is suing us for a half million dollars. Suits yet to be heard are one each by the two other Commissioners for a half million each, and one by Governor Patterson for one million. Boy, that's a lot of money! And we four poor Negro preachers know how it feels to be worth (according to the suits) more for what one does not have than for what one will never have. All of us are poor, but Sullivan is convinced we are working to make our people rich in freedom and liberty! How does it feel to be sued for 2½ millions? We say, "fine," for it is a definite witness that we are waging an effective struggle against segregation!

One wonders in this beautiful setting whether or not justice can be obtained at the hands of his peers. Can a jury of Southern white men be impartial and fair, render a just verdict after considering all the evidence, against and for four known segregation fighters and a rich Yankee newspaper? Is segregation so sacred that those who resist it lawfully, and those who write and report concerning its viciousness, must be sued as a deterrent to further writings or resistance? We see Judge Jones, who has granted John Patterson and Gallion so many injunctions that one might well think that "injunctionitis is the order of the day in his court.

■

WE SEE THE Times' lawyers from New York, associated with famous Beddow and Embry from B'ham — who would never track a civil rights case in B'ham—and we observe strange twists in human nature. But we are assured by the patience of the other ministers sued with us, and have faith in our system, that "some good thing can come out of Nazareth."

Despite the present clash, calm and reasonable justice must prevail. The jury will shorty begin deliberation of the evidence, and its verdict . . . we hope . . . will be honest and fair. We believe in America, we believe in our system of laws administered by men, with the right of appeal granted in interest of justice.

But I see in Abernathy, Lowery, Seay, and I remember in the famous protest of M. L. King Jr., the ingredients which will transform the "Cradle of the Confederacy" into a bastion of freedom!

A Southerner Speaks . . .

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE RACIAL situation in Jacksonville, Fla., is indeed disturbing. Riots and roving mobs are terrible. They cast a dark and deepening shadow over the bright horizons of any democracy. It matters little whether the participants are black or white, these things should not be condoned or tolerated in America. And I say that America cannot and must not afford such in these days.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

One thing is crystal clear in Jacksonville: Authorities there must bear the responsibility, for they allowed the whites to march unmolested through the town with axe-handles and other weapons open to view. It was reported in the papers that police did not prevent or interfere with this march. This gave leeway to those mobsters to attack Negroes wherever they were found. And it was only after the situation got out of hand, with whites and Negroes attacking each other—a situation caused by neglect of people in authority—did the officials move to declare emergency regulations which had to apply to groups over four persons, whether white or black.

■

TO A PERSON engaged in trying to bring first class citizenship by non-violent means, this is a revolting development. To see whites being brutal to Negroes is shameful indeed, and it is this that we are seeking to erase in the Southland. But to see Negroes resort to weapons, and roam the streets as hoodlums, attacking white people, cars, stores, etc., is disgraceful, and is somewhat of a backset—both psychological and real—to the whole integration struggle. However much they may be provoked or abused Negroes must never be seen as oppressors of white people. Any efforts toward freedom and first class citizenship by Negroes which does not include teachings against violence in a retaliatory way is doomed to failure, and cannot be classed or seen as Christian by the American public.

I do not advocate anybody allowing someone — whatever his color — to invade his home, beat up his person and family, or drag him from a car to inlict harm upon his person. But to gang up in cars, roam the streets in search of persons to hurt is gangsterism; it is done after thought, and with intent to do bodily harm. Therefore, it is morally wrong to begin with, and subject to the punishment of the laws as any other common crime. It is indeed high crime against society and one's fellowmen. It makes no difference who it is—Negro or white. These things ought not to be.

■

I GO BACK to my first statement. It is the duty of officials to protect all people in their struggle to gain their rights, no matter how grievous. Therefore, the Jacksonville officials were derelict in not affording protection to Negroes in the first place. As a result, they could not afford it to whites who might not have needed it in the first place.

"Hate the evil and love the good. God hates evil but loves the evil-doer. Do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God. Let us strive for the things which make for peace." These are in the Book as guidelines for all who seek a better way of life. I recommend them to Negroes and whites in Jacksonville today—and to those in situations like this which may come.

A Southerner Speaks . . .

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

IT COULD be well said of the recent abortive session of our National Baptist Convention that "never has there been such a silly and irreligious confusion conducted by those in high places on such a low order in the view of so many."

To those who watched on TV and who kept up with it in the papers, it was a sickening spectacle. To most of the thousands who attended the convention in Philadelphia, it was indeed shocking; and the best thing that happened was that so many people renewed friendships with previous acquaintances, and met some other people from all over the country who claimed to know God and to be soldiers of His Army.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

■

HIGH RANKING Baptists appeared to be most unbrotherly in the historic City of Brotherly Love. No business at all was conducted, and no plans laid for the future by the largest religious body of Negroes in the United States. The segregationists and critics of Negroes who always loudly proclaim the Negroes' unreadiness for integration and full freedom certainly must have taken a lot of comfort from events at Philadelphia, and added to their arsenal of weapons against Negro progress. Even those who spmpathize with us and would seek to advance our cause must surely have had to hope that our demeanor at Philly was not the depth of our understanding or our cares; and was an incident comparable to a well organized train being upset by a carelessly misplaced spike.

I am a Baptist, and am proud of it. I expect and hope to remain a Baptist. But as I listened to the confusion at the podium, and the words of concern by the many laymen and ministers who waited to see the outcome, I was obsessed with the prayerful hope that this would be the last convention in which deep unsolved problems would lead to open confusion. And indeed this is the crux of the matter.

The problem of tenure of office must be solved once and for all. Men of qualification and distinction should be able to run for office, should be able to appeal to their fellows for open support without rancor, or being slandered for it. For the good of the convention there should be many men vigorously aspiring for the exalted office of the presidency.

■

EQUALLY as important as the problem of tenure is the manner in which elections for office should be held. I would hope that this was the last one in which the shouting acclamating type would be attempted. As in the national elections, the convention should **vote by states with delegates being free to vote for either of the candidates they choose.** And the majority should rule! With this should die the cries of one-man rule, and usurping the delegates' right the vote. I should think that no leader of any distinction would want to be seen as opposed to free and open elections in a day when Negroes are clamoring for the ballot and the responsibility that goes with it.

To personally comment here on the personalities of this aborted session would be needless. The matter is in court where it ought not to be—and where nothing will really be settled. The last court battle proved that. These are the basic issues which must be settled by us who make up the convention. The comment here on the good which one has done, or which another could do, is equally needless.

My thoughts are for the good of the Baptists. I want my people to be seen as able to conduct themselves BETTER than others, because they have known want and poverty; because they have always been left out. I want the Negro to stand ABOVE many others because he has been kept so low. I want the Negro to show America the GOD who doeth all things well because Negroes have learned to do things well!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

IT CAN BE truly said that "The old order changeth, and a new day dawns." With the dawn come also the refreshing and invigorating moments for which men have long worked and prayed. One has only to look at the current session of the United Nations to understand that the mysteries of God are unfolding themselves before our very eyes. To see 15 black nations readily admitted and welcomed into the world assembly of nations is a wonder. To see them welcomed by white countries, some of which were the greatest of colonial powers, is a sign of our times.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Without argument, without rancor, but with tremendous applause, they walked down to their seats in the arena of men with the world's spotlight focused upon them. There was neither doubt nor argument about their color; it was plain to see they were black, and from dark Africa. Most of them were sponsored by France, which seeks to regain her status as a great world power, and some by England, whose mastery of seas and land lingers now only in the storied minds of historians who are determined to play up the glories of the past.

■

MOST OF THESE Afro-Asian peoples are without the power of armaments. Many don't even possess a good battalion of soldiers. Most of them are broke and without the technical skill and know-how to run their governments. Indeed, many will be wards of the United Nations, and dependent upon it for support and success.

But is this not the wisdom of God? Is this not divine justice? Is it not written that from him that hath shall it be taken away?" And is it not a great thing to see that they who for so long and so many years have profiteered and gotten riches from their poor, helpless, and defenseless black brothers (or slaves), must now, in the eyes of the world, give up their riches to support those from whom they took it? And how strange! All Western nations want to do all they can to become friends of them whom they once enslaved. Is this out of genuine repentance, or because of expedients? Do they really love the Africans and Orientals, or they simply trying to race Russia around the clock—that clock which shows all men as important figures on its face?

■

I WOULD HOPE that the white man has learned the lesson that he must see all men as Equals, and that he must deal with them as brothers and friends. I would hope the applause was genuine, the welcome sincere, and the unchallenged entry to be indicative of things to come. These nations have no arms but they have a voice; they have no weapons but they have personalities. They have history on their side, and they have a superiority not of color, but of numbers in this world's checkerboard game. For them and their loyalty the West and the East will contend—and maybe, purge themselves of their trickery, their desire to rule over men, and of their system which has held that to be white is to be right. Thank God for this day! And may white Southerners see and understand!

May I now leave Africa, and my words of congratulations to the editors, the publishers, and contributors, of the Great Pittsburgh Courier. My hat is off to such a fine paper which has endured the hardships of 50 years in its efforts to help men understand that men are just men! May I say that what is happening now at the UN is in but part of the fruits of your untiring labor. My hopes that you will continue to persevere in the right. Negroes need The Courier now as never before! Negroes need Negro publications to give them ALL the facts about freedom and efforts to attain it.

■

THIS IS A glorious day for the Negro press. We are depending upon it for the unslanted, naked truth, about ourselves, as well as about those who seek to hold us back. The Negro press can give all sides of this controversy without fear of retaliation. And I say that Negroes have begun to rely upon their own papers as never before. More power to The Courier! More power to the Negro press!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

I WAS UNABLE to attend the "Civil Rights Now" protest rally staged by thousands on the eve of the Democratic Convention at Los Angeles two weeks ago. But my heart and spirit were there with those who sought to impress party workers, leaders, and the nominees, that Negroes want freedom now! It was interesting to learn that over 3,000 persons — of all colors and nationalities — walked and demonstrated with enthusiasm. And the strongest civil rights plank ever was adopted! Maybe not simply because of the march, but because of the pressures, hopes, determination, and needs of the age, which the march demonstrated in a positive way!

Rev. Shuttlesworth

■

THANK GOD, I was in Chicago! And I walked with the more than 10,000 souls to the amphitheatre, a distance of over 10 blocks! There were the three great spiritually militant leaders: A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Martin L. King Jr., walking in front of the hosts they inspire. Here were Ralph Abernethy, Joe Lowery, and earnest civic workers of Chicago and environs, all together and all joined in a gigantic effort to wrest victory for hopeless millions of freedom loving citizens all over this country to view this orderly procession, led by men who have been tried in the fires and found true.

■

TWO GIANT civil rights preconvention rallies were held Sunday evening, one on the West Side and the other on the South Side. The afternoon West Side rally attracted over 2,000, with Clarence Mitchell, Washington, D. C., representative of NAACP, and other guest speakers. The night rally at the Stone Street Baptist Church attracted over 2,000, with many speakers, including myself and Dr. M. L. King Jr., both of us flying to Chicago after Sunday morning worship services.

At this rally the theme of all speeches seemed to be that now is the time for concerted efforts by Negroes and liberal Americans everywhere, that freedom can be gained only if the Federal Government becomes fully committed to bringing it to pass, and that, as of now, both parties are equally guilty in frustrating the hopes of minorities.

"There is no basic difference in a Southern Republican and a Southern Democrat," spoke Roy Wolkins, as he traced the difficulty in getting the Republicans in the North to stand and be counted on meaningful civil rights. "In no area more than civil rights are the Biblical words more true and applicable: "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities ... spiritual wickedness in high places."

No listener could doubt Roy Wilkins' sincerity.

■

BEING the first speaker, I warned that the Negro vote is not in the bag for any party; that Negroes are learning to see, observe, and make up their own minds just before election day. Further, I said that it does not yet appear where the sit-ins will end, for there will be sit-ins and sit-outs, wade-ins and stay-out, walk-by and walk-arounds, etc., until we shake the consciousness of this nation into constructive action. As long as the Confederate flag flies with impunity, it will be grim evidence of the mockery we make to democracy. I emphasized that Negroes are deeply concerned lest Africa becomes free before the Negroes in the South.

■

WITH THE eloquence and acclaim which are rightfully his, Martin L. King Jr. spoke of the inevitable victory of right over wrong, when non-violence becomes the method of attack. In moving terms, he spoke of the Declaration of Independence being read and observed with awesome solemnity in fine cities of South America, and how, while there reading these words with the nationals, he reflected that 18 million Negroes in the United States, 200 years later, are striving for the basic rights which the Declaration states were endowed by nature's God.

The fact that men claim to 'give" Negroes their rights proves the farce being carried on in the sacred forums of the country. He wound up by declaring in emphatic words, that "we will march until we turn this country upside down, and right side up."

■

I say, this is the time for all Negroes and liberal Americans to turn this land right side up—for God and country!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

NOW THAT the platforms have been written, the nominees have been designated, and the conventions have faded away into history, all of us are anxiously awaiting the turn of events, the alignment of personalities and pressure groups, the words and actions by the candidates themselves, and that final tangible or intangible thing, which will make voters all over this nation go into ballot booths, and pull levers or mark sheets which will send either Richard Nixon or John Kennedy to the White House for the next four years. There is too much at stake for Americans to be or act indifferent in this election.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

The conditions in which we find ourselves, both foreign and domestic, would seem to demand a degree of dedication and patriotism, of humility and sacrifice, of serious thought and honest consecration, which would parallel that of Valley Forge, Gettysburg, and Verdun. It is silly to reason—like one of my white brothers—that, "there is no difference in Republicans and Democrats," and "the NAACP and the Supreme Court are running the country," and that "the whole country is going to hell, anyway." It may be that many white Southerners will become impassioned over segregation, and follow the reasoning of two white gentlemen who were overheard discussing both Kennedy and Nixon, and the merits of both.

■

"ONE THING is certain, it's going to be a young man either way it goes this time," one man said to the other," and that's good for the country." The other gentleman replied, "Yes, I don't see a great deal of difference between them; for both of them believe in Civil rights over states' rights." And he opined that "neither of them will be good for the South."

The first man suddenly thought and said, "Say, did you see that Dick Nixon on TV letting that little N——r boy shine his shoes? That's really carrying things too far; I've been liking old Nixon, but now I wouldn't vote for him to be a dog catcher." To which the other replied, "That's right, and he introduced his daughters to that N——r boy. Don't guess I'll be voting for him either."

This only goes to show that emotions will blind some voters' eyes. I wonder what these gentlemen would say if they next saw Kennedy getting a shine from a black boy. But neither bootblacks nor window dressers should sway men's minds. Let's observe the candidates, hear them out, not their reactions and sincerity. Then vote for the one you think would be the best man for America in these critical times.

■

FRANKLY, I am impressed that youth is about to be entrusted with the chief responsibility in this country. And maybe this is what the country needs, when so many Americans are tired, apathy reigns, and it is being written that we have no national purpose or goals. The vigor, stamina, imagination and creativity of youth may at last arrest the downgrade of American prestige abroad and at home. It may lead us out of this dark vacuum in civil rights and forward to progress in human rights. It may well take hold on issues before issues take hold on the country. God grant that this be the case.

The truth is that both candidates are likeable, and would bring something to the office. But I am quite skeptical of what Kennedy might have said to John Patterson and Bull Connor, which makes them enthusiastic campaigners for him [illegible] rights [illegible]ical when I hear Nixon keep echoing that discrimination is national, and that laws are not for the heart. Ike has said that for eight years! So I have plenty of time to make up my mind. I'm going to vote for the man who makes me believe he speaks the TRUTH! Or as the old lady said: "for the one who tells the best lie and acts like he means it."

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

IT TAKES a great deal of courage for an editor of a Southern newspaper to speak the truth to the Southern conscience in these days. Yet, once in a while men will be found who will give their views in their entirety, without fear of reprisals, or worrying about the reproach of their neighbors or contemporary writers. Thus Harry Ashmore of Arkansas and Ralph McGill of Georgia, will go down in history as those who dared prophesy and write truth in a needy time. Of course, there are others, including a few white ministers who have spoken consistently for the cause of decency and human rights.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Such men and women are in step with destiny; such men, by their unbowing and uncringing positions are making sacrifices as heroic as those who suffer harsh treatment at the hands of oppressors, and they will be listed by historians in the same light as Garrison, Douglass, Lincoln, John Brown, Sojourner Truth. Thank God! The torch of liberty and truth will always find bearers, no matter what the circumstances.

■

I HAVE not time and space here to comment on the "Epitaph For Dixie," written by Ashmore, to send the light of truth to men's hearts, at about the same time as "Black Monday," by that now infamous circuit judge, Tom Brady of Mississippi, who at the Democratic convention was made to look like "little Ned" trying to find the First Reader.

The Decision still stands and has been made stricter by the court. The lower courts are ordering more compliance. And the Faubuses—though he won re-election—the Bradys, the Talmadges, all have taken a ...ting, and the Southern Manifesto, signed by so many august souls, really made nothing manifest at all.

Ralph McGill's frankness and down-to-earthness can be seen in all his columns, and his candor is above reproach. I was made to admire him more as I read a recent column in which he deals with the situation—Bull Connor and Judge Almon in Alabama find themselves wholeheartedly supporting Kennedy, and civil rights. He speaks of "the politics of the South . . . takes on a preposterousness which is nearly hilarious."

Explaining Mr. Connor, McGill writes: "He led the ill-started Alabama walkout in the convention of 1948 . . . Since that time Mr. Connor has loudly led dissident movements . . . Civil rights planks were anathema to him. As police commissioner he seemed, to put it mildly, to cause some persons to doubt the existence of complete civil rights in his city.

"If there were stained glass windows in the temples of the White Citizens Councils, it is likely Mr. Connor's cherubic figure would have been apostheosized in each of them." Mr McGill continues: "Probate Judge T. C. Almon of Dectaur another of the figures in Alabama's past rebellions, has called upon members of the state's congressional delegation to 'come out of hiding' and work for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket."

■

WHILE NOTING the inconsistency in this, Mr. McGill finds also that this denotes progress ". . . There may be, in the dark clouds of the Deep South politics, the legendary silver lining . . . Maybe some of the newspapers, too, will now reverse themselves. What we see here is not a change of mind, but a recognition of reality . . . Instead of saying 'Never,' they now say, 'It's coming, but not now'."

My hat is off to Mr. McGill, and I join in quoting his concluding paragraph: "So, let us all give three cheers and a tiger for Messrs. Connor and Almon. What the Deep South desperately needs is more such reversals of local leadership."

■

May I add that Negroes here will do all they can to help men like Connor find grounds for such reversals.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THIS IS one of those hectic weeks that one could wish would not have come—or at least would have come at another time, and usher in different circumstances. But the days are evil, as it is written; and it must truthfully be said that with the troubles and problems also come the solace and cure. The sit-ins who came back to Birmingham this week, and the arrest and detention of our three oldest children in jail by the Gadsden city policemen certainly brought moments of extreme anxiety, prayers of urgency and need, of supplication without restraint on the part of ourselves and our friends. But it is important to remember in these hectic days that "He will not suffer us to be tempted above our capacities, nor frayed beyond our faculty for resiliency.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

■

SEVERAL YOUNG people went down Monday, Aug. 15, and sat again in the same stores where sit-ins occurred on March 31. Four were 15 and 16 years of age, and the others were older. Seven were quickly and most efficiently jailed by the police within minutes. The oldest student jailed was Catherine Burks of this city, who was arrested in the Nashville sit-ins. Carolyn English, a litigant in both school cases, was one of the juveniles.

Other youths were Elbert Woodall, James Reese, Francis Foster, Virgil Gibson and Ernestine Bickerstaff. Mr. Connor raved as usual about the sit-ins, saying: "Anyone who sits in Birmingham will sit in the South Side jail."

He blamed it all on Shuttlesworth and, naturally, was mad because Shuttlesworth notified "the press and everybody but the police."

We reminded the Commissioner that we were willing to "sit, lay or kneel" in jail if first-class citizenship would result. Naturally, we are even now deeply involved in representation for the students as well as other follow-up action concerning lunch counter segregation.

■

BUT THE Gadsden police took the cake! To arrest interstate passengers now is an old page out of an outdated book! But they did, and held them overnight, not allowing us to make bonds either with those we carried along (validated by the sheriff's deputy), or with Gadsden bond slips, signed by two reputable citizens who had made many bonds before.

They slapped my second daughter, Fredericka, causing swelling of her face and blood spots in one eye. And one officer clasped both hands around Fred Jr.'s neck in choking fashion and bent his fingers back to cause pain. Naturally, this was denied by the chief, but as soon as we arrived in Birmingham I took them to a reputable doctor who gave opinion of maltreatment.

Never have men been more discourteously treated by officers of a respectable city where we who went to seek bail. Following us every foot, advising us to leave town at once, and being deployed and cruising as if John Dillinger had come alive again, they made it a miserable and lonely night. I told the captain that I could not leave town with my children in his town, and did remain overnight.

I think, perhaps, they were agitated by the sit-in news from Birmingham and just wanted to make it hard for Shuttlesworth. I don't think they are really that mean, and just did things differently that night.

■

I HOPE the Greyhound people are conscious of their error and responsibility and will move to make amends. Why shouldn't they now advise drivers never to molest or have removed passengers who simply sit in a seat on the bus? Negroes may have to take nationwide action against Greyhound if something positive may not be forthcoming. One thing is certain: Shuttlesworth won't let them get away with this!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

POST MORTEMS are always interesting, and you may be sure that the dealers in hindsight will be giving reason upon reason for the tragic episode of the U-2 incident, the blow-up of the summit conference, and the humiliating frustration suffered by the administration in the recent Japanese demonstrations.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

Naturally, these treaties on the defeats of the American diplomacy will follow partisan lines for the most part, but a man does not have to be a partisan of either the Republican or Democratic party to understand that something is radically wrong in the high level policy-making branch of our Government.

It is being said that now is not the time to criticize the Government, especially when our relationships with other governments remain at such a critical point.

■

IT IS further said by some that criticism now would mean disloyalty to our country.

Living in the South where tragic events have taken place, and where one is not sure of what tragedy or violation of constitutional rights may occur at any time—where in the struggle for civil rights, both trials and errors may take place, I am not one of those who believe in coming from behind, pointing an accusing finger, and saying, "I told you so."

It is neither disloyal nor necessarily partisan for American citizens everywhere to be concerned with the operation of their Government both at home and abroad.

In an age like ours, where neither the ocean below nor the air above furnishes refuge nor security for us, we must be concerned that those in high office, whose decisions—right or wrong—mean life or death for us, must be not only dedicated men, good men or just honest men; but men capable of discernment and able to make clear-cut decisions.

This seems to have been woefully lacking in our Government for the past eight years.

■

IT WOULD seem to me, therefore, that the coming elections are of utmost importance to American citizens.

It is necessary that the man who demonstrates his ability to get things done, and to act with resolution and Christian courage, be selected to the high office of President of the United States.

I believe it would be the part of disloyalty to a nation sorely beset by trials from within and without if people vote blindly for any man just because he is a Republican or a Democrat.

What America needs at this time is a real American to lead her. From the record of both parties in the past, we should by now have evidence to know that the fastest talker may be the slowest actor, and the man with most glamour could be the man with the least courage and statesmanship.

Timid and weak hearts are no good in times of crisis!

■

SO ON the national scene, the need of this hour is that people will vote for the man rather than the party; that people will look, listen and learn rather than vote blindly, and that every American—wherever he lives—should strive to understand more about the working and functioning of his Government.

On the Birmingham battle front, our organization has this week filed a new school desegregation case and a companion suit in the already initiated park case.

This shows our determination that we will not rest until freedom of all public services and equality of human beings become a reality in this city. We have indeed, serious lawyer problems, fund-raising problems, problems of intimidation and harassments from those in authority as well as those out of authority (the Klan and Citizens Councils), and even those problems which come from the failure of some Negroes in high places who refuse to understand that ours is an age of progress—that ours is a date with destiny.

But we shall fight on until victory, SO HELP OUR GOD!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THERE APPEARS to be somewhat of a rift taking place in the solid-wall front of the state's most rabid segregationist forces, and whether it is permanent or not, or just prevailing during this moment of pre-convention political expediency, the results are heartening to Alabama Negroes and, I'm sure, to many whites who are sick at heart over the way this group has been leading the state. I am speaking of the John Patterson, MacDonald Gallion, Eugene (Bull) Connor, flying wedge operators of the political, economic, and legal machinery of the state of Alabama.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

■

IT IS IMPORTANT to remember first of all that however much they may differ, these forces—with practically all the white clientele of this state—can always get together and stand together, on any front which presents a barrier to Negro progress. As unwholesome as Connor's past administrations have been, he nevertheless was again elected Police Commissioner of Birmingham, and more recently, National Committeeman by a very large majority over Claude McKay, who is as much a segregationist as Connor is. Everyone knows how Sam Englehardt, now State Highway Commissioner in Patterson's cabinet, maneuvered Negroes out of the right to vote—and out of the city of Tuskegee. And it is no secret that Patterson and Gallion obtained the injunctions which put the NAACP out of business in Alabama, and has worked with Alabama courts to keep it out. Gallion has prevented Negroes from forming a co-operative store chain in Birmingham. And there are other things which space will not allow.

■

IN THE hodge-podge shenanigans of an election year, these forces are split right down the middle, and in fact, the elector slate in Alabama is split over the States Rights-Loyalist issue, with a bare majority favoring voting for the nominees of the Democratic party. Patterson's endorsement of Kennedy has lost him a lot of support, and Kennedy's most recent announcement that he could win without the Southern vote had the effect of dumping Patterson off his bandwagon. Many in the state are calling on Patterson to admit he made a mistake on Kennedy, and many more are incensed over the Governor's unwarranted meddling, and purging of the faculty at the State College for Negroes. Right now, the Governor is as silent as a lamb about Kennedy, and has just recanted and said he would not fire Dr. Trenholm, president of the college "if Trenholm would clean up the faculty." This is a retreat from his outright demands that the State Board fire Trenholm a few days ago.

■

GALLION, who has been Patterson's understudy, has, on the other hand joined hands with Connor, and they are loud in their praise and support of Lyndon Johnson for the presidency. With other Southern Senators and Congressmen from most of the Southern states, Gallion appears to be making hay in the stop-Kennedy drive, and as such, is publicly opposing his old closest friend. No one knows at this time where this rift will lead, how far the cracks will widen, or into what other areas they will spread. It is known that Patterson never fails to needle or downgrade those who oppose him, and it will be interesting to watch the after-effects of this division. And this is all important, as it now is evident that Gallion aspires to the governorship and hopes to succeed Patterson.

"When thieves fall out, good men gain," is an old maxim. In many of their concerted doings since 1956, some Alabama leaders have been using the methods of racketeers and the tactics of thieves. High-handed and arbitrary acts have been the order of the day. But days speak, and even ill winds change, and oppressed men always await that salvation which cometh after calamity. Alabama needs such a solace, Alabama needs a re-birth of spiritual freedom!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

The Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7/23/60

AS THIS is being written, the Democratic National Convention is in full sway at Los Angeles, with all its fanfare, emotion and drama. These things are nothing new to the American scene, and many have been seen before. But in one sense, there is always something new, something of far-reaching significance in these conventions, and it is distinct from the main business of nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates. Each convention usually makes its own history, but in a very real sense, history is making this convention.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

It boils down to the sense of urgency in placing a man before the electorate who can reach the skies in mind and heart, yet discern the deep yearnings of his fellowmen's hearts; an uncommon man with a common touch; an ordinary American after all to be over all other Americans, leading them by God's grace into a solution of today's multiplicity of problems. As such, the nominees of both the Democratic and Republican conventions deserve the most sincere prayers of all Americans. And whoever wins the election in November will need the unlimited and unswerving support of us all—whatever our creeds, beliefs or persuasion.

HISTORY HAS a special grip on this convention because, out of necessity and the calculated and spontaneous pressures of the age, this convention had to adopt a civil rights plank which is all-inclusive and one which calls for the full powers of the Executive in eliminating all forms of discrimination, by executive orders and broad use of the office of the Attorney General. Support of the United States Supreme Court is there, with a call for the compliance by 1963 of school boards all over the country with the Supreme Court's order to formulate desegregation plans. While it may have been that most of the platforms of the past were to be read only, it is apparent that the Democratic party is committed to going forward now to make freedom a reality. In the future, it will be easy for anyone to call back to the minds of politicians the words of this platform.

Neither is it a secret that the Republican convention will seek to outdo the Democrats on this issue. How strange it is that, with all the satellite and astronaut programs, the shooting down of our planes by Russia, the decline of our powers and prestige abroad, and the sniping at America's heel by Cuba, the fight for civil rights outshines all other issues! What a time in history! What consolation comes to the hearts of those who for so long a time have stood alone and fought for these principles! It may yet be a long time coming, but not as long—for the nominees of both parties will be committed, and the country is so directed. And segregation must go!

■

AGAIN THE Southerners made themselves look silly arguing that to implement the Constitution is wrong, that there is no discrimination in the South, that Negroes want no civil rights, that they are not going to obey the Court, that the sit-ins are unlawful and should not be endorsed by the delegates, and that the ideas of Calhoun and Jefferson Davis are not dead. But history demanded that the convention roll over them and their backwardness! And after all their ranting and raving, the convention went on record for the world to see!

Another sign of history is that the vaunted power of the Southerners was not so powerful or needed. Even Lyndon Johnson (whom I respect as a witty arch-compromiser) called for full civil rights — and for DOING SOMETHING about them! And the Southerners did not take a walk! Bull Connor is there, but even he is as silent as a fice before a bulldog, and not a whimper is heard from him. Times do change and we are changed with them! It may be that God let us fall so low that He could make us come to our senses! It may be that Russia and China are strong because our democracy is so weak! It may well be that 1960 may yet be the beginning of the speedy decline of discrimination in our land!

God bless our native land and keep her by Thine hand . . . and for our errors and long sleep, correct us, but in Thy mercy and grace!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 7/23/60

SOMETIME AGO the air waves were filled with news of reactionary filing of lawsuits calling for millions of dollars by officials of Birmingham, Bessemer, Montgomery and by Governor Patterson, against the New York Times and Harrison Salisbury and four of us ministers, for statements which they alleged to have slandered them and affected their efficiency for public office. Recently a newspaper report stated that a B'ham detective, now, is suing for $400,000, also.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

These suits stemmed from a factual report that B'ham and Bessemer constituted an area of fear, and that the state generally was a hot bed of racism. It summed up the situation by inferring that a climate existed which spawned evil acts, and that certain officials at any time could release a reign of terror; that the people were just afraid to speak out, to act, to associate.

OF COURSE, the suits are still pending against the Times and us, and it is not known what the course of events will be. Whatever the results, we will be around to see; but one thing is certain: the design of the suits has failed, for the fight is being intensified on every hand. And the Southern leaders are not smeared by the attacks by the press and officialdom. In the light of the recent commitments by major officials and pronouncements by party platforms, I think we are on the verge of the most glorious period of American history, for we are about to move toward real freedom!

Salisbury and the Times were proved correct in a full-page spread carried in Sunday's B'ham News. A metropolitan audit report, under survey and study for about three years, was released, and the substance of it was that B'ham IS a city of fear, one resistant to change, one where people are afraid to speak their minds, or take sides in a controversy. The caption read: "BIRMINGHAM'S GREATEST NEED—WHERE ARE MEN OF VISION?"

The report stated that the city was full of negative attitudes; that it has a quota of discontent, little aspiration; the city is conservative in all phases. It goes on to say that Birmingham is far behind, needs to catch up quickly.

While the report, as stated in the press, did not deal directly with the burning issue of race, it did, while revealing Birmingham as a "moral and reverent city," obliquely pose the question "which is heard persistently . . . How can a city be moral while continuing segregation? Is this consistent with Christian principles?"

THE REPORT then points out that in the South, Christians have not settled to their general satisfaction whether segregation is immoral. "Nor, we may add, anywhere else," it says, "until it is agreed that it is immoral by the Christian ethic, we cannot subtract segregation from the mores and morals of a community."

Now I will give further quotes from the paper concerning the audit: "People are openly wary and non-commital They delay decisions. Frequently they pigeon-hole decisions to avoid identification with them Men and women of power and potential importance do not trust one aonther. They do not trust subordinates. In turn subordinates fear their superiors. Together they fearfully watch outsiders and the public.

"We find production workers afraid of their foremen . . Teachers are afraid of new methods of teaching . . . teachers and administrators are afraid of the board, and all of them are afraid of the public. The public is in turn afraid of educators . . ."

B'ham is indeed a city of fear. We do need catching up. Maybe some day we shall find our place in the sun.

A Southerner Speaks

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a May

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

Pittsburgh, Pa

I AM ONE of those persons who believe in speaking truth or keeping quiet. Of course, there has been a lot of what has been called speaking to points of truth in the mammoth civil rights filibuster just concluded in the Senate. But most of what was said was what was already known; what was finally done was far less than should have been done. There will be those who see this scaled-down bill as a great victory—and it might have so been in 1900! But in 1960 it falls far short of the dimensions required for this day.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Let us admit that voting is they keynote to first-class citizenship. And the fact that something was written into the Constitution so very long ago that make us look like silly people not to have wrought tangible results long before this! Here we are, however, arguing like enemies about what rights to guarantee—and how little at that! Frankly, I don't think Negroes have too much to shout about, especially when they see 18 men from a slave civilization hold up 82 other men who are supposed to be all out for freedom and human dignity. The South, having lost the Civil War has not yet lost the battle of civil rights! Negroes are the losers, and the country has gained nothing.

■

UNDER THE GUISE of speaking the truth there now appear quite often columns from those in the North who in their objective writings, see no big difference in the segregation of the North and that of the South. These people go to great lengths to analyze and present statistics proving discriminations shown Puerto Ricans, Islanders, Negroes, and Far Easterners. One such report was played full tune in our Southern papers the other day, and many sections were set in bold face type for emphasis. In other words, Northerners were about as bad as Southerners—and the pot never should have called the kettle black in the first place! So let us alone, and we'll let you alone.

Even Gov. Patterson asks the North to let us alone! The Attorney General of Alabama is raising hell (for political purposes) about the New York Times' article appealing for funds for "sit-ins" and for defense of M. L. King Jr. They have threatened to sue the signers of the article, and have sent letters to all the signers. I received mine today from the three Montgomery City Commissioners. Of course, I think the suit will stand up in court about as long as an icicle can remain in Hades! I feel in this case that enough truth has not been told!

■

BUT MY POINT here is that articles purporting to equate conditions in the North with those here are doing a disservice to America. Tell the truth to America, yes! Point out her faults so she may clean up while there is yet time. But in so doing, be objective and lay facts out as they are. There is no way under the sun for segregation without the force of law to stand and be as terrible as that backed up by law.

Then when it is administered by men with black hearts and bloody hands, even the law becomes a weight unworthy to be borne by men. For instance, the city recorder who found me guilty of "giving false information to the police" read the indictment in court from the bench, stating that he had drawn it up himself. Therefore it was nothing for him to see me guilty when the man and his wife, who testified against me in court, admitted that he had given three versions of a castration attempt on him; and of having given two versions to police.

Be that as it may, time marches on; and silly men, kindergarten judges who refuse to see, politicians who misuse their trust, will all pass away. But the TRUTH and all who uphold it will stand forever.

A Southerner Speaks

The Pittsburgh Courier 31a May

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

WHAT IS the place of white Southerners in the struggle for integration?" "Do Negroes really want the aid of white Southerners in the struggle?" "Positive and negative aspects of working together." "What can be done that hasn't been done?"

Rev. Shuttlesworth

These and other related questions were discussed fully by participants last week at Highlander Folk School. Students and adults, scholars and specialists, laymen and ministers, from many and various sections of this country, met at this almost sacred place high up on a plateau in the mountains of Tennessee. These were serious people, glad to meet together, but were concerned chiefly with the grim facts that past paternal relationships, past ideas of mediocrity, past "tea-and-cookie" meetings have fallen short of laying a real basis for the progress needed in this age of ours. These people concerned themselves with the problems of how to enlist more aid of the churches in this effort, for this is, after all, essentially a problem on which Christians need to take a stand—and then, stand for what they say.

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IT WAS extremely helpful to me, because I have felt all along that somewhere along this negative wall of black segregation, there must be some way of making a breach of finding some soft spot in its vast underbelly. And to effectively breach this fortress is to have the sincere, wholehearted, and positive enlistment into this fight by white Southerners in large and ever-increasing numbers. Let us assume, or take for granted that a good basis for starting is the large numbers of white people who have been meeting with Negroes in interracial groups for so long a time in many cities of the South. These have been they who have professed to be liberals or moderates (whatever may have been their understanding of such terms); and some efforts should be made to enlist their cooperation in, let us say, signing a general statement of principles—one which speaks clearly for law and order, for respect for decisions of the courts, for keeping the schools and parks open, etc. A large number of signatures would give great weight to such a statement, would encourage others in their leanings toward respect for human beings as human beings, and lessen the intimidation which normally would follow such a thing. This would be a great thing in Alabama, where the Patterson-Bull Connor forces have carried the state down to low levels. Such would raise hopes, and refresh—as would showers in May.

Some youth correspondence from the many parts of states in the South and North would be extraordinarily helpful, particularly in view of the great weight of the "sit-ins," and their acceptance by the general public. Maids, butlers, chauffers, and even yardmen and domestics, all have their place in making this dream of American cooperation and participation come true. Encourage personal and social contacts, with the view toward enlarging the integration effort would be the order of the day. Negroes would have to be ambassadors in their own right: they would have to support whites who certainly would be branded as Communists and pinks; they would have to stand shoulder to shoulder with all those who stand for integration without reservation. We would have to accept whites without suspicion, as the past; and not let those obsessed with the past continue to divide and hamper the integration struggle.

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WE HAVE TO FIND ways to get the whites out of the wings and onto the stage. We need whites to join us in getting the laws of segregation off the books; for their hopes and futures are the same as ours. None is free until all are free. We must work on the basis that we are all Americans—not just Negroes or whites—who are working for principles of American free speech, free thinking, free activities, etc. Freedom is neither for white nor blacks—but for all.

Highlander is to be encouraged for its efforts at Americanism. Located in a county where there are no Negroes, one can see why the State of Tennessee now has begun, through its segregation leaders to harass and intimidate it—even to revoke its charter. I join those who salute Miles Horton, Septima Clark, Anne Lockwood, and others who carry on in spite of their trials. I join Anne and Carl Braden, who sold a house to a Negro in a white neighborhood, in heralding the news; a day in which white and Negro brothers shall go first to their knees together; and from our knees, we can walk, talk, play, go to school together, work—and even hope together. This may be idealism at its impossibility. But it should be America at its best.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THESE are days which truly try men's souls, and men now cannot seem to take life easy without fretting and extreme uneasiness of mind.

Our national leaders are calling people back to consecration and dedication of patriotic purpose.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

Even in high levels of our national government there appears to be much apathy as it relates to pur pose and fervent devotion, and confidence in men in high public office is shaken.

Some are naturally uneasy about the future of our nation. The indifference of men, the habit of "letting Jack do it, or worry about it," the inclination to question even intricate policy decisions by men of no special training, the rebellion against constituted authority — as evidenced in Southern resistance to court orders, the uprisings of Negroes against outmoded traditions and laws, all these things point to the fact that something is radically wrong with our system, and that much haste is needed to bring about redress of wrongs and evils.

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I WAS recently glad to read in Life magazine that it was setting out to write several articles, with contributions by our best contemporary minds, concerning developing a national purpose, and calling for a genuine rededication to the ideals and principles of those undying persons who founded this nation and set in writing its first set of principles.

I am always inspired to read famous and ever-living words of Jefferson, Paine, Franklin Washington; and my soul is lifted every time I read the all-inclusive and persuasive writings of Abraham Lincoln, whom I regard as the greatest of the American Presidents.

I, too, wish men would just be true, honest, fair and just in their dealings.

I believe that something needs to be done in a grand and spectacular way to arouse in Americans that depth of feeling, that standard of conduct, that intensity of emotion and patriotism, which would give our sagging democracy a shot in its feeble arm. True, we have just got a black eye at the Summit, and despite the so-called new solidarity of our allies, and proclamations of unity and harmony by men of both parties, all of us can sense a let-down, a common frustration, a feeling of "what now?"

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WE DO need a strong Chief Executive NOW! And though I believe Ike is essentially honest at heart, it is now clearly apparent that his sense of timing is off, and his positiveness in some areas is definitely offset by his errors, miscalculations and vascillations in others.

No executive has been as badly handled in history as Ike was by Khrushchev; and though history may well accord him the title of a great general, it cannot now call him a great maker of peace. I believe this, too, is his greatest moment of frustration.

To conclude, I would say that ours—yours and mine—must be the almost impossible of making democracy work — for all men.

The system of government which is of, for, and by the people is still the best ever, though it is cumbersome and sometimes terrifically slow to correct its own faults. We have believed for too long that we alone were God's chosen people, that we are by nature, habit and resources, better than other nations. Of course, we knew we were better off than others, for we have everything.

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NOW WE ARE learning that being better off does not necessarily mean being better; that others with much less than we can have almost frantic fervor and patriotism while we, having a better system, can't make it work fully.

"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord." "A man's life does not consist in the abundance of things he possesses." We are rich, but we are also poor in spirit. The dollar is powerful, but not God Almighty. At last we, who have plenty, feel the need of something; of true friends, of assurance, of the things of the spirit, of God, Himself. This is good, for the Bible says, "Ye shall find me when ye seek me right early." America needs God to overcome her problems: God to give us big enough hearts to solve our race promblem; God to help us prove to the world that democracy is a better way of life than communism.

America is you and me. So you and I need to make sure that we are Christian—and not ashamed of it; that you and I will count for ONE in this hour of deep crisis for our country. God shall help her, and that right early.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

WHENEVER SOME leader says that a reign of terror exists in Alabama, the press and state and local officials shout that attempts are being made to slander the state. Yet, from day to day, events occur to give substantial basis to the potential or actual existence of conditions wherein evil acts are spawned.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

These conditions exist because certain high and local officials in this state are totally unconcerned about whether or not the name of the state is dragged into the mud by their careless words and unChristian acts.

Thus, the White Citizens Councils and the Klan have powerful allies entrenched in strategic and tactical positions and their sordid work goes on under the guise of public responsibility.

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WITHIN TWO weeks in the Birmingham-Jefferson County area, two serious crimes have been committed by the officers of the law against defenseless Negroes.

A Negro man, George Lyons, about 37 years of age, was, according to reports brought to our organization by relatives, accosted by officers on a street one night in the Ensley section.

The Negro was known to be not too strong in mind. While searching him, and attempting to handcuff him, Lyons is said to have broken away and was outdistancing the officers.

The policeman shot him twice, wounding him severely, but he got away. The man went to a friend's house, and stripped himself of his bloody clothes.

The officers, upon being told where he was, went to the place, ordered him out of the bathroom naked into the living room, where he was told to sit in a chair.

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ACCORDING TO his sister's statement, in less than two minutes, the policeman had shot this man six more times—she witnessing the flames from the barrel. Now with the officer being told by her that her brother was weakminded, and the fact that a wounded man had to be shot six more times eighth in all—it can only be concluded that the officer had murder on his mind.

And he committed murder! No attack was made upon him; and no cause given for shooting him at first.

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A DOLOMITE (in the county) girl of 13, Dorothy Jean Ware, was slapped, kicked, and thrown into a police car by three policemen of Fairfield, on the charge of resisting arrest!

She was kept in jail at Fairfield, so the report goes, for FIVE days! And without allowing her principal at school and other witnesses to testify, the juvenile judge fined her about $7 and put her on FIVE years probation!

All this for standing in her own driveway, and saying "here come the police" as they arrived. The girl and her parents and friends told us this shocking story at mass meeting this week.

In both of these cases, the families have already gone to the FBI and, as we are told, are determined to swear out warrants for the officers. This is good; and the only way to put a stop to these things!

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THESE THINGS do NOT make for goodwill and this false harmony! In today's paper we read of Governor Patterson's dictatorial directive to the State Board of Education to fire Dr. L. D. Reddick, chairman of the Department of History at Alabama State College. And to fire him before the time of his announced Aug. 31 resignation! This it to blot his record.

He accuses Reddick of communistic ties—which he can't prove! Patterson has very close tie-in with the Klan—as everybody in the state knows!

And President Trenholm, who has done everything to please Patterson is now scheduled to go!

Which shows that segregationwill get even those who don't resist!

For in dealing with men of black hearts, filthy minds, and small character—as some of our leaders seem to be—none can expect justice. But Reddick is Patterson's superior, and when inferiorty clashes with superiority, confusion usually results.

I still maintain that a reign or state of terror exists!

A Southerner Speaks

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Feb 3 1960 Pg 1 Col 1 Blacks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

AFTER he had caught some tear gas in his eyes and throat in Montevideo in a student uprising, President Eisenhower is quoted by Time magazine as making this statement in an off-the-cuff speech to American personnel there: "The more I have seen of foreign relations, the more I have come to the conclusion that America is judged by what each of us does, says, and how he acts;" telling them that they had "a code of conduct that demands the best you have in spirit and intelligence and perseverance." Time ends the article with its own terse comment: "And that was as good an explanation as any of the secret of Dwight Eisenhower's remarkable success in personal foreign relations."

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

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OF COURSE, I am always interested in what the President says on any subject, but especially on human relations—whether they be foreign or domestic. In context also, it should be stated that cans were tossed at Ike's car, and an anti-American streamer was flowing. It was a small demonstration, and Ike called it "only a small thing." But none of us would really suppose that the officials there would have permitted a large demonstration near the head of the U. S. In context, too, was the plane crash which killed several Navy bandmen, and the engine trouble developing on Ike's plain, causing the pilot to feather it, and make an emergency landig on three engines. In back of Ike's mind must have been the deaths, the mob, the near personal disaster, and all because he was trying hard to show friendliness, good will, and peaceful intent to South American nations.

I cannot fully agree with Time in the success of personal relations. A close look would compel one to see that Ike has a great military career behind him and people are essentially here worshippers; that the great enthusiasm on his trips came from countries either living off past U. S. help or those needing food very badly; that personal diplomacy by Ike has not noticeably melted the icy mountain of the cold war. I rather think the trips were a vital necessity to bolster the sagging prestige of this country. And Ike was the only man with glamour and official status to attempt it. The results yet remain to be seen.

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THE MAIN THOUGHT here is Ike's confession that from foreigners he has learned that the whole nation is judged by personal acts, words, and deeds. I hope he realizes fully what he said. I hope he can transfer that brilliant deduction—that streak of the mind, to include the acts, words and deeds, of people in and out of office in the South. Then may e he can be forthright enough to speak out in defense of human rights in this country without the bobbles of speech and inept phrases on this subject for which he has become noted. One wonders whether Ike has changed from his 1948 opposition to integration.

From the record it is difficult to see anything that Ike did to bolster and speed the cause of desegregation that was not caused by the pressures of the age. From his consistent refusal to make a clear cut statement on Civil Rights, his pussyfooting with Faubus, his belatedly sending in troops in Little Rock, and his concern that laws "won't change the human heart," I can see no forward overt acts, words, or deeds on his part. Duty compels Ike to support desegregation; pressure of world opinion orders it; but Ike goes no farther than he is pushed—and that unwillingly and uncheerfully.

We should pray that the President will learn with Burrill that "Brotherhood is no longer a religious ideal, but a challenging material fact; for there is no peace but universal peace, no enduring prosperity that does not comprehend all mankind. . . . No soul could be quite happy in heaven while it was conscious of a single suffering soul in hell."

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This lesson soon learned, America would be led more positively—with dynamic spirit—out of this segregation wilderness into the long promised Canaan of freedom.

A Southerner Speaks

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Jan 23 60 Pg 1 Col 4

THE GREAT editor, David Lawrence attempts again to delay the forward progress of the human race; and does it this time by writing in the World Report an article entitled "Render to Ceasar the things that are Ceasar's, and to God the things that are God's." What Mr. Lawrence attempts to show in his article is that preachers and those persons who head denominational organizations have little or no right to speak for the congregations or groups which they head. Mr. Lawrence, like John Temple Graves, seems to be of the old school which resists progressive change by any and all means.

Rev. E. I. Shuttlesworth

BOTH THESE gentlemen have written much about the segregation controversy; both have denounced the Supreme Court worse than ordinary; both have written and pointed out many tenets and facets by which the Southern states could disregard the Supreme Court's order on desegregation altogether or to completely frustrate it through evasive schemes and tactics. These two men have provided much ammunition for the segregationist's cannon, and their writings have done much to slow the progress of integration. Not to be left out, of course is President Eisenhower's indecisiveness.

So the South, following Messrs. Graves' and Lawrence's directions tried all legal—and illegal—devices to get around the court order. Only when the courts—particularly the Supreme Court—that condemned evasive schemes, devices, and narrow placement tricks, did the gentlemen change their tactics. The power of the court has proved to be over-riding, and both Little Rock and Virginia lost the battle for Graves and Lawrence. Realizing that the decisions cannot be frustrated legally, Messrs. Lawrence and Graves are now striking at religious bodies which pass resolutions favoring integration. Having lost legally they are now trying to win a spiritual battle, because, I guess, even they realize that the organized church is the greatest force on earth for good.

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I WONDER IF Mr. Lawrence thinks that he is rendering "to God the things that are God's" when he uses his powerful position to influence other men to continue taking advantage of their God created brothers; when he castigates the Supreme Court for trying to establish the legal principle of equality; and when he writes as in this case, as if the gospel is not concerned with man's relation to man. Quoting letters from Billy Graham and a Rev. Irving he says "By no stretch of the imagination can I see Christ or the Apostles placing the emphasis of the gospel on social and political agitation . . . this presents integration agitation—it looks to agitation rather than a change of heart . . . "

Mr. Lawrence also quoted from the letter "The greatness of Paul's theology is that his heart always stayed close to the Cross . . . " and that "the gospel is God's property, we tamper with it at our peril." Surely Mr. Lawrence must have read somewhere that Paul was one of the greatest social reformers, and that he used God's gospel to challenge grave social evils. All the prophets used the word of God most effectively even if some were tormented, and others were killed — to change the course of human conduct, and condemn social evils. By this they were "rendering unto God the things that were God's;" they were exalting human dignity, and freedom over slavery; they suffered even as we do today. Only by using the gospel in curing human evils can any preacher be right.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE OTHER DAY I was by the office of the editor of the Birmingham World newspaper, and we came across the subject of the depth or shallowness of real liberality in some of these people who have long posed as great friends of the Negro. Emory O. Jackson is a man whom I respect very highly, for he has been consistent all down the line for full freedom without reservation. He never tries to talk out of two sides of his mouth at once; neither does he try to show as many faces as a city clock—as so many people do when being pinned down on this business of freedom.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

HARRY S. TRUMAN has always been admired by us for courage to speak out on the race problem, even in the face of great criticism by his best and closest friends. In this light, and in the light of some of the dangerous and difficult decisions he was called upon to make—the promptness, the resoluteness, the uncringing and unapologetic manner with which he acted—all have placed him on a level with Lincoln, who acted to save the country.

History must recognize him as one of the great American Presidents. And I have often said that had Truman been in the White House, Faubus never would have gone as far as he did in defying the authority of the Federal Government.

Naturally we felt let down when Mr. Truman made his remarks about the sit-downs, especially about throwing them out. The editor and I both thought it unfortunate and ill-timed; but we had to conclude that most men don't really mean all they say on this race question. "You will always find," spoke Mr. Jackson, "that in your most needy hour, some of your best friends will let you down."

I had said amen; for it is true from the White House to the gutter, and from the Congress to the ward beat.

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LEAVING the editor's office, I went home, and while reading the afternoon paper I could see that those who speak from the pulpit are no better on race. For Billy Graham had come as close to speaking as an ecclesiastic Uncle Tom as one could without completely endorsing segregation as being justified. Here was a man who speaks to millions about truth, justice, righteousness, salvation, and doing what is right; but in this article he goes far out of his way to justify the white man's reactions today in terms of his fear of intermarriage. In other words, the white man uses segregation because of fears sex, and he almost follows the line of Southern politicians word for word, as he speaks of time, the evolutionary process, and so on.

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MY INTEREST in the column was deepened, for it was David Lawrence's daily column, and he quoted Billy Graham at great length. Now David Lawrence's views usually appear to be objective on any subject but segregation, for he sees catastriphic consequences in giving Negroes equality in public facilities with whites.

And I think of his works and viewpoints as simply being rabidly biased—against the Supreme Court, against Negroes, against America really becoming a first-class country. But was Billy Graham's position shocking? Not so, for in these days, a good white man has a big job to make his goodness be seen.

Billy Graham has been to Africa preaching to black people, telling them of Christ's affinity for them; of the fact that Christ was not a white man; that he had to be carried to Africa at birth, and much other stuff which sounded good.

But I guess he wanted to say something to his beleagured white Southern brothers, too, which sounded good to them. I'm sure this warmed-over hash about slow process, the Negro hurting his cause, etc., did the trick for them. But it went far to show a shallowness in the depth and sincerity of Billy Graham's crusade.

—50 YEARS OF PROGRESS—

M. V. Strange Talks Our Heart's Desire

When we are born we realize very soon that there is something special that we desire. This something lures us. We move toward it consciously or subconsciously through the days of our youth and unless we guard it well, we lose site of it, the urge lessens toward its fulfillment and often, we forget to remember. It is therefore, very necessary that before we come to this grim impasse, we should make it impossible that we should forget. The world makes every effort to dull the shine of our early goal and we must keep it burnished and clear. Know this that: "We and we alone make the gesture toward our heart's desire."

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

IT MAY BE political, as some say, or it may be that the Attorney General of the United States intends to demonstrate the power and capability of the country to require state and local officers to see to it that Negroes be granted full use of the ballot, and enjoy full privileges of first-class citizenship.

Rev. Shuttlesworth

In either case, his orders to open the records of registrars in several counties in the Deep South are indeed encouraging to millions of underprivileged Negroes; and if this is at long last a positive sign that the U. S. Government means to stop vascillating and pussyfooting about civil rights, then I am sure many thousands of us will see to it that we help the Government do its stuff.

After all, this is the stuff of which democracy is composed; and there hasn't been enough of this in this nation.

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WE REGARD the injunctive active action by a district state judge to prevent opening the records in Wilcox County as akin to that of a feist trying to molest a bull dog. At most it can only be the last shot of battle—the dying gasp of a strickened soul.

It only amazes Negroes that their white political brothers will go so far to keep us back; that they neither mind looking silly doing these things nor even dragging the U. S. in the mud while doing so.

Yet, to us who can really see, their actions only make us more determined that now is the time to destroy segregation, or else in time be destroyed by it.

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HERE IN Birmingham, the long purge of voter rolls by the Board of Registrars seems to be getting under way.

Several persons have received letters to appear and show cause why their names should not be stricken. The board announced, after Negroes appeared with an attorney and — after receiving a telegram from us threatening appeals to the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department—that the Negroes got unnecessarily excited, and that 73 of the 93 ordered to appear were white. It seems that convictions for lottery, reckless driving, disorderly conduct, etc., are the basis for some of the notices.

And, of course, they "regard as not good citizenship" those who had children or got pregnant before marriage. Women who appear before the board to register, are usually asked how long they were married; if so, any children before marriage, how old is each child, and so on; and the board has announced plans to go back into the '30's to check the roll, both for various type convictions and illegitimacy.

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THOUGH MOST of those called may be white, we know how our white brothers in power usually wind up with Negroes getting the worst end—and we are starting out challenging them every step of the way.

This may be just a front to stall off a good look by the Government.

So far as we are concerned, this illegitimacy deal will get many of those who make laws and enforce them. Of course this is a subjective point of view.

The main thing is the constitutional principle involved: "All persons born or naturalized in the U. S. are citizens of the U. S. and of the state wherein they reside."

This takes away conditions of birth, and I think the board may find its feet dangling in midair.

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FURTHER THAN this, if the board is correct, a mother who got pregnant before marriage—and this is, of course, unfortunate, may be a legitimate taxpayer all her life, and by her taxes support improvements and those in office, but may never become qualified to cast a vote for nor against anyone or anything.

American society is supposed to be redeeming in nature—a Christian society in principle; one in which even a bad criminal can pay his debt to society for his crimes and become rehabilitated.

More could be said about this, and I'm sure, will be. But we have stated to the board in a telegram that such practices cannot go unchallenged. We are determined to register and vote! There are not nearly enough of us on roll—certainly we shall resist being put off!

A Southerner Speaks 31a. By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE MOCK civil rights hearing in Washington, D.C., Jan. 31, was a wonderful success, despite the daily broadsides of Fulton Lewis Jr. against it, and despite the fear of a so-called great Negro Baptist preacher in Washington, who, because of his fear of being called a Communist, refused to let the meeting go on at his church. But the pastor and officers of the great Ashbury Methodist Church threw their doors open. Being there, I can say that this huge church was filled to capacity with people standing even in the balcony. The audience of about 1,700 was about one-third white and two-thirds colored.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

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MR. LEWIS apparently is one of the modern-day seers who sees red like a mad bull every time some progressive program for dramatizing the need for civil rights for Negroes is planned. Thus, for over two weeks he daily accused the sponsor and the sponsoring organizations of being communistic and full of people who were working for Russia. He even accused the sainted Bishops Oxnam and Love of aiding and abetting the Communist cause by serving, along with Bishop Hatcher and other great personalities, as commissioners on the panel, hearing the horrible stories of brutal mistreatment of Negroes trying to register to vote. About 10 Negro witnesses from various states in the South and two from the district told their stories which brought tears to the eyes of many who sat and listened.

IT IS STRANGE to me that any so-called great commentator will lend himself today wholly to the McCarthy tactics of yesterday, and will say without doubt that people and their motives are working for Russia only because some low-character informer or some ultra American committee accused them without giving any concrete facts showing that they are Communist or fellow travelers.

Well, the people themselves answered this diatribe of Fulton Lewis by turning out in a massive way to demonstrate their interest in the cause of civil rights. Some came from as far away as Gary, Ind. I think the many white and Negro people at this meeting distinguished themselves by turning a deaf ear to this undistinguished broadcaster.

The Negro people, some school teachers, and some just ordinary laymen who came at great sacrifice and open peril, did a service for democracy. And the Southern Conference Educational Fund, along with the other 16 organizations, did a service for America in holding these hearings. For the people themselves told their troubles in the heart of the capital.

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ACTUALLY we are tired of these Southern officials going to Washington lying to the various committees and making propaganda out of the issues of Negro rights. And I ask, why don't these committees hear from the Negroes in the troubled areas of the South instead of listening to the trashy of Governor Patterson, Senator Eastland and other of the sort? Personally, I am proud that my local organization was one of the sponsors, and I am sorry that Fulton Lewis seemed to indicate by his scare broadcasts that only Communists and pinks and fellow travelers are truly interested in real civil rights and will do more to work for civil rights than great Americans like Fulton Lewis.

A Southerner Speaks 31a. By F. L. Shuttlesworth

CONGRESS IS now about to get embroiled again in a mammoth civil rights battle, and we Negroes of the South, as usual, are anxiously waiting to see the outcome in this election year of 1960. We hear about this and that being introduced to protect the right to vote, etc., and, being the pawns in this perennial shadow-boxing contest, we wonder whether most of the professed liberals are not doing the usual election year procrastinating—just playing to their homefolks' ears for November votes.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

We would like to see some real progress made this year on the freedom front, and only a good strong law passed by Congress can set us off right.

Negroes in the South are not of the same mind that Mr. Eisenhower proclaims ever so often: That laws alone won't do any good, and that we must somehow reach the human heart. As acquainted as the President has been with the drilling and developing of human behavior and habits, I don't really think he feels like he talks. Rather he knows that it takes laws and laws, and orders on top of orders, to get any development, any system, made and kept under control.

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THUS IT was that we tried to meet and impress many of the lawmakers on Capitol Hill last week. Our committee breakfast with about 15 members of the House, who came over to talk with the voteless Negroes who told their story before a volunteer Civil Rights Commission last Sunday.

The message we tried to get over was simply this: Gentlemen, for us this is no picnic; it is life or death, and things are getting worse as a result of the ineffectiveness of the Federal Government in trying to get our rights. With the pattern of official defiance, together with the dangers and daily harassments we have to face, the situation is critical.

Some of the members of the House impressed us as sincere men; some others took the position that great progress is being made—and one was offended when Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, Miss., stated bluntly that Eisenhower had done nothing on the civil rights issue. I was impressed very much with Congressman Dingell of Michigan, who spent much time with us and earnestly wanted to know what our opinions were of the various proposals now offered to protect voting rights.

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MOST OF US, of course, favored the registrar plan where local officials are default in their duties. I believe this has been well thought out by the commission which faced the problems at their core. And, though there may be some merit in the referee plan recently put forth, it will be under heavy fire from the sharpshooters of the South.

Personally, I hope it is not another of Mr. Eisenhower's gimmicks to sabotage the registrar proposal, the kind of thing he did in pulling the rug out from under Point 3 of the of-

We visited Congressman Roosevelt's office where, during the conversation, he said that we would do better in civil rights when we get a Democrat in the White House. I knew this was politics, and I reminded the Congressman that the Executive was now already taking credit for what action there has been on civil rights, and blaming Congress for not passing a stronger law.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE STUDENT protest demonstrations against segregated public lunch counters in several of the Southern states is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The fact that it has spread so rapidly and so far is an indication of the "new togetherness" and "oneness" which the Negro has begun to learn and practice. And our salvation—as far as actually getting our just rights will be in just this sort of thing: to rise up simultaneously in many places, and battle for the same things. No amount of praise is too great for the North Carolina students who arose up so valiantly and struck a blow for justice and decency. Their courage, their non-violent acts, and their determination are all contributing to the new dignity and honor of the Negro as he contiunes to point out so focrefully to the nation's conscience thisr resire to be just plain Americans, and to be treated as such.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

I WAS blessed to be in Greensboro, High Point, and Winston-Salem last week. I had the privilege to speak in both Greensboro and Winston-Salem; to meet some of the students and to note their fervor and zeal. I was with Rev. B. Elton Cox and Douglas Moore and about 70 high school students who marched in and took seats at High Point, N.C., counters. Like the prophet of old, "I sat where they sat"; and the counters were closed. Students were presented with rousing ovations at mass meettings, and it seemed to be unanimous that there could be only going forward with no turning back. Although I was just out of bed and severely weakened from influenza which I caught at the Washington hearings a few days ago, I tell you frankly that what I saw and felt in North Carolina strengthened my soul. For it seemed to me that we may be on our way at long last. Now that it has spread to Florida, Tennessee, Virginia, and other places are threatening, I know that God marches with us.

Congratulations are in order for NAACP and CORE and SCLC for the way they have grasped the situation and are moving to coordinate it into a nation-wide protest. What a glorious thing of all NAACP branches in the North put pressure on Woolworth, Kress, and Walgreens at the same time they are being pressurized in the South! With the resources of CORE and all other freedom loving organizations north, south, east and west, all being joined with NAACP in this one joint undertaking, the victory would soon be ours! What a vision, but the times call for vision! What a terrific job to undertake, but the times demands daring deeds! My God, what a moment for action by so many at one time; and, all over the nation too!

LET ME challenge our greats to move now—King, Wilkins, Randolph, and those who stand at the crossroads helms. This may be the one thing we all can do together, and do well and effectively. This is time for action; not speeches. It matters not which organization leads, or gets credit; what we need is not credit, but victory over segregation! And I remind our leaders that "Each victory helps us some other to win." And there are so many and so much to win!

Our enemy is not the criminal racketeers, but those who sit in the chambers of commerce. They are high class and well thought of; for they are the stewards and deacons in great white churches. They are robed in garments of celestial choir singers. But most of them have already got together on the proposition of close counters rather than let Negroes sit and eat with the same dignity as others. Let our answer be united, concerted, and sustained action until counters across this land will be open to all in this LAND OF THE FREE AND HOME OF THE BRAVE.

A Southerner Speaks . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE ARREST of Martin Luther King Jr., on charges of perjury in connection with state income returns of last years is simply a legalized form of the tyranny which has been practiced in Alabama against Negro leaders and organizations ever since John Patterson, as state Attorney General began his attacks upon the NAACP. Verbal and legal attacks have been intensified since Mr. Patterson became governor—some reminding people of the characteristics of a drunken or desperate man.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

So far as state political leaders are concerned, King—despite the well-known facts that he has persuaded against all evil and violence—can be no good, and do no good. So far, the Alabama Judiciary has acted in accordance with their views, and it remains to be seen in the forthcoming proceedings against King whether justice and proven facts prevail, or whether the governor and attorney general, Gallion, are having another field day.

■

IT IS TO BE noted that Dr. King was indicted after Rev. Mr. Fields went before the grand jury with the same charges which nobody believed a few years ago. Fields also got published a book purporting to relate the same things. The book was as near nothing as nothing could be both in content and context, and Fields tried to do the impossible of both praising and condemning the officials in office at the time of the protest. Fields wrote like an insecure person, starving for publicity—a vine dying for lack of sap. He said very little, trying to say much; thereby revealing to even those blind, his smallness of character and stature.

He only needed to say little to jurors already blinded by impassionate fury against King for his success in the bus struggle, and in closing the parks in Montgomery.

Perjury is a serious charge; it has to be proved by showing intent to wilfully lie and cheat. While this could easily be shown in most of our present officials, no one with good sense believes that to be the character of Martin Luther King. Even now they are scaling down their first figure of $31,000 which they accused King of absconding. The real crooks are in high places, dealing in land grabs and shady deals, setting up barriers against poor Negroes, and misappropriating funds in the millions.

■

IN THEIR EYES King must be guilty. But who can absolutely fill out a perfect income tax form? Who can remember the million and one small amounts expended here and there, and contributions to a thousand causes of this day? Actually this is a brazen attempt to slander the man's reputation. "He who steals my name steals all!" This will be tried on many of us in the future, for it is a good ruse for the segregationists. Assassination of character will be used on leaders where all other efforts have failed.

Nothing they say or do in Montgomery to Martin King will lessen our profound respect for him and faith in him. Those who hate him will not hate him less; those who love him will adore him more. I said to Martin and his father in Atlanta the other day that Christ never promised that those who were good would be loved or free from vicious attack. In fact, Christ had just got off his knees, yea his prostrate position on the ground in

n they took Him in
"If they do these
a green tree, what,
do to the dry?"

■

THOSE WHO oppress are having their day. The extradition warrants have been speedily signed in Atlanta and Montgomery, and with what speed! The press will begin its searchings and slantings, and those in high places will shout. But the heathen have always raged and imagined vain things.

King will soon return to Montgomery as a captive; but he will be returning as a victor. For he will surely ride by closed parks, and while the trial proceeds, integrated buses will roll by. We join with all those who stand shoulder to shoulder with Martin as he once again does battle with the dragon on familiar battleground.

Intelligent, Young Negroes Moving, Shuttlesworth Says

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Uprisings by Students Called Healthy for a Sick Democracy

Sat. 3-12-60 p. 4

By Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth
(A Courier Exclusive)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The student uprisings in the South, against segregated facilities, is the healthiest tonic for a sick democracy in a time like this.

It demonstrates that the masses of Negroes no longer will accept, passively, compulsory segregation, whether in the so-called enlightened Southern states of North Carolina and Virginia, or in the unreconstructed areas of Alabama and South Carolina, the intelligent Negroes are beginning to move.

Definitely, this involves the economic and political structure and signals the beginning of the end of legal and compulsory segregation. As in other matters, officials in the deepest South are planning moves to head off further demonstrations. Conferences of highest state officials in Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia have resulted in laying the basis for prosecuting protesting students on grounds of tresspassing, loitering and inciting to riot.

Alabama's attorney general has confirmed this, and Birmingham Commissioner of Police Eugene (Bull) Connor, has issued an ultimatum that sit-down strikes will not be tolerated in Birmingham, and those participating will be prosecuted on breach of peace charges.

I hardly think that Commissioner Connor frightens Negroes now as he used to do. If the students want to march, I am sure they will march. An amazing aspect of the whole thing is this new solidarity among the students themselves. It is supported, in the main, by masses of Negroes and many professionals. Governor Patterson's orders to expel Montgomery College students, resulted in a student declaration that expulsion from school will bring about wholesale applications to white Alabama colleges.

The quick reaction of these students gives indication that frustration in these protests definitely will lead to attacks on segregation in other areas. The mass arrests in Virginia and North Carolina only have intensified. The Negroes will rise up against segregation.

ALL SUPPORT THE idea that encouragement should be given to mass type actions by dedicated young people all over the country. Their efforts should be joined by those in the North, East and West. Their courage and devotion, their willingness to face jail and harassment of all sorts, is the contribution that the new Negro will give to make democracy pure.

Their devotion to non-violence is a credit to their race. The long period of servitude and underprivileged status, inevitably, has prepared the Negro people for an active resistance against segregation, which is passive in spirit. Led by our young people, we shall march to victory.

A Southerner Speaks...

By R. L. Shuttlesworth

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sat. 3-12-60 p. 14

SEGREGATION WITH its attendant discriminations of all sorts, leading ultimately to physical exploitation and mental demotion of helpless Negroes to something much less than persons of worth, dignity, and purpose, is at last slowly giving way to the increasing pressures of an awakening and outraged American public. A public conscience, suffering the whirlwinds of insults, lack of prestige, and outright castigations by nations of the world which have not and cannot understand a democracy that always fails to guarantee freedom for its own individual citizns of color, A conscience, awakened at last by Negroes who are willing to suffer all abuses, all horrors, all pains; but will not stop creating situations which demonstrate above all doubt that something yet is radically wrong with our system.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Hence all these sit-downs and sit-ins at lunch counters all over the South. Hence all these militant organizations which have sprung up of late as oats unscantingly sown. Hence all these lawsuits to force the law of the land to prevail over the mores and customs of the sections; to prevail over the outpouring of Southern legislative passions, which though called state laws, are but the hastily erected barricades, thrown up in the forlorn hope of stopping if they might—or at least slowing up—the march of Negroes torward the goal of unlimited democracy.

■

AS DISMAL AS has been the night, the dawn appears. The violence of recent years has brought down the legal weight of the highest Court that officials cannot yield duty to violence; and that violence, however feared may not take precedence over the right of individuals. Local officials now must act or have sanctions imposed upon them from the outside. Negroes are vindicated in their espousal of non-violence in their fight to gain freedom.

I also see the dawn in many other aspects. The president, traveling in many lands, is finding out that all people want freedom and food more than dollars or missiles; and that the awekening and newly freed — or becoming free — nations are not nearly as interested in the dangers of high prices and high explosives as he is. At long last, he is forced by circumstances to speak out for rights—though not nearly clear and forceful as he ought. The Congress, seeing that the Court is not going to back up nor reverse itself on Civil Rights, finds itself in the position of a man having to hurry to even catch up, when he should have been already leading in the first place. Hence the present debate around the clock over Civil Rights. Even today the high Court overruled the Georgia court on the registrars' case.

■

THIS IS INDEED an election year, and politics is raging. But world opinion and the pressures of the hour are playing a vital part in the debate over Civil Rights. Congress itself is much more liberal than ever, and the solid South is not solid in Washington any more. Hopelessly outnumbered, it fights only a rear guard action—with the Civil Rights fight being led by a man from Texas! The coalition is almost a thing of the past!

The admission of Alaska and Hawaii signals the new liberalism of America; and opens the way for Puerto Rico to come in later. The voices of many whites are now being heard in the South on justice and fair play. Many are rising and standing shoulder to shoulder with their Negro brothers, as the rising tide of humanism sweeps America.

As one who wears the scars of battle, I see the dawn of a new day. I see an America, singing not just of industrialism—as in Whitman's day; but a nation, indivisible, with justice for all humanity. I hear America singing, anew and unashamed, her ideals of freedom and liberty. And I join with the battle-scarred Paul, and exclaim: "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory, through our Lord, Jesus Christ!"

A Southerner Speaks . . By E. L. Shuttlesworth

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ONE of the hardest things in the world for some people to do is admit truth about themselves, or to face facts and speak truth to themselves. This is the real burden of our country today as the racial climate worsens in the eyes of the world: How to somehow scrape off the dangerous barnacles of discrimination and mistreatment which are all but sinking the prestige of this democracy. The South, never willing to admit of error — even to grant elementary rights of equality before law and fair-play—must be persuaded or forced to see that the Constitution means the same things for Negroes as for other Americans.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

The sit-ins, the continuous demonstrations without regard for fines or jail sentences by Southern Negroes are but trends of the times. The Courts are too slaw in getting fundamental rights; and somehow, these massive demonstrations should serve to let America know without doubt that the RACE TO FREEDOM by her Negroes is equal to our defensive RACE-TO THE PLANETS.

■

THE PLAIN TRUTH is that official crime is being perpetrated under guise of law when Negroes are arrested for simply sitting on stools for food; when police of the state, county and city, are marshalled to stop public lawful marches and gatherings of Negroes—while letting white hoodlums congregate for antagonism and violence, as at Montgomery; when horseback riders parade through town, as in Selma, Ala., to intimidate Negroes; when the Southern press propagandizes that by singing, praying, and marching without weapons or violence, Negroes are inciting to riot; when Negroes are charged with trespass, disorderly conduct, failure to move, etc., when before this they were welcomed—even serenaded—to come; and when officials of cities seek power to keep Negroes from trying to be first class while not using their influence with the merchants to do first-class business by serving all without distinction.

The nation needs the truth. Ike did "believe that public places ought be open to all," that demonstrations without violence are an accepted part of the American way;" the Governor of Florida did opine on the air "that stores ought not welcome Negroes at most places, and fix one part where they are not welcome." Some few businesses have desegregated, and others have removed stools. It takes courage to speak truth now in this country—even for the President. Small wonder Americans are classed as apathetic and soft. But "the truth (about yourselves) will make you free."

■

THE OTHER HARD truth is plain: Negroes are arising; Negroes are at long last on the march! My God! what a morning; and what a great time to be alive! I say, let it swell from shore to shore! Let there be prayers all over—North, South, East and West! If the Southern Negroes can be beaten, sprayed with hoses, jailed—and some remain in jail—then Negroes and white liberals ought join. Let there be MARCHES of feet all going the same way—to freedom. Let there be boycotts where necessary, to let the economic vultures of this enlightened day know that "To them which sat in darkness great light has sprung up." Boycott—if all else fails—(the serpent's mouth (stores) in the North so that its tail chains) in the South may perish!

■

Let us ignore rantings of the tyrants, and overlook the petulant and soft-hearted pleadings of those who call for PEACE but not with justice. Away with the Eastlands, Talmadges, Russells, Pattersons and Connorses, who would have America live in the ditch rather than build a highway on which all can walk in dignity. If the vultures and tyrants win, then this sacred land will cease to be favored in God's sight! We who stand for complete freedom NOW are they who step in tune with destiny! America will one day be proud of us; and our children will call us blessed!"

A Southerner Speaks . . By E. L. Shuttlesworth

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WHAT IS THE Negro in American life? What are the possibilities of his ever being really integrated fully into all phases of our society, without being discrimiated against or given special treatment in order to accommodate him? If this is indeed the Promised Land, then just how far are we from the promises of the Promised Land? Must the American Negro forever remain —or be treated as if he is only a faceless trendex statistic to be counted in the glowing numbers of a rising American population, but be denied always the full benefits of his citizenship?

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

These are stern questions, but it is high time we in America come up with some plain answers and positive action toward freedom. I cannot share in paying glowing tributes of praise with those who are shouting loudly that we are making tremendous strides of progress toward freedom here in this country. I cannot believe that any court decision should be obeyed only when those so ordered get ready—and the deep South will never get ready. The filibuster now prevailing proves that point, and the proponents of civil rights should beware of any compromise on full freedom for all. The day of light is against compromise on human rights.

■

BUT WHAT REALLY is the Negro in American life? Think of the sober and Christian efforts of college students to protest segregation at lunch counters, and then think of the resistance they have encountered by not only the proprietors, but by the officials, law agencies—and even by mobs of otherwise intelligent white people who feel deep down within their hearts that they must rise up with force to block every attempt by Negroes at gaining social equality. Look at Montgomery, Ala., the Cradle of the Confederacy, where only yesterday Negroes were prevented from walking less than a city block from the Dexter Church to the Capitol steps to sing and pray.

Commissioner Sullivan had warned that no demonstrations whites or Negroes. But the hundreds of police and highway patrolmen, plus firemen with water hoses DID NOT stop nor prevent about 5,000 whites from gathering much ahead of the appointed hour. These highly efficient officers were not there to keep everybody from the Capitol; only Negroes. And the pictures show that the mobs of white persons were all around the place where Jeff Davis stood years ago, and out in the street around the Negro church.

■

THE PRESS REPORTS that special officers from Birmingham were there as observers—seeing how Montgomery stopped its Negroes. Birmingham's Commissioner Bull Connor started training firemen to act as policemen in riots, to carry billies and blackjacks. This to stop Negroes still in their tracks, and so prevent any further breaks in the dike that has begun to reel under the pressure of the courts, public opinion, and the consistent march by Negroes.

The main point I am trying to make is that generally in the North, East and West, and especially in the South, with only a few exceptions, the easiest organization to form is one that is against Negroes; the efficiency of law agencies is demonstrated best against Negroes; the wrath of the average Southerner is best and most often vented against Negroes.

■

Alabama is governed by a man who seems to be teetering on that thin line between dementia and what he thinks is brilliance; a man who campaigned against Negroes, denying them the privilege of marching in the inaugural parade; a man who has vowed that "integration will come over my dead body." Thus the state can only do things NOT GOOD for American democracy. Hate is on the throne, and love has a difficult time trying to reach the hearts of most whites in the South today. But, thank God, all whites are not brutes, and we hope for a better day.

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE FAMOUS Commissioner of Birmingham, Eugene Connor, is again offering advice to Birmingham Negroes; this time he refrains from asking them to overthrow leadership; instead he practically pleads with them to ignore thousands of circulars thrown in all Negro areas; telling Negroes that the latest Federal ruling in effect knocked out the new bus law. It seems that Mr. Connor has fears that some Negroes reading and thinking for themselves, and he hastens to warn them of possible dangers and trouble.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Negroes seem to have found their own method of getting news around, especially since white daily press seeks to subdue anything which might make Negroes conscious of their rights. They did not play up the fact that the rulings negative as to injunctions, did declare that segregation cannot be supported by law, and that police could not direct seating because of color. The rulings were played up as major defeats for Negroes. It is a tragedy that today's press and radio in Birmingham is so tied to segregation as not to report all sides of news objectively.

■

MR. CONNOR said that "agitators" put out the circulars in an attempt to deceive Negroes into false beliefs, and the Birmingham News carried it fully on the front page. My answer given to wire services and TV stations has neither been printed nor commented on. It was because I re-emphasized that Negroes would ignore Mr. Connor's advice, and ride in any seat they choose. I pointed out that the ruling left both the bus company and the police powerless to stop Negroes from riding desegregated; in fact, as powerless as a hound with his teeth extracted.

My release asked why didn't Mr. Connor, true to his own nature, threaten to arrest Negroes and "show them the insides of the Birmingham jail"? Why just give Negroes advice, when he stated that the bus company "had lawful authority to direct seating", and "that drivers had authority to remove anybody who didn't follow the company's rule"?

These are questions which will not be answered fairly by our press in their obvious concerted efforts with officials to keep Negroes blinded neither did the press report that few Negroes were already riding the buses unsegregated, nor that special police squads—some in unmarked cars—were roaming the streets looking for large crowds of Negroes who they think might ride buses desegregated. It is a pathetic sight to see those who have for so long wrongfully used their power come face to face with the moment where they are not powerful at all. This is the predicament in which Mr. Connor now finds himself.

■

THE CIRCULARS simply stated that "Negroes may now ride anywhere on buses, and sit anywhere in Terminal station," and quoted some facts from Judge Groom's ruling. They instructed Negroes to "sit in any empty seat," advising them to "be calm, be quiet, be friendly, be prayerful, but be free." The circulars are true, and it is Truth that makes men free.

As I said, few of us are already riding. There will be, I am sure, some attempts at mass riding. But we have not come so far just to stop here. And this is our position despite The News' editorial of Dec. 22, which said: "Montgomery suffered long through such premeditated disruption. Technically the buses were desegregated . . . Yet Montgomery Negroes ride today as they always have ridden. There was much ado, to no practical end. Let us all be sensible and practical".

Well, it makes sense to us to have the right to sit where we please! The 20th century lessons call upon us to move up . . . move ahead! And we are getting our lessons well. Our motto is, "Full speed ahead!"

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

GOVERNOR PATTERSON of Alabama is trying to make political hay out of the Rev. Martin Luther King's announcement that he is leaving Montgomery to set up headquarters in Atlanta. Dr. King gave as his reason his deep desire to devote more time to the cause of full civil rights for Negroes, and felt that Atlanta would serve better as a base of operations than Montgomery. Further, he would not have the full duties of a pastor; serving, instead, as an assitant to his illustrious father.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

Having worked very closely with Martin for nearly four years in these trying times, and seeing the need of a more concerted effort now by Negro leadership to engage more of the masses of Negroes in this gigantic fight, I am not inclined at all to doubt Dr. King's motive for leaving. In fact, I believe it was the wise thing to do — especially if it will bring freedom closer quickly for the yearning masses in the South. Along with others, I have discussed this move with him, and I can truthfully say that I attribute much sincerity to Martin in his devotion to the ideals which he seeks.

■

IT IS MY MOST fervent hope that upon arriving in Atlanta, Dr. King, along with the dynamic and efficient Ella Baker, director of SCLC, will set in motion at once the machinery to bring about the registration of one and one-half million Negroes in the South, encourage groups in the various cities to actively resist segregation in a non-violent Christian spirit, encourage parents to petition school boards to admit their children on a non-discriminatory basis, and move at once to end segregation in all forms of transportation and recreation Then there is the matter of segregated housing — the surface of which has yet to be scratched in the South; and we have a long way to go just to breach the portal of job opportunity for Negroes. The days for talk alone have passed.

If Dr. King's vision included these things, and if he has the unselfish desire to move in on all these tasks with all the rapidity possible, then his will be ranked in history as a timely and momentous decision. Only in the light of the tremendous task ahead — the vast sea of mental planning and anguish the terrific wear and tear on physical strength, and the sacrifice of himself in the front line of duty to get into the job and get it done — can the leaving of friends and comrades in the struggle, and of leaving the great Dexter Avenue Baptist Church be justified. I believe this to be his aim.

■

BUT JOHN PATTERSON is not concerned about his aims at all. Having been defeated and made to look silly by united Negroes (with the buses rolling by his capitol seat integrated, and the parks closed), Mr. Patterson would like to salvage some of his lost prestige. So he conjures up a story—secret, reliable information, he calls it — that some Negroes were badly split over the issue of school segregation ending planned by MIA; and so it got so hot that King had to leave. Of course, this is what the red-necked segregationists want to hear; and that is better than Patterson's telling them that he could not stop bus and park integration. To admit any taste of defeat would hurt his standing. But more defeats are in store for Pat and all those who have little enough sense to brace their small backs against the giant tidal wave of freedom now rolling all across this land, and the world.

■

I DON'T KNOW where Pat got his info from; maybe it was a dream, or just, I think, some more white wash for the worn building. But here's a hot tip that I'll pass to the Governor: A preacher who visited Dexter recently heard the officers and members ask Dr. King to remain their pastor, even if he could preach only ONCE — or one Sunday a month.

No, Governor, you are in error. Negroes are TOGETHER, as you well know. And "You'll understand it better bye and bye"!

A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

MANY Negro citizens of the deep South are concerned about the prospects for good civil rights legislation this year. They are anxious also over the future outcome of the presidential election of 1960. These two things are inextricably bound together, as the argumentations and deals in Congress will definitely have their bearing on the election; and whoever is elected will certainly have to recommend and put forth special emphasis and efforts on this most important issue.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

It is not my thought that other Negroes and liberal Americans all over the country are less thoughtful or concerned about these things. The point is that for many of us in the South this is the life or death issue. Jail sentences await some of us even as we fervently hope and pray that the Congress and the Executive hurry and do something positive enough to clear the air. I need not mention intimidations and harassments. which are all too commonplace amongst us; and none should forget the grim spectre of mob violence, official Southern defiance of the highest law-making and law-interpreting bodies in our land. I, like many others, who daily live and walk in the shadows of danger and death; I, like many of my contemporaries, who wear scars on their hearts and marks on their bodies from this immortal conflict between right and wrong —I plead that Negroes and whites who believe in justice, decency and fair play, will simply stop playing, or stop being played with by those in office, and demand nothing short of concrete steps to end discrimination in America.

■

IT IS HIGH TIME those who are governed look diligently and seriously into the records and qualifications of those who govern, or who propose to run for governing positions. It is high time the liberals, by far a majority in this country, stop being maneuvered by reactionaries who have no intention of ever moving forward. It is time the Negro vote of the North, East and West, which, in many instances and places forms the balance of power, becomes totally independent—to the extent that it can swing the election to the man who makes the most clear-cut pronouncements on the issues, and who acts while campaigning in accordance with his words.

We must beware of those who make advance deals and shady alliances. It is far too early to adequately assess the sincerity of any candidate, and I mention this only to emphasize paying attention to what a man does more than to what he says. But I personally am not too satisfied that Gov. John Patterson of my state, after having eaten with Kennedy can be so sure as to announce to the nation that John Kennedy "understands our Southern problems and is sympathetic to them." He endorsed Kennedy wholeheartedly and re-emphasized his support a few days ago after having visited the Senator again. I don't think Kennedy has explained this sufficiently by only saying in effect, "Any Democrat welcomes support of other Democrats." Maybe the Senator does not yet understand that John Patterson stands for what America cannot for long endure: that Patterson is much more of a Dixiecrat than Democrat and that the smug embrace of a Dixiecrat like Patterson may be equivalent to the experience of the character in The Ancient Mariner. Maybe Mr. Kennedy will yet clear the air.

■

I AM NOT SAYING this on the basis of Mr. Kennedy's religion, although some reports by certain men of religion on Mr. Kennedy's religious actions need be clarified. Somehow, like it or not, we must get around to believing in and acting out what we preach—our Constitution. And this holds that a man is not necessarily limited in his qualifications for public office by his religion. Being Americans, however, we want to be as sure as we can that no word or edict of a foreign power or monarch can sway the decision of him who will make basic decisions for 180 million (nearly) free Americans.

A Southerner Speaks

THE WHITE settlers in Algeria and Johannesburg seem to have one thing in common with the white politicians of the South. That is, they can't find it in their hearts to change their double standard of justice for whites and blacks before the law; and cannot face the fact that men of darker hue can in any manner or respect be nearly as good as they. Thus we see at present the incorrigibility of the French Algerian Settlers, as they stand behind barricades, defying the army of the National government to give equality to the Moslems who outnumber them about nine to one. We see also the Southern bigots barricaded behind the outmoded mental lines of the 1860's, still daring the national government of the United States to guarantee the basic rights of Negroes to be free.

Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

IN ALGERIA the whole French government is on the spot. It must now recognize that it must deal with the darker men as equals and brothers. It must grant them voice and choice in determining how they shall be governed, and what persons shall rule over them. In short, the French are really working to bring about democracy; for this has nor become a dire necessity. As this is written, President De Gaulle appears to have his mind made up; and the fact that he has fired the popular Massu from his command proves this fact. And the arrival of more paratroops from France can be taken to mean that France intends to gaurantee the slogan on her coins—"Liberte . . . Egalite . . . Fraternite."

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, is also the oft-sung slogan of this great American citadel of freedom. But it appears that Eisenhower is not nearly so resolute about guaranteeing the basic rights of people to determine by their choice and voice who shall rule over them. The French coins are not worth much, but they take seriously their ideals of freedom; and a few incorrigibiles will not sink the nation's future. Our coins are worth more (not enough then), but our values of freedom rate higher in song than in practice. It is a tragedy that when Negroes say our slogan "With liberty and justice for all" they are compelled in their hearts to add, "But me."

■

JUSTICE BELONGS to all men, but all men can't seem to get it. Just a few days ago, the daily press carried an inside back page short story of a white girl who had a Negro baby. The story had it that a young Negro boy had been sentenced to 10 years for rape of this white girl; and that the baby had been placed or ordered to an institution to later be put in a colored home. It caused me to do a lot of thinking; as I'm sure many other white and Negro people did.

For one thing. it appears mighty strange that justice was stayed until this particular child had her baby. Knowing the terror that comes to white men's minds about such things —and how many Negroes have been electrocuted, mobbed, or hung for attempted or suspected rape, it amazes me how light this particular judgement was. Although I am happy that the sentence was as light as it was, I believe, like many others, he did not need a sentence at all. The whole thing smells more like this young couple had been intimate many times before; for in some of the most backward counties and areas of Alabama this sort of thing goes on by certain men of all categories. And this is well known and seen among us.

■

SOMEHOW WHEN all this fear and hysteria dissipates itself into the brightness of a real future brotherhood of men, justice will really become color blind; and brotherhood will replace the beastly and unjust acts which now prevail among mankind.

Equality . . Liberty . . Fraternity . . . tihs is the need and hope of us all!

Being Frank...

Chicago Defender

About People, Places And Problems

By FRANK L. STANLEY

Negro 31a

Chicago, Ill.

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — It is appropriate at this time of the year to glance backward at what progress has been wrought and since we are ending a decade I believe that we should consider the fifties and what they have meant in terms of interracial gains. Without doubt the recent years have brought more progress to Negroes than perhaps the first 50 years of this century. In 1950 the Kentucky General Assembly started the wheels of progress by enacting a resolution which prohibited Kentucky from joining segregated regionalism.

Senate resolution 53 as originally proposed would not have opened the doors of educational institutions to Negroes; rather it would have sent Negroes out of the state to segregated regional schools particularly in the professions in which Kentucky did not have schools or did not admit Negroes. Senate resolution 53 as amended, however, did provide the necessary safe-guards when the following was written in.

"Men are declared to be binding upon the state of Kentucky, provided however, that the Commonwealth of Kentucky shall not, under the provisions of this compact or any other regional plan having a similar purpose, erect, acquire develop nor maintain in any manner any educational institution within its borders to which Negroes will not be admitted on an equal basis with other races; and further, that no Negro citizen of Kentucky shall be forced to attend any segregated regional institution to obtain instruction in a particular course of study if there is in operation with the Commonwealth at the time an institution that offers the same course of study to students of other races."

As amended this resolution was interpreted to be permissive of admitting Negroes to Kentucky colleges and universities. In fact it was an indirect amendment to the Day Law. On April 14, Berea college announced that it will again admit Negro Students. Shortly thereafter, Louisville's three Catholic colleges, Nazareth, Ursuline, and Bellarmine, announced that they would accept Negro students in all of their departments.

The Louisville Defender meanwhile was conducting a drive to raise sufficient money for a friendly suit against the University of Louisville.

The word friendly means that the Board of Trustees at the University was not sure that it could admit Negroes without conflict with the Day Law.

However, the plan of Catholic schools to admit Negroes the following fall immediately prompted the University of Louisville to consider admission. Shortly thereafter the University announced the closing of its separate school (Municipal college) at the end of its regular school year, and the opening of all departments of the University to Negro students.

The friendly suit was not necessary and the $1500 that had been raised was turned over to the Louisville chapter of the NAACP for other legal cases. Other schools followed these examples and as of today there is not a single college or university other than private in the State of Kentucky that will not or does not admit qualified Negroes.

Of course it should be remembered that in 1949, the University of Kentucky as a result of a court ruling opened its doors to Negroes mostly to the efforts of the NAACP and Lyman Johnson the plaintiff. Also in 1948, Governor Earl Clements upon the insistence of Dr. J. A. C. Lattimore permitted Negro nurses to obtain training on an integrated basis and put a wedge in the door for Negro doctors.

The year 1954, which is one of the most famous in the history of Negro development is too well known for review here, but Kentucky proper did not move forward until 1955 and 1956 in public schools. However, a few townships in the mountains immediately opened their doors to Negro students.

In 1955, significant court decisions relative to recreations and parks, swimming pools, and the like were brought heavily to bear upon Kentucky. The result is that Governor A. B. Chandler and Mayor Andrew Broaddus immediately opened all state and Louisville recreational facilities indiscriminately.

In 1956, John Sherman Cooper and Thurston Morton, were elected United States Senators from Kentucky. They gave liberal leadership to Civil Rights in the United States Senate and were responsible for the naming of the late Joseph R. Ray, sr., to the highest post that any Kentucky Negro had ever received in Washington. In 1959, they were responsible for the appointment of Charles W. Anderson, jr., as Alternate Delegate to the United Nations. Governor A. B. Chandler took a positive stand on the admission of Negro students to public schools. Without provocation, he sent the National Guard to Sturgis and Clay, Kentucky and in like manner, James A. Crumlin of the State NAACP has won several significant cases.

When the State Fair and Exposition center opened, it was done so on a non-segregated basis. Thus the Mason Dixon Dining room became the first place of eatery to admit all people. Standiford Field, was a little bit more reluctant and it took a threatened suit and the insistence of Alderman W. W. Beckett to have the lease specify that Negroes can eat indiscriminately at the airport. About the same time three downtown hotels began a limited acceptance policy.

The Sheraton chain purchased two local hotels, the Seelbach and Watterson, and the Henry Clay changed ownership. They permitted reservations to Negroes and of course those who were guests of the hotel were permitted use of its eating and drinking facilities.

In 1958, a visiting Mayor from Kingston Jamaica, Tris King, who was a guest of the state department and of Mayor Hoblitzell of Louisville was insulted by refusal of service in a Walgreen Drug Store. This caused national criticism on our city and as a result Walgreen opened its food counters to all people.

At the same time several smaller department stores like Sears, Grant's, Robinson's, etc., began serving Negroes at their food counters. Public accommodations, however, are still very limited in our city and most of them operate on an on-and-off basis. On the whole, however, we can note significant gains in education, recreation, and public accommodations.

Public housing also should be classified in this group because it was prompted to integrate as a result of a suit. Private housing, however, remains segregated although Negroes have extended their residential area quite extensively in the Western and Southern sections of the city.

Employment gains were few. Hardly any of us advanced to any appreciable level in the skills. On the other hand Kroger grocery stores made an important innovation by adding Negro cashiers at two of its Westend locations.

The fifties set a good example and we look forward to the sixties to at least keep pace or even do better.

Being Frank . . .

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Chicago Defender

31a negro

About People, Places And Problems

Sat. 1-30-60

By FRANK L. STANLEY

Chicago, Ill.

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — It is time for the whole question of desegregated public accommodations to be met squarely by the city administration. The present plan of letting time alone solve the problem is nothing but subterfuge and silent assent to continued segregation.

The only permanent solution is a public accommodations ordinance which can and should be proposed and enacted into law by the present board of aldermen. Such an ordinance would do at least four things:

(1) Demonstrate the position of aldermen on the question.

(2) Force Mayor Hoblitzell, who, as a realtor, represents private enterprise, to show his hand officially.

(3) It would prompt some businesses to desegregate forthwith in anticipation of such a law—many of whom would gladly do it if the law was there to support them.

(4) It would test the Kentucky Legislature's position on home rule — a technique which Kansas City, Missouri, successfully employed in the absence of home rule.

Preparatory to the passage of a desegregated public accommodations ordinance, two preliminary steps are necessary if the experience of other border cities is to be our criterion.

(1) The Louisville Board of Aldermen, with or without Mayor Hoblitzell's advocacy, should create officially by ordinance, a Louisville Human Relations Council of some twelve to fifteen members. Said members would be appointed by the Mayor and serve without compensation.

Function: To act in an advisory capacity to further amicable interracial relations and to even better said intergroup relations; to further tolerance and fair play; consult with and obtain cooperation; coordinate efforts on the part of all agencies, both private and public. in order to reduce tensions; combat misconception, prejudices and untruths and eliminate discriminatory practices arising from racial prejudice.

Status: Said council should be appropriated a sufficient budget to employ an Executive Secretary, maintain an office and finance administrative studies and procedures and retain adequate office and field personnel.

Obviously, such a regularly and officially functioning body would be far more effective than the present perfunctory Human Relations Committee which has no direct head, no stated regular meetings or a broadly defined and law-supported function.

LOCAL FEPC

(2) The second forerunner to a Public Accommodations law would be an ordinance stipulating Fair Employment Practices on all public works projects paid for in whole or in part by municipal funds or bond issue monies of the city of Louisville.

The Mayor should appoint and the Board of Aldermen should enact by ordinance, a Louisville FEPC. Its main purpose should be to administer the intent of such an ordinance which should provide for penalties for violators.

Also, the FEPC should be empowered to initiate investigations, receive and investigate all complaints of unfair employment practices forbidden by ordinance; to endeavor to adjust all such complaints by education, persuasion and conciliation.

A local FEPC constituted as outlined above would be in direct keeping with the President of the United States' Government Contracts Committee and would set the tone for private enterprise employment practices.

Once we had a city-sponsored and regularly functioning Human Relations Council with official status, owners of private businesses catering to the general public would begin to feel and learn that desegregation in public accommodation is an official goal of city government just as it has been in education, recreation, municipal buildings, etc.

It is my considered opinion that our Negro alderman, his fellow board members and Mayor Hoblitzell can achieve both of these safeguards now with general public support. At least they can do Louisville's vast Negro citizenry the courtesy of initiating a sincere effort in this direction and stop pussyfooting.

Being Frank . . .

31a negro

About People, Places And Problems

By FRANK L. STANLEY

Chicago Defender

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — The Southern Bell Telephone Company, in a public relations gesture, is mailing double post cards to Louisville customers this week inviting comments and criticism.

According to District Manager H. E. Baird, "The telephone company will contact everyone who replies unfavorably and make every effort to clear up the source of his dissatisfaction."

Now this is perfect for what I, and I hope 20,000 other Louisville Negro homemakers, will complain about. Unquestionably every Negro telephone bill payer has a very justifiable complaint against Southern Bell's discriminatory employment policy. It does not hire Negroes in any obvious white collar capacities — least of all as operators.

Chicago, Ill.

For more than 20 years to my knowledge, going back to the days of J. A. Thomas' secretaryship, the Louisville Urban League has met and met and met with telephone officials in an effort to gain acceptance and consideration of Negro telephone operator applicants. Intermittently some dozen or more qualified Negro girls have applied only to be brushed off.

Sat. 2-6-60

Not too long ago, the Louisville Defender, in protest suggested editorially that every Negro telephone subscriber pay his monthly bill in pennies. As a follow-up, we personally encouraged several girls to apply. The monopoly again closed its eyes and ears to these appeals for fair employment. All the while, Negro operators have been hired in neighboring states very effectively.

But now, the telephone company inadvertently has given us another chance to register our complaint against employment discrimination — actually at its own expense.

All we need to do is write these simple words on Southern Bell's reply card: "I do not like your segregated employment policy. Why can't an operator be of any race if she's qualified?" Better still, use your own words, but tell the telephone company how you feel about its refusal to show appreciation enough for the thousands of dollars it earns monthly from Negro telephone subscribers.

Do this right away, because early in February the Urban League will hold a conference with telephone officials in another effort to get Negro operators. Southern Bell will be more receptive to the request if several thousand cards against employment discrimination precede this conference. Beside demonstrating broad Negro concern, these cards will test the sincerity of Southern Bell's stated promise of making "every effort to clear up the source of dissatisfaction."

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The dissatisfaction is employment discrimination. The source is Southern Bell. The offended persons are you and me and every Louisville Negro. The only way to influence this giant monopoly is through customer complaints. Write and mail yours today. If you haven't received a card, write a letter today.

We must exercise our influence at every opportunity that is afforded us to speak up for complete job equality. Rest assureded that we will not put ourselves in the position of beggars but, rather, assume the position of a demanding public that has been discriminated against by a monopoly subscribed to by us for its services.

We as subscribers are pouring our money into an institution that hires thousands, and, yet fails to show any justifiable reason why it cannot hire people from all segments of our local citizenry. Mailing Southern Bell your complaint is the easiest way you can help to eradicate its very unfair employment practices.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

They Just Don't Understand

PARIS — This is no lie. The photographer who took one special picture showing cops swinging their clubs on students at Portsmouth, Va., would get an ovation in Paris!

I had read about the young people sitting at lunch counters in many cities of the South in the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune.

But when I saw this particular photo in France — Soir, the biggest French daily in Paris, I was more than a bit shaken up. I thought the demonstrations had been peaceful, even though I should have known better.

This picture was a lulu. It pushed the news of Eisenhower's visit to South America right off the front page!

* * *

"BOY, WE could start a riot with this," an enthusiastic friend of mine said. "If we show this around the student cafes in the Latin Quarter, and talked things up a bit, things would start to hum!"

The funny thing is, every time something like this crops up in the papers, it is always a surprise to a lot of French people. Lynchings are bad, but they've heard about them before. Trying to get kids into various schools is also difficult to swallow.

But when it comes to something like eating a sandwich sitting down at a lunch counter — when you can buy other things in a store — passes all understanding. This one has dealt America a real blow among people who have been friendly up to now.

Ollie Stewart describes tragic mix-up of Summit talks

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — This is the story behind the story of the Summit Conference! It is the story of the most publicized, most frustrating, disappointing, short-lived, funny — but not-amusing get-together of the century!

It will go down in history as the conference that crashed before it got off the ground. But to me it is the story of 3,000 men and women of the Press going through two of the most agonizing days of their lives!

I hope I never see the likes of such an ill-fated fiasco.

* * *

EVERYBODY WHO'S anybody, in newspapers, radio, television and photography was on the scene. John Gunther shaking hands with Abdoulay Gassama, of Bamako, Sundan, Bill Lang, Janet Flanner, Jeoffrey Parsons and Dave Brown.

All the big wire services and TV networks. Japanese, Germans. Russians. Danes. Africans, Arabs, Jews, British and Indians.

* * *

YOU COULD hear any language you wanted to. You could see by the nice little badge what the man's name was and what paper he represented. It was a friendly gathering of reporters, and all you had to do was stick out your hand and you had a new friend.

So what happened after we all got settled down May 15 to go to work?

I'll tell you. We got faked out of position the very next day by the Russian H-bomb! In one day we had problems —and those who came from many thousand miles away were in a mess.

Have I time to send out my laundry? Christ, should I keep my hotel room for one night — or a week?

* * *

YOU NEVER SAW such long faces in your life. Some poor guys were to receive expense money — but knew by Monday that it wouldn't come. The editor at home would know that the conference was over! Others had rented cars on a weekly basis, or made plane reservations many days in advance. All these little matters had to be cancelled and done over again.

And those here on a special assignment didn't get any kind of a break. Before they could work even one day — boom! no job. They were lucky to get transportation to Paris and back home.

May 16 was really a black day in newspaper history. But at least we still had hopes that some settlement—thanks to Prime Minister MacMillan's efforts — could be worked out.

But May 17 was agony. We sat around in groups, waiting for somebody to say what we all knew. Failure.

ONE GUY WOULD ASK, "What do you think?" And the next guy would groan and say, "The same as you. We've had it."

Every rumor imaginable went the rounds, not because reporters are gullible, but because everybody was grasping at straws. Even Jim Hagerty said, "I don't know," as often as the rest of us.

"You'd run to the American press room to a briefing. Nothing cooking. Then you'd race down the hall to see what the British were saying. Zero again.

You'd hope against hope that the French press officer had picked up some fact or two. But they would merely shrug. And you knew the Russians weren't getting up off of a thing!

WE BLAMED everybody from Eisenhower to the guy who got himself shot down on May 1. We blamed the Russians. We blamed ourselves for expecting anything.

At the end of 48 hours the press building was like the corridor of a maternity ward. And instead of one or two fathers pacing up and down while waiting for news, there were three thousand of us.

But May 18, when word came that Khrushchev was coming, we perked up again. The joint got lively. It was time to adjourn — but at least we could go home with having seen one-fourth of the Summit characters. The rest never showed.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Meets Lady From Philly

PARIS — Front and center for a lady from Philadelphia. She is Mrs. May Ferguson, 121 West Phil-Ellena Street. When she passed through Paris recently, she had been on a good will tour to Ghana and was on her way home.

She left the States February 29 to take her godchild to his grandparents in Accra and, as she said, "the trip was a grand success from start to finish." Touring on her own, she likewise visited Liberia, Spain, Paris and London.

In Ghana, she was the guest of Prime Minister Nkrumah; in Monrovia, the Ambassador and Mrs. Kessu of Ghana gave a party for her, and in Paris, another ambassador from Ghana, J. E. Jantuah and wife, also laid out the red carpet.

Mrs. Ferguson is a member of the All-African Student Union, and hostess chairman of United Friends of Africa, in Philadelphia. She's also a member of the Order of Eastern Star, board member of the Parkside YMCA and co-chairman of the Urban League Guild.

* * *

SHE WAS especially proud of having made the trip by herself. "I wasn't sponsored by anybody," she told me, "and that way I was free to see and do whatever pleased me, and not somebody else. I found many things of interest in Africa, and I certainly hope to go back again."

Remember the name Grace Bumbry! You will almost surely hear it again, because this 23-year-old singer from St. Louis is already famous here in Paris. On March 26 she made a brilliant debut in the Paris Opera, singing the role of Amneris in "Aida" — and brought down the house!

Grace came over last October to study — and in less than six months has made, as the Paris Herald Tribune puts it, "a leap in what is certain to be a far - reaching international career!"

Already she has been engaged by the State Theater in Basel (Switzerland) for next season. A month after her arrival last fall, she sang with the Paris Philharmonic Chorus, and three weeks later sang the alto solos in Handel's "Messiah" with the same chorus together with the Colonne Orchestra, one of the finest in Paris.

* * *

SHE ATTENDED Northwestern University, where she met Lotte Lehmann. She later studied in California.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Rene With 7th Army Symphony

PARIS — William C. Rene, Los Angeles, Calif., was in Paris several days in late June with the 7th Army Symphony Orchestra. This excellent musical organization, now seven years old, represents Uncle Sam's military, by playing all over Europe.

Young Rene is part of the double bass section, and has been a member of the orchestra for 15 months. He is slated to leave the unit at the end of August to return to the USA— for a discharge— and this fall begins studying at the Los Angeles State College for a master's degree in music education.

The orchestra, which surprises Euro-

peans with its personnel of fine musicians, plays most of its concerts in Germany. The present tour touched northern and southern France, and lasted three weeks.

The group travels 30,000 miles every year. They stayed in Paris for five days, giving concerts, and had just concluded a short tour of Italy.

* * *

AFTER I HAD talked with Rene for quite a while, he just happened to mention that his father was a composer. So naturally, I asked him to name a song or two his father had written.

"Well," he said, "Dad wrote Louis Armstrong's theme song, Sleepy Time Down South. He also composed another well - known tune, When the Swallows Come Back to Capitstrano, and I Sold My Heart to the Junkman. Oh, yes, and he wrote one of Nat King Cole's first big hits, I'm Lost."

I just sat there with my mouth hanging open. No wonder the young man was playing in a symphony orchestra. With a father who had written these songs, he must have grown up on music!

* * *

THAT PERENNIAL star, Josephine Baker, is back on stage in Paris after several months in the USA and Canada. The fabulous singer and dancer may be seen throughout the summer at the same spot she dominated last year, the Olympia Theater.

Her show has the same name, but it's all new. New costumes, new acts to support the star, and some new publicity all over the city— including big cards in the subway and on practically every bus. And naturally most of the papers are carrying big ads.

When Josephine and her impresario were arrested recently in Canada, on a warrant sworn out by an American, observers here saw the arrest as a smear on Josephine for her outspokenness where American racial discrimination is concerned.

And when the Canadian judge threw the case out of court, it was played up big in Paris. Nobody believed that she had stolen some costumes— with the fabulous wardrobe she has at her dis- all the time.

And for her third look at Olympic competition, she showed up in Rome a few weeks ago. Sat 4-24-60

I missed her in Rome, although we went to some of the same places and saw some of the same people. Coming back to Paris, I found that I'd missed her by a day, since she was flying back to Manhattan to get ready for work.

P 4 * *

BUT SHE LEFT me a note. Says she went as usual to visit friends in Norway and Sweden, and came down to Paris intending to finish her vacation in France. It was so rainy, however, that she took off for Rome.

Report From Europe

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By Ollie Stewart

Sat 10-1-60
P 4

Praise For Hansberry's Play

PARIS —"A Raisin in the Sun," Lorraine Hansberry's prize-winning play of a Chicago family's struggle to get a toehold in a white neighborhood, recently opened here — and looks like being an immediate hit.

"A fine, exciting American play has come to town!" exclaims Thomas Quinn Curtiss in the N.Y. Herald Tribune (European Edition), and many other complimentary things are being written about "Raisin" in the French papers.

Over the years, plays and musicals about, or with, colored Americans have almost without exception been well received.

* * *

DRAMAS, NATURALLY, have been scarcer than musicals, because of the language difficulty with an American cast. But "Raisin" is done now in French, and the adaptation has been so well done that nothing of the play's message has been lost.

The French generally are about equally divided on color problems in the USA.

One half are openly sympathetic to the person being denied full equality; the other half try to understand what it's all about — so that when Americans press them on Algeria, they have a comeback.

Report From Europe

3rd name

By Ollie Stewart

Her, Sixth Trip To Europe

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

PARIS—Public School teacher Ruth Allen of New York City made her sixth trip to Europe this summer.

I'm fairly sure I saw her in London in 1948 at the Olympic Games—but I know she was in Helsinki in 1952.

This is it, Ollie says of Summit

By OLLIE STEWART
AFRO Foreign Correspondent

PARIS — This is one Summit meeting that had better get something done. It won't be a failure if President Eisenhower, Premier Khrushchev, Prime Minister McMillan and President de Gaulle accomplish one of several things that will lessen the tension. But they'd better agree on something!

They can't afford to fail this time. Too much as at stake.

This reporter has been in Paris when many big conferences have been held. Very little was accomplished — and I couldn't have cared less. But this time I care. Millions of other people care. This time we've got a right to expect something.

* * *

THIS SUMMIT gathering has been talked about and written about for months. Everybody has talked to everybody else in advance— and the whole world is tensely waiting to expel a sign of relief if something gets done.

Every AFRO reader has a stake in this meeting. And so has the man in the street in every country in the United Nations. The big men now meeting in Paris are the most powerful in the world today— more powerful even than the UN itself— and what they're here for can be stated in three words:

To prevent war!

* * *

PROPAGANDA drums are booming in many capitals, and experts are making statements for home and foreign consumption. But the issue is clear: do we have war and destroy ourselves like fools, or do we stop making faces at each other and let the world get on with the business of living?

That's all this Summit gathering is about. But it's a big all. And it will take big minds to get to the heart of the thing and solve it.

There are many knotty problems to be ironed out, but a way must be found to iron them out. This nonsense about standing pat has go us into this mess, and it's got to go— or the meeting will be a failure. Concessions have to be made— by the USA, by Russia, Britain and France. It's better to lose some face than millions of lives.

* * *

BERLIN IS a cancer— and something must be done about it. The situation, as it now stands, is artifical, impractical and dangerous. Our leaders have been sweeping it under the rug for 15 years, and hoping it would go way. It won't. Some changes must be made.

Walter Lippman writes: "... Because West Berlin must live on without the prospect of becoming the capital of Germany, because its position is strategically, economically and juridically weak, I believe that the West ought to work for a new statute which will give West Berlin permanent international status backed by all the guarantees that can be devised."

The alternative to this is a continuing brink-of-war situation, ultimatums and a constant state of jitters. President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev should tackle and settle the Berlin problem once and for all.

Some progress must be made on disarmament, and the stopping of nuclear tests. It's no good to keep repeating that "we're ready to stop this and stop that— but we can't trust the other fellow."

* * *

THERE'S GOT to be some trust. Otherwise the arms race will grow to monstrous proportions.

Africa should come in for discussion. Ways and means must be worked out to assist each new nation gaining independence. There is no need whatever for Washington and Moscow to be fighting over these new countries like dogs over a bone. They need economic aid as badly as the Marshall Plan countries did after the war— but not with strings that amount to a strangle hold attached.

These are just a few of the things the Summit meeting can iron out. One or two solutions will make the meeting a success. Failure must mean that big conferences are a waste of time. This just about our last chance to talk it out instead of shooting it out!

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Gate-crasher Fools Guards

ROME — To take care of emergencies, the Italian Olympic Committee has the following persons always on call: 200 doctors, 89 male and 80 female nurses, 200 stretcher bearers, 50 ambulances, 3 helicopters, 2 motorboats and 2 radio-equipped first aid cars

Gate crasher with imagination: Wells Forde, Los Angeles, who attends Valley College and is vacationing in Europe. Forde breezed through the gate at the Olympic Village every day for more than a week — dressed as an athlete. He wore different sweat shirts and what ooked like truck-suit tousers, and marched or jogged past the guards as though he had been outside for a workout.

Most important of all, he ate with the athletes and saved money. "I usually work up a sweat just before I hit the gate," he told me. "The guards don't even give me a second glance."

* * *

HAITI, WITH a flag bearer and only one athlete, got a big hand from the opening-day crowd of 100,000 at the Olympic Stadium.

When Rafer Johnson carried the flag for the American team into the Stadium, he set two firsts — the first tan American to carry Old Glory, and the flag he carried was the first with 50 stars to ever wave at the Olympics.

The straw hats worn by the American men — with blue and white bands and a narrow brim — looked downright silly to me. A few observers giggled and made funny remarks. The equipment committee can do better than that — or there shoud be a new committee.

The Russians and Americans got a big hand as they marched into the Stadium, and so did India, the most colorful team of all.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Josephine Closes Her Show

PARIS — Josephine Baker closed her show, "Paris, Mes Amours," on September 19. The show, which was still drawing well, had been running here at the Olympia Theater since last spring.

On closing night, I went backstage to see Josephine say one more goodby to Paris. She astonished me by looking more youthful than last year — if that is possible.

She was given a tremendous ovation as the final curtain went down, and the usual mob was stacked three deep around her dressing room door. When I could get a foot inside, I asked Josephine how she felt. "Never felt better!" she replied.

* * *

THEN SHE TOLD me that after "three or four" days at home with the children in Dordogne, she was off to Italy until the end of November. She pointed to two men in the outer waiting room, and said, "They're here for final talks on arrangements for making the film of my life."

I'd heard that Josephine was going to star in the operetta, "The Merry Widow," early in the year in Paris. So I asked about that. "Oh, I'm going to do the operetta," she said, "but later. After the picture of my life."

My final question concerned the children. How are they? What are they doing?

"Goodness!" exclaimed Joe, "the main thing they're doing now is growing. They're shooting up so fast I hardly know them"

I haven't seen a movie in a long, long time — but so far this year I've heard about two I think I might see —when they finally get made. One is the life story of Bricktop, which she told me in Rome was going to be filmed soon. And the other is the Josephine Baker story.

* * *

IT HAS JUST occurred to me that the big Summit get-together I was supposed to see in Paris last May, got transferred to New York in September —by accident!

The only Big Four member missing has been President De Gaulle of France. Eisenhower, Khrushchev and MacMillan were there — and De Gaulle's absence was made up for by Nasser, Nkrumah, Castro, Tito and Kadar!

Actually, according to observers in Paris, a lot more can be accomplished in an unplanned Summit than in a ballyhooed fiasco like that of last spring.

Roaming in Rome

BY OLLIE STEWART

ROME — The first visitor I met in the City of Seven Hills is a man who knows all about athletics. He should know. For 25 years he directed the athletic program at Wilberforce, out in Xenia, Ohio.

Mack Greene is the name.

A COUPLE of years ago, a Fulbright grant was dropped into Greene's lap, and he went off to India for the U. S. State Department. The Fulbright was extended, and Greene began to like India, so he sent for his family. Now he may never return to Wilberforce as a teacher.

He has left the State Dept. and is at present consultant on physical education for the Council of YMCA's of India and Ceylon—and he's crazy about his work.

"It's a good deal," he told me while we were having lunch at the Rome YMCA. "The pay is good and the allowances for my family and for travel are excellent."

* * *

GREENE is in Rome for a month, attending a series of conferences. His wife and daughter, who have been visiting in the USA for several months, arrived in Rome just as the Olympic Games got underway. In September, the re-united family goes back to Madras. Greene has a contract to work there for five years.

He's also a sculptor. He did several busts of Prime Minister Nehru, and the one the Indian leader liked best was unveiled last year in an impressive ceremony in Delhi. An excellent photographer, Greene takes pictures of his subjects, and works from these instead of live models.

* * *

THE ROMANS are lying in wait for the Olympic visitors. They expect to reap a fortune, mainly from free-spending Americans.

But they may get fooled!

Every time the word went out that it would be difficult to get rooms during the Olympics, and tickets for the games, a few more thousand people decided to stay away. And since so many people are afraid to come, the number of tourists could fall well below the estimated figure.

I saw the effects of this in my notel. I arrived a week before the Games, hoping, even with a reservation, to get a place to sleep. And you know what I found? I found the hotel practically empty!

* * *

MORE AND MORE tourists have been arriving every day since — but a lot of them have stayed only overnight, and kept on going.

"What's happend to the tourists?" the manager asked me.

I told him I didn't know, but that wasn't exactly the truth. I could have said that with hotel prices doubled, and food sky-high, a lot of hard-working folk decided to see Rome at another time.

APPARENTLY nobody told the Italians the fable about the goose and the golden egg.

If they don't get all the riches, they expect, they'll know what it means to kill said goose.

Prices on handkerchiefs, scarves, jewelry and other souvenir items have been priced right out of reason. At one hotel a woman calmly informed me that her prices were doubled on August 25 — and I hope her place stays empty.!

True, the Italian government has spent a fortune to erect and build all necessary facilities for the Games. But most of the facilities will be permanent. Olympic Village, for instance, will become a low-cost housing project; so none of the money will be wasted.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Chats With Thurgood In Paris

PARIS—Thurgood Marshall finally made it to Paris. This is something I have longed hoped for, but now that it has happened, I'm forced to admit that Mr. NAACP did not see much of the city or the people.

Why? Because he was too busy. He was too busy answering the phone, or waiting for somebody else to call him on the phone. I counted six calls within a half hour.

Thurgood journeyed to London early in the new year to act as advisor to the African elected members of a group which had come to London to draw up a constitution for Kenya. There were objections to another advisor, but none to Thurgood Marshall.

* * *

HE HAD BEEN promised a chance to fly back home and see his family for the week-end, after a couple of weeks in London. But when the sessions lasted longer than expected, going home was out of the question. So when somebody suggested a week - end in Paris, Thurgood grabbed at the chance to get a little rest.

He wrote Mercer Cook, and Mercer met him at the air terminal on a Friday night, and had him to dinner in his home that night.

Next morning I called Thurgood, and he told me to come around to see him at the George V hotel. I made it in a few minutes—and when I entered his room he was on the phone to London.

* * *

WE TALKED ABOUT old times, about people we both knew, and about the Kenya conference—and every now and then the phone would ring again. Thurgood was in fine form. He filled me in on the background of the conference. He figured it would last until the end of January—if the various groups could ever be persuaded to work together.

Then Thurgood got to talking about his son. This went on for a full fifteen minutes. He didn't have a son the last time I had seen him, so he had to bring me up to date. No Papa could have had more pride in his voice than Thurgood.

When I left, he was still waiting for more calls.

* * *

DUKE ELLINGTON has been named by the British magazine "Melody Maker" as the Musician of the Year—1959, that is. He was also voted the top composer. Count Basie was named the top big hand leader.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

'Free And Easy' Draws No Raves

PARIS—"Free and Easy"—a jazz operetta—which is touring all over Europe before showing in America, opened recently in Paris for a month's run at the Alhambra Theater. There was a packed house the first night, due mainly to several big names in the cast.

Harold Nicholas and Irene Williams are billed as the stars. Harold is one half of the famous Nicholas Brothers, who've been split up for quite a while, and Irene was last seen here with Porgy and Bess.

Martha Flowers is also featured in the musical extravaganza. She too was in Porgy and Bess, as was Harold Barnes and Moses Lamarr. Lillian Hayman likewise has a good role as pious Sister Chloe. Music is by Harold Arlen, and the orchestra is directed by Quincy Jones.

THIS OFFERING, while very good in spots, simply has too many weak moments between the good spots. It should rightly be billed as a revue, because a lack of continuity keeps it from being an operetta. It just depends upon which performer happens to be on stage at the moment.

In Europe it will probably pay its way, because Europeans never seem to get enough of jazz, good voices, brown bodies and fancy dancing. All these things are displayed in "Free and Easy"—in good measure—and if the whole show had a good overhauling and general tightening up, it just might have a chance on Broadway.

But in its present shape, the show is drawing nightly mainly because the artists have brown skins and can sing and dance. This has been a surefire formula in Europe for many a year—and the end is not yet in sight.

ONE MIGHT WISH, nowever, that before "Free and Easy" reached Paris, the producers had hired somebody to write a really good "book" for this otherwise delightful revue. It has too much that is good to be lost by the wayside.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Speaks Piece On Rock 'n' Roll

PARIS — For a long time I have been wanting to say a few things about the rock 'n roll business. Not to condemn it, nor to praise it. I'm neutral. I can take it or leave it. My interest is strictly that the situation is ironical.

I may get hacked to pieces for this, but from what I can hear on records and the radio here in France and in England, everything that isn't a waltz these days is called rock 'n roll. It just about covers the field, and its popularity in Europe was never greater.

But what keeps coming back into my mind is a conversation I had with Lionel Hampton several years ago. Hamp was here at the Olympia and his band was swinging like mad. It had a beat drive — everything. Then backstage one day, I brought up the subject of rock n' roll, for what reason I can't remember.

* * *

LIONEL TOLD me we stopped playing rock 'n roll years ago — or practically stopped. We played it for years, and now we've moved on to other things. But we didn't play the same thing you hear these days. We rocked — we didn't bounce!"

And I remember that somebody else told me that Louis Jordan played rock 'n roll many, many years ago. I can shut my eyes now and hear "Caldonia — what makes your big head so hard?" I can still hear the beat, and it really rocked. But it had little resemblance to what they call rock 'n roll today.

Which brings me to the irony I mentioned earlier. The people who created rock 'n roll dropped it quite a while ago. It was the real thing, but it was only moderately popular. The imitators — who have just now latched on — are reaping a harvest of gold. They've kept the name; but that's about all they've kept of the real rock 'n roll.

* * *

AS LANGSTON HUGHES said in one of his books, spirituals are just about the only thing the "other folks" haven't taken over. Jazz, blues, swing, bop—the whole lot, they've been taken up and exploited by those who had no part in their creation.

Here in Europe you see it more clearly than from the other side of the ocean. A few times the people who gave us certain types of music forms have actually been compared — unfavorably — with newcomers who are copying like crazy. And pretty soon the creator is out of a job.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Big Question Unanswered

PARIS—The Kenya talks in London are over, and the delegates have gone home. Thurgood Marshall, advisor to the African elected delegation, is back on the job as chief legal counsel for the NAACP, and the British colonial secretary has expressed satisfaction at the progress made.

But the biggest question raised at the Kenya talks has not been answered. It is a curious question—one that the average man in America, so far from the scene, might possibly not understand.

It is a question that will come up again and again, as other nations in black Africa come forward with demands for independence. It is this: What to do about the handful of white settlers when Africans get their freedom?

* * *

THERE HAVE BEEN many answers put forward—some very simple and direct to the point. Some extremists among the Africans have stated bluntly that they should be wiped out. Period.

Tom Mboya and his African associates at the London conference took the

NOW IS THE

moderate view that under their slogan of "One man, one vote," the whites should be treated like anybody else in Kenya—knowing full well that a few thousand whites among millions of Africans would have little or no power.

But Group Captain Briggs, leader of the small white group, has demanded that special measures should be taken to give the whites, though small in number, equal representation in the government when Kenya becomes free.

* * *

THE ASIANS, mostly Indians and Chinese, refused to support this view. The Africans were definitely against it. Why, they asked, should whites be given preferential treatment? If they are a minority, let them be outvoted. The Kenya constitution should not grant favored treatment to any person, they insisted.

They had to settle for something less than this in the end, but they made their point. And they haven't given up on the "One man, one vote" policy. They compromised a bit so that the conference would not break down entirely. But the Briggs group did not get all they wanted either.

So the question still remains. Will the few who have been so powerful in Africa for so many years, still stay in power with an independent government?

It would seem almost unnecessary to ask such a question. Africans say "No!" in no uncertain terms. They are willing to live and let live—but they are determined to run their country with as little help from whites as possible.

Report From Europe

By Ollie Stewart

Meet An Expert On Africa

Paris — Few Americans know as much about New Africa and the modern leaders who are emerging as country after country moves toward independence, as Dick Campbell. Who is Dick Campbell?

He is the husband of singer Muriel Rahn. He is a manager of top-flight artists. He is consultant on African Affairs for the American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA), which handles all State Department attractions.

Campbell, who has just concluded his fourth trip around Africa (not just to Africa), has a vast fund of knowledge about this tremendous continent because for four successive years he has visited over 25 countries and talked with thousands of Africans on a man-to-man basis, in each country visited.

MENTION KENYA, and he can tell you stories about Tom Mboya and other men who are waging a war for freedom. Say Tanganyika, and he is well informed on the background of the first colored Cardinal, Laurian Rugambwa. He knows Nairobi, Lagos and Casablanca.

Campbell has had a hand in selecting most of the entertainment the State Department has sent to Africa in the past several years. He considers the likes of potential audiences, and when a band or singer is up for consideration, he makes a decision based on what the Africans have told him. That's why NATA tours have been so successful.

No attempt is made to ram culture down the throats of the Africans. If they want spirituals, they get spirituals. If it's a band with a beat, but heavy on the bongos, they get just that.

ACE TRUMPETMAN Doc Cheatham came by my house with Campbell near the end of March. They were en route to Casablanca to wind up a 14-week tour for the State Dept., after traveling through 15 African countries with the Herbie Mann orchestra.

To Be A Witness Of History

Ollie finds bond with Rugambwa

By OLLIE STEWART
AFRO Foreign Correspondent

ROME — There's no doubt about it. Laurian Cardinal Rugambwa has really been making history here these past few days! And I even made a little myself.

The new Cardinal was the first African in 1,500 years to be given a place among the Princes of the Catholic Church at the Vatican — and I was the only representative of a colored paper to be present at the various ceremonies here that made him truly a Cardinal.

Each time he saw me he smiled as though there were a bond between us. And his smile seemed to say, "Well, here we are, you and I. You represent one group and I another — but we're both doing something that will go down in the book. This never happened before!"

* * *

AS FAR AS Cardinal is concerned, Pope John XXIII bore him out in remarks made March 28 at the consistory. Noting that the first African, Japanese and Filipino Cardinals had now been made, the Pope said:

"All are equally created to the glory of the Lord that sanctifies the peoples without discrimination of language, descent or color."

He later added that if this is "most new in the history of the Church and of peoples" it is still "the seal of ancient doctrine and tradition followed for two millenniums."

All Rome seemed to share in the feeling of history being made — in the Catholic Church, if you please — but history nonetheless. The Propaganda Fide, where Cardinal Rugambwa was formally notified of his elevation, faces the Piazza di Spagna, where the American Express is located.

SMALL GROUPS of American tourists crowded around on Monday morning to watch the arrival of the new Cardinals and other Church dignitiaries. They didn't cheer, but there was a special stir and an air of excitement when the Bishop of Rutabo entered — to leave a Cardinal. Rome newspapers were full of his pictures. No other Cardinal attracted half as much attention as the man from Tanganyika!

And what about me — the sole colored reporter on hand!

Well, the room for the ceremony was crowded when I arrived, but for the same reason that Cardinal Rugambwa attracted attention, the laymen and even fellow journalists made way for me. Their action seemed to say that they knew I had special reason to be right down front — which is just where I placed myself.

And, brother, was I photographed! The ceremony was late getting under way, and for a time there you might have thought I was getting a Red Hat!

They really turned the cameras on me. One French journalist and one Italian asked what paper I represented, and I let them have "AFRO-AMERICAN" in a nice loud voice.

I HAD my camera but no flash attachment. But by waiting for the floodlights from the newsreel boys, I was able to get a shot or two. However, when I had no such light, I had to sit and wait.

Then came a surprise, which ended in something I'd never seen done before — and I heard Cardinal Rugambwa and a few others gasp when it happened.

An Italian photographer with a Strobe flash pulled out the plug from his camera and offered to plug it into mine, so that I could shoot with my camera and use his flash. I wasn't sure it would work, but we tried it.

We held our cameras side by side, and he raised his flash. I sighted on the Cardinals and clicked. The light flashed brightly and I had my picture. For me, it was like getting a blood transfusion — with the flash from the Italian giving all-important brightness to my camera. For several pictures that I took, the Italian and I were like Siamse twins.

SIGNIFICANTLY, OUR cooperation seemed to please everybody who saw it. The Churchmen smiled and showed their appreciation of one man, an Italian, helping another, a colored American, on an everyday level.

Cardinal Rugambwa, I am sure, realizes that he is on the spot. He is a man who will be watched for a long time to come. Even the Holy See, which has taken a most commendable step in elevating him, will keep him under close scrutiny.

The Pope has even gone on record (in a statement last week while visiting the poorer sections of Rome) as referring to Cardinal Rugambwa as a "prudent" man. This can only mean that they don't expect him to take the bit in his teeth now that he is a Prince of the Church.

The first black man in our time who can possibly become Pope cannot be completely isolated from the public, but he is being guarded as much as possible. True, I saw him and talked briefly with him. But I was asked what questions I wanted to put to him!

And when we talked, he knew and I knew that he couldn't say anything but the most innocent things!

MY GUESS is that he will be allowed to return to Tanganyika after some weeks, after a series of talks at the Propaganda Fide—the missionary division. Then I think he will be brought back to the Vatican to work in the missionary field. He is missionary-trained.

It doesn't seem likely that a Cardinal will be left in such a small field as Tanganyika. Cardinal Rugambwa has a doctorate in canon law. He is well trained for a top post at the Vatican, and I think he will get one.

After all, he must have been selected for a special reason. There are, as he himself remarked, other colored Bishops who might have been elevated, but the Pope chose him.

Why? It seems reasonable to assume that he was picked for a special spot, already decided on. And the diocese of Rutabo seems too small for a man of his caliber.

He's only newsman of color at Summit

By OLLIE STEWART
AFRO Staff Correspondent

PARIS — Did you ever attend a Summit Conference—where the men who head the governments of the four most powerful nations in the world sit down to talk things over?

Silly question! No average man or woman ever gets any closer than shooting distance to these top-level talks. But if you're a little bit curious, you might like to know something about how these things function. What, exactly, goes on behind the scenes?

Since I've been assigned by the AFRO to bring you up to date on this May 16th get-together, let's see what's cooking in the corridors. Let's look at the wheels that have been turning long before the big men arrive in Paris.

* * *

WELL, SECURITY measures were worked out here weeks ago — to be sure that nobody with a grudge would have half a chance to shoot, satb or bomb either Eisenhower, De Gaulle, Khrushcheve or McMillan! From arrival (except for De Gaulle), everywhere they go is plotted in advance — and the route covered and screened by Secret Service men.

Jim Hagerty, press secretary, arrived Friday (the 13th) to make last-minute checks before President Eisenhower's arrival on Sunday (May 15) at ten in the morning. Secretary of State Christian Herter got in Friday afternoon—and didn't spend Saturday shopping. He held preliminary talks with other secretaries of state.

Incidentally, for the social column, here's a note: only Mrs. Eisenhower and Mrs. Herter were brought along to Paris. They were the only wives on the official list. Also, they and their husbands were the only ones put up at the ambassador's residence, 2 Avenue Iena.

* * *

THIS NEIGHBORHOOD isn't at all healthy for strolling too close during the conference. In addition to the Secret Service men, the marine guard at the American Embassy has been doubled so that part of them can watch Avenue Iena both day and night.

Incidentally, again, the Marines normally number 35 — and are upped to 70 on this occasion. They are still all white —despite all that Congressman Adam Powell and I have tried to do previously.

How much will the conference cost American taxpayers? Nobody can tell you, but Congress set aside $200,000 for this one, and any other meetings that may grow out of this one. This money must last until July.

"Pretty cheap talk," I heard one reporter say, "considering the cost of a war!"

* * *

THE PRESIDENT'S car has been sent ahead and guarded, so that nobody can tamper with brakes or instal a bomb or two.

He came over in his private jet plane, which is quite a thing to behold. It has a complete office set-up, in addition to sleeping quarters. But what tickles my fancy is the fact that there's a telephone in the plane that keeps the President in touch with Washington at all times while in the air!

All he has to do is pick up the receiver — and a voice answers, "White House!" Not bad, huh?

So what else do we know about the Summit? Well, at the first session at the French Foreign Office on Monday, Eisenhower had only one man with him — his official interpreter, Alexander Akalovsky. Nobody else. And the other heads of state had only their one man too. At other sessions they will have several advisors—in many cases, their secretary of state.

* * *

AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS — there are about 50 of us — have working space in the Palais du Chaillot, where the United Nations used to be. We were given our official passes the day Hagerty arrived.

I wish it were not so, but it is: I am the only colored accredited journalist covering the Summit Meeting from start to finish.

The AFRO (and I say this seriously) deserves great credit for bringing its readers as many facts about this important meeting as possible. Every decision made will affect every living American — and many not yet born!

More than that, the very presence of a colored face in a top-flight gathering of this kind, says to the world that we are aware of what's going on, so don't regard us lightly. There should be at least a half dozen colored papers represented at a meeting this important!

* * *

AMBASSADORS AND specialists of one sort and another are here from all over the world. Washington has combed its legations and embassies around the globe to bring to Paris any person with special knowledge. The entire American delegation numbers about fifty.

Correspondents are given two briefings a day—either at the Hotel Crillon by Jim Hagerty, or the Chaillot by a delegation spokesman.

There's a shuttle bus from the Embassy to the Chaillot, every half hour. This cuts down on parking worries, for those who have cars.

While this conference is going on, the French are also putting on the yearly big household exhibition which draws people from all over France. This means that the streets are abnormally crowded without the Summit —and the streets are really jammed.

AND IF anybody has the idea that this kind of meeting is easy to cover, please let me set them straight. Everything is done behind closed doors, and most of the time when the doors open the best you can get is a blunt, "No comment."

This ususally comes after you've been cooling your heels in the corridor for hours. You've not only missed your dinner — but very likely a pretty good morsel of information you would have got if you had been somewhere else!

31a 1960

Tubbs, ex-Afro scribe, gets Hollywood post

Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

HOLLYWOOD — One of the nation's most widely traveled colored newsmen has been employed by one of the film capital's largest studios as a publicist covering the entire USA, it was announced by Warner Bros. this week.

* * *

VINCENT TUBBS, long established as one of the nation's outstanding newsmen and writers, left Hollywood on Friday to begin work in Philadelphia on exploitation of "This Rebel Breed," a William Rowland production being released by the Warner Bros. studios. He is scheduled to visit New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago before the World Premiere of the film in Philadelphia on March 4th.

31a now

A FORMER war correspondent for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, Tubbs covered both the Pacific and European phases of World War II, establishing himself as such a keen observer and reporter of the facts that he was chosen by the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association for a special White House mission to Africa.

Under the aegis of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and with State Department sponsorship, he traveled throughout British West Africa as a member of a 3-man commission studying African politics, economy, and folk life.

The recommendations of the commission formed the basis of the establishment of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations which was originally headed by Dr. Ralph Bunche.

Later, Tubbs worked as assistant managing editor of the AFRO-AMERICAN for 8 years.

Negro News Events

E. P. WALLACE
News Editor
and Advertising Solicitor

INEZ J. BASKIN
Assistant Negro
News Editor

E. H. MASON, Assistant Advertising Solicitor
South Jackson at High

P 6 A

All items must be turned in before 12 noon daily to insure publication in the next day's issue of The Alabama Journal and following the next day in The Advertiser; and Friday by 12 noon for the Sunday Advertiser-Journal.

These columns are edited by and operated exclusively for Negroes.

Negro News and Advertising Branch Office
910 Highland Ave. Tel. AM 2-1611, Ext. 63

Around Town

By E. P. Wallace

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

CONCERNED NEGRO LEADERSHIP MUST ARISE

The best thinking of the Negro leadership in the South, strongly backed by cool, deliberate action is going to be highly essential at this time to prevent, what can well be a chain of catastrophic clashes, over this Southland. The white friends of the Negro race in the South have been offering words and gestures of conciliation and friendly cooperation during this time of enraged racial controversy. For too many years this sound and Christian advice has been ignored or drowned in the fury of the agitator and fanatic of both races.

The good solid Southern Negro is being made a dire victim of the greedy politician and the avid race agitator. Actually the best interests and the bright future of the Negro in the South is being sacrified on the evil alters of personal greed. These agitators command exceedingly high salaries. Martin Luther King is growing wealthy according to admitted tax figures. They collect handsome donations from the uninformed northern "do-gooders." "There may well be even more sinister goals among some who would divide and conquer this nation, for the despots of Moscow.

It is well known that the Negro bloc-vote in the North becomes highly valuable in election years. Thus the greedy yankee politician who cares nothing for the plight of the Southern Negro is willing to sacrifice the fate of the Negro in Dixie if he can win personal position and personal profit.

It must be realized by the deeply concerned Negro leaders in the South, as well as among those of the white race who are seriously involved by events in Dixie, that no amount of law passing or even court action can bring the Negro a "land of milk and honey." The Negro is a vast minority in the South. He must live with Southern majorities and depend upon them for his future to a large degree. The more he can and does assume individual and group responsibility, the less he becomes dependent upon the white majorities. However, his day of complete independence is generations away, maybe even centuries.

While the Congress can make impractical laws and the courts can render unwise decisions, still the people in the South, those of both races, must live these laws and decisions. Laws can be enforced only when they are accepted by the majorities. Unsound and stupid laws and decisions can only create bitterness, and hatred. There are volumes of past history to prove this truism.

If Negro institutions in the South promote and create impossible dangers and use force in these promotions, then the vast Southern majorities must and will take steps to neutralize and eliminate these continuing threats to both races. Unless there is calm and sound Negro leadership in the South that can wield strong influences in the immediate future, the fate of the Southern Negro must suffer to an unlimited extent. After the political furies die in Washington, and after the high pay of the fanaticial agitator stops, the Southern Negro must continue to live with the Southern white majorities. That is unless he emigrates from his Southern homeland.

The hatred and bitterness created by the Civil War lasted for a century and is not yet even absolutely erased. The situation in Dixie at this moment is becoming close to the dark days of Southern Reconstruction of nearly 100 years ago. The Southern majorities will in the end control the South.

It must be the hope and prayer of all concerned Christians in the South, that proper Negro leadership will arise to replace the dangerous fanaticism that rules at this moment. The past decade has seen the bitter chasms of racial division widen to the point of open violance. A spirit of love, respect and cooperaton must replace this division, or the future of both races in the South will grow darker and darker, while the Negro's future is bound to hold endless suffering and wrought with the devil's own brew. Time is running out for aggressive action on the part of those who are really concerned about the future of the Negro race in the South.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

WE CAN ONLY FIND ONE ANSWER

The voters in Alabama and across the Southland are hearing many high sounding words about loyalty to the national Democratic party at this time. The dim will increase as the Convention date in Los Angeles approaches and will probably reach heights during the May primaries in Alabama, and after the national democratic party selects the presidential standard bearers in July.

It is going to be necessary for the Southern voter to understand what loyalty means, and to whom his loyalty is being pledged and for what purpose. First, the meaning of the word loyalty according to the dictionary is fidelity to a superior, to a duty, love or a principle.

Thus actually loyalty to the national democratic party, could be a fine thing, or it could be a false love or duty leading to disaster. There were staunch loyalists in the early days of this nation, who were loyal to the British Crown and enemies of the newly formed United States of America. Loyalty often means and has usually meant in the past a fidelity to some reigning prince or sovereign.

When Southerners in the political world claim to be loyal, it must be assumed that they are pledging fidelity to the principles of the national democratic party, or it could be love for this political power, which would place them in same category as the loyal slave toward his master.

No one with ability to use average intelligence could dispute that the South faces its darkest hours in 1960. It has happened here. Regardless of all political promises about a fight within the party. The South faces open riot, with race bitterness flaring into open violence. A violence which must be credited to politicians at the national level, who have used and are still using this issue to attain personal gain and position.

Can there only be one-way loyalty? Is unreturned love really love? Is faithfulness which is unappreciated and spurned, really faithfulness, or do these high sounding words, become the muttering of blind and ignorant allegiance. Is blind loyalty to a principle or a duty, regardless of what the principle or duty may be, a true loyalty or an avenue to disaster and enslavement?

The South has been loyal to the national democratic party in a blind and ignorant sort of fashion for many years. But how loyal has this party been to the South? We have seniority in the Congress, but we have been burdened with "civil rights," destruction of our Southern tradition, and endless insult and vile mistreatment. We have been loyal to forces bent on Southern destruction. We have surrendered our political freedom for political chains. Is this loyalty? Try as hard as we can, we see this blind loyalty and queer allengiance to insidious enemies as a road to continuing disaster, which we already have tasted liberally.

Can we be loyal to men like Adam Clayton Powell, to the big city bosses who bloc-vote Negroes wholesale, to the Paul Butlers, to unscupulous labor leaders, to wild advocates of leftism, the race fanatics, and still have any loyalty, love and sense of duty to ourselves, our families and the future of our South? Is there but one answer?

If there is another we have not been able to find it.

PASSING SCENE

Talladega Daily Home Talladega, Ala. Sun 6/14/60

By J. L. WALLIS

TRUMAN IS DOING THIS NATION A GREAT SERVICE.

From statements being made by former President Harry S. Truman one might think that he was a candidate for the White House and working hard for the support of the States Rights, free electors in Alabama. He appears to be supporting the Southern cause far more than any leading national politician, and in fact more than a great number of Southern leaders.

As an ex-President, Truman has been far more friendly toward the South or one might say a bit more truthful, regardless of poltics than he ever was as president of the United States. He has openly and firmly denounced the Southern sit down demonstrations, or sit-in application of force, as being Communist inspired. Now he sticks to his guns and won't be changed in his accusations, regardless of the denials of his proclaimed pink-tinted Negro sit-down leaders.

If the communist plan is to divide and conquer, those who fire up the race controversy in the South could not be more ardent workers for the communist cause. Of course the forceful use of taking over private property is a pure communist procedure. And when any individual or group of individuals force their way to places where they are not wanted and take over a business operation, then force is being used, regardless of any denial of demonstration leaders like Martin King and his ilk. Their denials sound might like those spoken by Khrushchev and his Kremlin gang.

The sitdowners cry out for civil rights and human rights and all this kind of rights. But without property rights, which is a basic American right, there can be no rights of any kind. That is except those granted or withheld by an all powerful dictator or communist state. Of course in a communist state there are absolutely no property rights, for no tools with which an individual might earn a living are allowed to any individual Living quarters are assigned by the state. There are no rights of any description, and can be none in any land where there are no property rights.

Several candidates for the highest office in the nation have voiced support of the sit down demonstrations. How far down te road to communism can a free nation travel before it finds that there is no turning back? This nation has travelled a long, long way.

Truman says that the young Negro and renegade whites who join the sit-down demonstrations are probably not comunists, or at least few of them are. They are being made dupes and tools of the hard core communists that we have been so actively at work in our midst

Even in our Southern metropolis of Atlanta, Georgia there has just been a meeting of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This organization promotes sit down demonstrations and other activities to divide one race against the other in the South. The President of this organization is Aubrey Williams whose liberal activities are quite well known and among his officers is Methodist Bishop Edgar A. Love of Baltimore and others who have been associated with ultra liberal promotions. We are sure that many, if not most of the promoters, of this Southern discord are noncommunists, but many can serve as fronts or promoters of the same divide and conquer technic. We wonder what Truman would have to say about organizations that promote racial discord, like the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Gore, and others.

Truman could well be doing one of the greatest services to this nation that he has ever accomplished, in pointing out the communist relationship with the sitdowners who forcefully take over private property in a free America.

PASSING SCENE

Talladega Daily Home 3/8

By J. L. WALLIS

Talladega Ala. Wed 6/15/60

SOMEDAY THE SOUTH WILL RISE AGAIN, NOT IN 1960.

At the approaching National Democratic Convention, the Alabama delegation will represent a rather queer combination of Southern politics. Regardless of what becomes of Alabama's 29 votes in Los Angeles, real meat in the political coconut, will still be vested in the 11 Alabama electors. Regardless of whom the Democratic nominee may be five of Alabama's votes will go this Democratic aspirant. The other six, selected by a majority vote of free Alabama voters will go to a most favorable candidate, or it can be witheld by a vote for a minority favorite son.

No one going to Los Angeles can commit the six free Alabma electors. Thus it appears that Alabama will be represented in the final showdown by five electors who place party before anything else, whle a majority of six will place Alabama and the people of Alabama before any party interest. We wonder how Paul Butler can deal with this usual situation in national politics.

Anyway, the Democratic powers have been kind to us and we are grateful. We have been given a green light to attend the Los Angeles extravaganza. Our cause was aided by one of Alabama's loveliest lady politicans, Mrs. Lennard Thomas. We regret that she is retiring from the position of State Committeewoman, a place she served so gracefully for so long. Talladega County's own Charlie McKay, Jr. will be prominent in Los Angeles as the State Democratic Committeman. Our own local politicians, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Cooley and J. B. McKinney will be active on the Los Angeles scene.

There may be efforts to unite Alabama's voice at Los Angeles. There has been no unit vote in recent years, with all delegates voting freely. This might be changed in Los Angeles. Governor Patterson is openly and rather ardently supporting John Kennedy.

It may be that five of Alabama's all important electoral votes will go for Kennedy, but the other six will probably remain in doubt until the ranting and raving is all over. Kennedy might or might not get these six, and it is pretty sure that he will not get all six, and may be not even one. Passing Scene will be entrenched at the Californian Hotel, which is only a few blocks for the Teris Hotel on West 6th Street in Los Angeles. The Alabama delegation will be headquartered at the Teris, but it seems that not all members of the delegation can be housed there.

We suppose the big Los Angeles hotels are being assigned to the big all important eastern delegations, with heavy Negro bloc voting strength and southern states like Alabama must be happy with the smaller establishments. Paul Butler has threatened the South with a proposal to leave them out of the big show if they did not march down the line without asking questions. We do not expecct any sympathy for the South at Los Angeles, but there will be as much or maybe more than when the GOP show begins in Chicago later in the summer. Someday the South will rise up in a strong bond of political unity, with modern Calhouns, Clays and similar powerful leaders. When this happens, we have no doubt of the South recapturing the power it once held in this Democratic Party of our fathers. But it cannot happen in the present state of apathetic disunity.

WORTHY WRITES OF CUBAN IMPRESSIONS

NEW YORK — "Fair Play," the weekly publication of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee, carried an article in its July 22 issue by William Worthy, AFRO foreign correspondent, giving his views of the Cuban situation gleaned during a recent visit to Castro's domain.

31a 1960

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

31a White

KENNEDY'S PROBLEM NUMBER ONE

The Kennedy Administration is losing no time in making plans to take over the federal government of these United States. The federal government in this era of the 1960s has just about taken over all American government, so the task facing the Kennedy Clan, is one wthout limits. In the opinion of this column, the greatest task facing the new Kennedy government is one concerning internal economy.

While there are numerous problems which must be faced and for which solutions must be found, the greatest of these must be the problem which was not mentioned by either Mr. Nixon or Mr. Kennedy in the recently past campaigns. Unless our internal economy can meet the challenge of foreign competition, we can lose everything. Even though we are super powerful internationally, and have the greatest military power ever known, still we lose, if our economy at home goes on the rocks.

Recently in the business columns of the state's largest newspaper, there was some facts which concern this problem. Steel mills in Alabama that formerly employed many in the manufacture of barbed-wire, now employ no more than 10 percent of the number that made barbed wire a short time ago. This commonly used product is made abroad and shipped here to sell at much less than our own mills can produce it. The same thing can be said of common nails, and many other American products. All types of textiles are flowing in to our markets in ever increasing streams, while Americans are forced on the unemployed rolls.

American plants are going abroad by the hundreds. In foreign countries they will manufacture with foreign labor, and will reship the products back here to sell Americans. Thus, American jobs are moving wholesale to other countries aboard. The Japanese today are making the finest electronic devices of all types. They also are making the finest lenses in the world and America laboratories are being equipped with Japanese devices of all types. Once the cheap goods were made abroad and shipped into this country.

This has caused the flow of gold backed dollars away from the United States. This thing if allowed to continue, can bankrupt the wealthiest nation in history, or any nation, including the United States.

The basic cause of this new danger is of course the high wage rates in America, the high tax rates, and the open gate of our "good neighbor" policy. American business has been the target of many politicians. Some politicians have claimed that anything big is bad. Our Governor of Alabama condemns big newspaper, because they are big and do not follow his line. We can not manufacture in American for American markets and still have industry pay the highest taxes of record and the highest wages. Other manufacturers in the world must do likewise; or we must do as they do, or we can not compete. We will not have jobs for a growing America. The "new frontier" has never looked darker.

Once America had the know-how and the best machinery. We gave this away after world war two to help Allies recover. They now have the best and fastest machine tools. One German steel plant is said to be almost absolute automation. How can we with our out of date machines compete, especially using labor scales several times higher than those abroad. Abroad there is a labor shortage in many areas.

If we can not compete with the producing economies abroad we are already lost as a world power. Kennedy has the solid backing of American labor as the vote shows. The big industrial areas were for him. Maybe he can solve this most critical problem. Higher wage rates and higher taxes on industry will make the problem turn into a catastrophe. Lower wage scales would cause a revolt in the ranks of organized labor. With the labor vote in the offing, neither candidate mentioned this during the campaign. But it is the most serious problem now facing President-elect Kennedy. If it is not solved, no other problem need be solved for we are lost anyway.

PASSING SCENE

by J. L. WALLIS

THE SOUTH WILL GET WHAT IT VOTED FOR

President-elect John Kennedy did not win without the South. No democratic president has ever been elected without the support of the more or less Solid South.

In 1960, if several Southern states had given support to the Nixon ticket, then Kennedy could never have been elected. But will this make any difference in the hostile attitude of the new federal government toward Dixie? Former Governor, Collins, of Florida, who was the Chairman at the Los Angeles Democratic Convention, has already given his warning to this Southland. He has announced that Kennedy must carry out his radical civil rights platform, which is the harshest platform the South has ever had to endure.

It is claimed by the top GOP brass that several big states like Illinois and New York were lost because the Republicans lost heavily in the heavy Negro areas. In other words, the South has teamed again with the radical vote in big Northern cities to elect a President. This seems an impossible situation or a most improbable alignment in national politics. But it is true all the same.

The Southern states which went down the line for Kennedy must accept the verdict of the big northern city vote. The South is not given any credit for supporting the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. The credit goes elsewhere to big city bloc votes. We in the South have always given heavy support to the party which has pledged to do all the things we say we do not want and will not have.

We agree with former Governor Collins. The South can prepare to welcome the things for which it voted. It is impossible for non-Southerners to believe that the South opposes integration. It is difficult for Southerners to believe that there is any real opposition. Thus we must plan to accept with the least amount of violent opposition. Before Kennedy leaves the White House it can be expected that all schools in the Deep South will be mixed. Surely the powerful influence of the segregationist is broken. The segregationist is now a prejudiced bigot. Southern Governors and Southern Congressmen have flocked wholesale to support the same thing which is demanded by heavy bloc voting minority elements in the North.

It has been proved over and over again that there is no legal way to avoid or evade racial integration in the South. The issue was politically motivated and is politically controlled. Violence can accomplish nothing of value to any race. 1960 has been the turning point in all race controversy. The years of the decade ahead, or really the first four of the years, will bring a new way of life to the South. The last straw, it seems, was the recent vote in support of the candidates and platform of the present day ultra-liberal national Democratic party.

How can the South oppose, by any show of force or violence, the very thing they voted to support? The acceptance of the political inevitable should be easier after the recent vote, and it probably will be. Why make a futile show of objection any longer? Probably the time has come when a more graceful acceptance can and must be made. The warning by Collins has all the appearance of being most timely and apt. The crossroads are behind and the choice of the South is now history. Political expendiency has won what seems not only its biggest battle, but the war as well. The Southern surrender was written in the avalanche of Southern votes on November 8, 1960.

LOCAL and STATE

Headline Makers

by

PAT WATTERS

JOURNAL CITY EDITOR

Georgia's inner struggle over segregation was the dominant news of the day each day last week, which was one more closer to the hour of decision in May. Education, so vitally tied up with the conflict, provided the leit motif.

Otherwise, the big news was of politics, a still tree-shaking March weather lion, Saint Patrick's Day, animals and supermachines, with the week ending on the sad note of the hospitalization of Gov. Ernest Vandiver.

THIS WAS THE WEEK of the Negro college student demonstrations in Atlanta, anticipated yet somehow thought avoidable. It was called the largest single simultaneous demonstration yet in the Southland. Nearly everyone concerned, demonstrators, arresting police, onlookers, behaved quietly, unemotionally, as though in the performance of a ritual.

Some 200 college students converged at the same time Tuesday on 10 eating places in government and transportation buildings, demanded service and were refused. Those who refused to leave when asked were arrested under a new state law making such a refusal a misdemeanor.

Eighty persons, two of them white, were arrested. The two whites, out-of-towners, were jailed, after a name-calling and near kicking incident. They were later turned loose.

The demonstrators were released on $300 bond pending trial on misdemeanor charges in Fulton Criminal Court. Judge E. A. Wright of that court lectured one group up before him for arraignment, saying they had jeopardized their future as leaders of the race. Instead of risking a criminal record, they could have accomplished their avowed purpose by testing local public dining segration in civil court, as was successfully done recently regarding the Atlanta Airport restaurant, he said.

Judge Wright

Leaders of the student movement announced later they would stage no more demonstrations anywhere until the legal outcome of this one is settled. Negro attorneys said "highest court" appeals would be made of any convictions, if requested. Criminal Court Solicitor John I. Kelly said he will seek evidence of conspiracy; Gov. Vandiver sounded the usual statehouse warning that evidence of barratry would also be sought.

STILL LATER, Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, whose men handled the demonstrations with precision, announced quietly but like steel that the force is ready to put down violence of any kind. Weapons to unleash include police dogs who hate everybody, regardless of race, creed or color, he quipped.

And so it went. Twenty state troopers were dispatched to Savannah on good Saint Patrick's Day because of racial tension and Irish race tempestousness, and a few fist fights ensued.

That was one segregation front.

A CALMER ONE, the Sibley school hearings, saw testimony from congressional districts in Douglas (private schools favored by most counties), Sandersville (12 of 16 counties for private schools over any integration), and Sylvania (same pattern).

At the end of the week, a key administration figure said that from the showing so far, he would say chances are poor for any special session legislative action to save public schools, because of the preponderance of segregation-at-all-costs talk at the hearings.

However Commission Chairman John A. Sibley talked more and more about local option. At Sandersville, he all but endorsed the idea. He praised North Carolina for its wisdom in such legislation, saying it makes it a "matter of free choice and that's what people have to live under."

The hearings also developed more indications of advance activity by segregationists, and a promise to consider NAACP requests for setting up shop in larger towns like Savannah, Augusta, Columbus and Macon.

John Sibley

31a 1960

WHITE (WILLIAM S. WHITE)

William S. White

Demos Mapping Strategy for South

WASHINGTON — Amid a series of gloomy private advices coming up from the South to party leaders, a decision has been made to keep the Democratic presidential campaign in Dixie strictly a thing apart. The effort there will be deliberately and wholly different, in tone and in human terms, from what will be attempted all over the rest of the country.

Elsewhere, Sens. John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson will run a tough, aggressive race, asking no slightest quarter from the Nixon-Lodge Republican ticket and offering none. But inside the South the keynote will be expressed in these terms: "Take it easy . . . don't crowd anybody . . . sell it soft."

Outside the South, Kennedy is bypassing or at least supplementing the old-line regular Democratic organizations in many states and cities. Inside the South, the campaign will be geared 100 per cent into the traditional organizations of the established Southern leaders—governors, senators, legislators, sheriffs and so on.

This strategic approach is largely the work of Sen. Smathers of Florida, who has been chosen by Kennedy and Johnson as field marshal for the Southern and Border states as well.

Because he could not do so, he does not seriously attempt to hide the fact that the Democrats are deeply frightened about the South. Confidential estimates from that area vary in detail and emphasis. They all, however, include the somber word "trouble."

"We are in real trouble now," some run. "We are expecting real trouble," run the others. The so-called "Catholic issue"—that Kennedy is a member of the Catholic faith—is endlessly repeated in these messages. Another factor mentioned again and again is the Democratic convention's markedly liberal platform, which already has been repudiated by nearly every important Democratic politician in the South—including Smathers himself.

The purpose will be to ignore that platform whenever it is possible. Wherever there are overpowering local demands that it be discussed, the Southern Democratic campaign reply will be this: The Southern leaders never accepted that platform. Instead, they would point out that any convention can write a platform but no convention can make any platform into law. Only Congress can do that—and the South, no matter what happens in November, will still have power in Congress.

The heart of the Smathers plan, in short, contemplates these things:

1. Policy of noninterference in the South by northern Democrats.

2. A minimum of talk about who is the Democratic presidential candidate and a maximum of talk about the South's old allegiance to the Democratic Party as a collective institution.

3. No harsh attacks on bolters or potential bolters, on the theory that the more such people are pushed, the more they will broaden the bolt by soliciting other resentful Democrats.